THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine:

CONTAINING,

A History of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, for the years 1775, 76, 77, 78, 79, and 80.

IT ALSO CONTAINS A GREAT VARIETY

Of Original Communications, in Prose and Verse, Original Translations, and extracts from Foreign Publications, otherwise little known in this country—being a Repository of Miscellaneous articles; on

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A REVIEW OF AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS,
A REGISTER OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES,
PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS,
REPORTS, *&c. &c.*

Illustrated with COPPERPLATES, and a complete INDEX to each Volume.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED, FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, No. 52. SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR JULY, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

CONTENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, N°. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

To CORRESPONDENTS.

THE *Dialogue between a disabled soldier, of the late American army, and a speculating member of congress* ought to have been sent to some of the printers of newspapers. It does not come within the plan of this miscellany.

We should willingly appropriate *a few pages* to a discussion of the subject on which C. D. has written his very lengthy essay. Should our correspondent condense his performance, so as to suit our limits, it would be acceptable.

The author of the essay with this proverbial motto, "Truth ought not to be told at all times," has, in our opinion, gone too far, in his defence of a want of veracity. If circumstances sometimes render it prudent to suppress the truth, it does not follow that an untruth ought to be asserted. At any rate, we apprehend that few stand in need of our correspondent's exhortation.

Minerva has assumed a name to which we fear she has no good claim; at least, not on the score of *wisdom*. Her communication is of too frivolous a nature.

Every man to his humour does not suite our taste.

Myrtilla's verses have some merit, as to sentiment; but not sufficient to counterbalance their *poetical* defects.—The *elegy*, by the same hand, will be inserted, provided permission shall be given, by letter, or otherwise, to make a few alterations.

Of sundry *verbal* and *epistolary* promises to correspondents, some have been complied with, in this and the preceding number. The remainder will, in all probability, be fulfilled next month.

Several communications, which were received late in the month, are under consideration.

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 31, 1792.

Current Prices of Public Securities.

Six per cents, per £.	21/3.	*Indents,*	12/6.
Deferred six per cents,	13/.	*Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance*	45.
Three per cents,	12/6.	*Bank of N. America do. do.*	30.
Final Settlements,	20s.		

Course *of* Exchange.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	68.	*Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,*	3s-2/11
Ditto. 60 days,	69—70.	*Ditto. 90 days,*	2/10.
Ditto. 30 days,	71.		

THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

Columbian Magazine,

FOR JULY, 1792.

EXTRACTS *from* PAINE'S RIGHTS *of* MAN—Part II.

On the prevalence of revolution-principles.

AS revolutions have begun, (and as the probability is always greater against a thing beginning, than of proceeding after it has begun,) it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow. The amazing and still increasing expences with which old governments are conducted, the numerous wars they engage in or provoke, the embarrassments they throw in the way of universal civilization and commerce, and the oppression and usurpation they act at home, have wearied out the patience, and exhausted the property of the world. In such a situation, and with the examples already existing, revolutions are to be looked for. They are become subjects of universal conversation, and may be considered as the *order of the day.*

If systems of government can be introduced, less expensive, and more productive of general happiness, than those which have existed, all attempts to oppose their progress will in the end be fruitless. Reason, like time, will make its own way, and prejudice will fall in a combat with interest. If universal peace, civilization and commerce, are ever to be the happy lot of man, it cannot be accomplished but by a revolution in the system of governments. All the monarchical governments are military. War is their trade, plunder and revenue their objects. While such governments continue, peace has not the absolute security of a day. What is the history of all monarchical governments, but a disgustful picture of human wretchedness, and the accidental respite of a few years repose? Wearied with war, and tired with human butchery, they sat down to rest and called it peace. This certainly is not the condition that Heaven intended for man; and if *this be monarchy*, well might monarchy be reckoned among the sins of the Jews.

Of the origin of the present old governments.

IT is impossible that such governments as have hitherto existed in the world, could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle sacred and moral. The obscurity in which the origin of all the present old governments is buried, implies the iniquity and disgrace with which they began. The origin of the present governments of America and France will ever be remembered, because it is honorable to record it; but with respect to the rest, even flattery has consigned them to the tomb of time, without an inscription.

It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to over-run a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of robber in that of monarch, and hence the origin of monarchy and kings.

The origin of the government of England, so far as relates to what is called its line of monarchy, being one of the latest, is perhaps the best recorded. The hatred which the Norman invasion and tyranny begat, must have been deeply rooted in the nation, to have outlived the contrivance to obliterate it. Though not a courtier will talk of the curfew-bell, not a village in England has forgotten it.

Those bands of robbers having parcelled out the world, and divided it into dominions, began, as is naturally the case, to quarrel with each other. What at first was obtained by violence, was considered by others as lawful to be taken, and a second plunderer succeeded the first. They alternately invaded the dominions which each had assigned to himself, and the brutality with which they treated each other explains the original character of monarchy. It was ruffian torturing ruffian. The conqueror considered the conquered, not as his prisoner, but his property. He led him in triumph rattling in chains, and doomed him, at pleasure, to slavery or death. As time obliterated the history of their beginning, their successors assumed new appearances, to cut off the entail of their disgrace, but their principles and objects remained the same. What at first was plunder, assumed the softer name of revenue; and the power originally usurped, they affected to inherit.

From such beginning of governments, what could be expected, but a continual system of war and extortion? It has established itself into a trade. The vice is not peculiar to one more than to another, but is the common principle of all. There does not exist within such governments, a stamina whereon to ingraft reformation; and the shortest and most effectual remedy is to begin anew.

What scenes of horror, what perfection of iniquity, present themselves in contemplating the character, and reviewing the history of such governments! If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart, and hypocrisy of countenance, that reflection would shudder at, and humanity disown, it is kings, courts, and cabinets, that must sit for the portrait. Man, naturally as he is, with all his faults about him, is not up to the character.

Can we possibly suppose that if governments had originated in a right principle, and had not an interest in pursuing a wrong one, that the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelsome condition we have seen it? What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aside his peaceful pursuits, and go to war with the farmer of another country? or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them, or to any class of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's estate, or raise its value? Are not conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never failing consequence?—Though this reasoning may be good to a nation, it is not so to a government. War is the Pharo-table of governments, and nations the dupes of the game.

Hereditary government tyrannical and absurd.

ALL hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a government, is to inherit the people, as if they were flocks and herds.

Government ought to be a thing always in full maturity. It ought to be so constructed as to be superior to all the accidents to which individual man is subject; and therefore, hereditary succession, by being *subject to them all*, is the most irregular and imperfect of all the systems of government.

We have heard the *Rights of Man* called a *levelling* system; but the only system to which the word *levelling* is truly applicable, is the hereditary monarchical system. It is a system of *mental levelling*. It indiscriminately admits every species of character to the same authority. Vice and virtue, ignorance and wisdom, in short, every quality, good or bad, is put on the same level. Kings succeed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It signifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be surprised at the abject state of the human mind in monarchical countries, when the government itself is formed on such an abject levelling system;—It has no fixed character. To-day it is one thing; to-morrow it is something else. It changes with the temper of every succeeding individual, and is subject to all the varieties of each. It is government through the medium of passions and accidents. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage, a thing at nurse, in leading-strings, or in crutches. It reverses the wholesome order of nature. It occasionally puts children over men; and the conceits of non-age over wisdom and experience. In short, we cannot conceive a more ridiculous figure of government, than hereditary succession, in all its cases, presents.

Could it be made a decree in nature, or an edict registered in heaven, and man could know it, that virtue and wisdom should invariably appertain to hereditary succession, the objections to it would be removed; but when we see that nature acts as if she disowned and sported with the hereditary system; that the mental characters of successors, in all countries, are below the average of human under-

ſtanding; that one is a tyrant, another an ideot, a third inſane, and ſome all three together, it is impoſſible to attach confidence to it, when reaſon in man has power to act.

Hereditary ſucceſſion is a burleſque upon monarchy. It puts it in the moſt ridiculous light, by preſenting it as an office which any child or ideot may fill. It requires ſome talents to be a common mechanic; but, to be a king, requires only the animal figure of man—a ſort of breathing automaton. This ſort of ſuperſtition may laſt a few years more, but it cannot long reſiſt the awakened reaſon and intereſt of man.

On GRATITUDE.

THERE is ſcarcely any point of moral obligation which has been more univerſally admitted, than that of Gratitude. We are taught it by the inſtinct of nature, nor is any degree of depravity ſufficient to efface the impreſſion. Let a man be ever ſo void of gratitude, he does not ceaſe to look for it where he imagines it to be due to him; and he beholds ingratitude with deteſtation in another, even while he excuſes it in himſelf.

It is therefore ſuperfluous to dwell upon gratitude as a *duty*—but I would wiſh every man to remember, that the cultivation of a grateful temper is eſſential to his happineſs.

Our earthly comforts ariſe, for the moſt part, from the good offices of others. The tenderneſs of our parents is the ſupport of our childhood—and the kindneſs of our friends and brethren, the ſolace of our riper years; but without gratitude, our reliſh for theſe comforts muſt be cold and languid. We may receive and uſe the matter of a benefit, but a ſenſe of the kindneſs which confers it, is that alone which renders our ſatisfaction vivid and laſting. Ingratitude has a morbific influence; the greateſt benefits wither and ſhrink up as they approach it; for it leſſens to itſelf, as far as poſſible, the kindneſſes which it cannot bear to acknowledge. But the grateful mind feels the full value of a favour—it ſees it through the moſt advantageous medium, and taſtes a pleaſure in acknowledging it, ſcarcely inferior to that of the generoſity which beſtowed it.

It may be obſerved farther, that the exerciſe of gratitude is eſſential to that circulation of good offices, which is the life of ſociety.—Few are beneficent without, at leaſt, a preſumption of gratitude. The moſt diſintereſted look for it, as a proof that their kindneſs has been effectual, which it would not be, if it were not felt. Conſequently, the ungrateful man is a public enemy: his baſeneſs diſcourages generoſity, and diffuſes a chilling influence which freezes many a ſtream of beneficence. But he who ſhews a due ſenſe of the kindneſſes done to him, becomes, himſelf, a benefactor to the public; his grateful acknowledgments caſt a clearer light upon virtue, and call all men to admire its beauty. Thus benevolence is rouſed to in-

creaſed activity; and even the unfeeling heart, loſing its ſtrong plea of univerſal ingratitude, is allured to ſeek the credit, if it cannot taſte the luxury, of doing good.

There are various cauſes for that deficiency of gratitude which we ſo often have reaſon to lament—the moſt obvious are, pride, diſcontent, and irreligion.

The proud man cannot be grateful, becauſe he cannot be obliged. He conſiders all men as debtors to his ſuperior worth, and imagines himſelf entitled to their ſervices. Perhaps he may think his benefactors ſufficiently honoured by his acceptance of their kindneſſes; or if even he ſhould feel himſelf obliged, he is aſhamed to acknowledge it. The expreſſion of gratitude is, in this view, a humiliation not to be ſubmitted to, and he chuſes rather to appear ungrateful than mean.

Diſcontent is no leſs an enemy to gratitude.—The diſcontented man feels no benefit, and therefore can acknowledge none. He ſees every thing through the falſe medium of a gloomy fancy, which deprives the brighteſt bleſſings of their ſplendor. Perhaps that which is happineſs to another, may be miſery to him. Thus, being incapable of enjoyment, he cannot feel the kindneſs of a benefactor; and he fails in gratitude, not becauſe he is naturally ungrateful, but becauſe he cannot form an eſtimate of the favours conferred on him.

But, the greateſt foe to this deſirable virtue, is irreligion—this precludes every principle that tends to nouriſh gratitude, tears up the very ſoil from whence it ſprings, and fills the ſoul with the moſt oppoſite tempers. The eſſence of irreligion is ingratitude to the Supreme Benefactor; and it is ſcarcely to be expected that he who is habitually inſenſible of infinite kindneſs, ſhould be diſpoſed to acknowledge thoſe comparatively trifling obligations, which one frail mortal can confer on another.—But a religious man cannot be ungrateful; his piety to God neceſſarily brings every other virtue along with it, and it is impoſſible, that he who has learned to love his enemies, ſhould be wanting in gratitude to his benefactors.

I ſhall conclude this eſſay with an anecdote, which will be the more acceptable to my readers, as they may be aſſured of its authenticity.

About the year 1744, a perſon was taken up in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, on ſuſpicion of being a Popiſh emiſſary, employed to promote ſedition amongſt the Roman Catholic Iriſh, and carried before Mr. F. a gentleman of fortune, and a magiſtrate in that part of the country. Being indulged in a private hearing, he acknowledged himſelf an Italian Jeſuit, but ſo fully ſatisfied Mr. F. as to his deſigns in travelling through Ireland, that he not only declared him at liberty, but invited him to dinner, and afterwards to a bed. Mr. F. was highly pleaſed with his converſation; and, convinced that he deſerved to be protected rather than moleſted, gave him, the next morning, warm letters of recommendation to the principal gentlemen in thoſe parts of the country through which he intended to travel.

Some time after this, Mr. F. was ſurprized at receiving a very valuable preſent of wines and fruit from Italy, but without any notification of the hand from which they came. This donation was con-

tinued yearly for ſome length of time, and Mr. F. concluded that they could come from no other than the grateful Jeſuit.

In a few years Mr. F. and his lady went to the continent, and paſſing through Italy, they reſted ſome time at Rome. One evening, happening to fall into converſation with an eccleſiaſtic, he was led to ſpeak his ſentiments on ſome religious topics with more honeſty than diſcretion, but without ſuſpecting any conſequences. That night, however, at a very late hour, he was ſurprized by a viſit from an unknown perſon, who, on being introduced, told him, abruptly, that if he regarded either his liberty or his life, he muſt not remain an hour at Rome. He refuſed to anſwer any queſtions, only adding, that if Mr. F. would leave one of his ſervants behind him, he might ſoon be ſatisfied as to the danger to which he was expoſed.

Mr. F. obeyed the admonition—inſtantly ordered his carriage and horſes, and travelling with all ſpeed, ſoon got beyond the Papal territories.—His ſervant who had been left behind at Rome, came up with him in a ſhort time, and informed him, that ſhortly after his departure, the officers of the Inquiſition had ſurrounded the houſe, and ſearched every chamber in order to find him.

The means of this deliverance were ſtill a myſtery—but it was ſpeedily developed. Mr. F. after having been ſome time in Florence, received a letter to the following purport: "One good turn deſerves "another; I owed my liberty and the ſafety of my perſon to you, "and I am happy in having rendered you a ſimilar ſervice. From "this you know who it was that viſited you at mid-night."

HINTS *to* DEALERS *in* PORK.

IT is well known that Iriſh proviſions have been, and ſtill are, generally uſed throughout Europe; the quality is a good recommendation, and the mode of preſerving them contributes in no ſmall degree, to their value; yet there is another point in which they differ from the ſalt proviſions of almoſt every other country, ſimple in itſelf, yet extremely uſeful, as it ſaves labour in the diſtribution, and of courſe gives it the preference to thoſe who have the power of approving or diſcountenancing it—I mean, that they are cut in pieces of a proper ſize to ſuit a ſmall meſs, either of a navy or army. If American pork of the firſt quality was manufactured in the ſame manner; viz. *fifty* pieces of about *four* pounds each in a barrel, it would command, not only a ready ſale at foreign markets, but it would alſo produce a better price; and as this mode of curing it can be attended with no poſſible injury at any market, it is earneſtly recommended to all dealers in pork, that they will begin and promote a ſyſtem which, if practiſed, muſt tend to their own emolument and the good of their country.

A MERCHANT.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 352.)

COUNT D'ESTAING having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, after the unsuccessful expedition against Rhode-Island, sailed, in the beginning of November, 1778, for the West-Indies, whither the theatre of naval operations was, for some time, transferred. The count, having taken St. Vincents and Grenada, retired to Cape-Francois. Here he was warmly solicited, by letters from general Lincoln, governor Rutledge, and others, to sail for the American continent, where it was confidently hoped, that he might render essential service, in operating against the common enemy. Having been instructed by the king, his master, to act in concert with the forces of the united states, as far as might appear beneficial to both, he readily yielded to the solicitation, and, on the 1st of September, arrived on the coast of Georgia, with twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His arrival was so unexpected by the British, that the Experiment, of 50 guns, commanded by sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

General Lincoln was no sooner apprised of d'Estaing's arrival, than he marched for Savannah, with the army under his command. The militia of Georgia and South-Carolina were ordered to rendezvous near the same place; which they accordingly did, in great numbers. They were sanguine in the hope of driving the British out of Georgia, and therefore turned out with uncommon alacrity. Nor were the British less diligent in preparing for the defence of the place. Officers and privates vied with each other, in the most laborious exertions, to strengthen and extend the works. In this business great numbers were employed, day and night, under the direction of major Moncriesse, an excellent engineer. That the French frigates might not get too near the town, some armed ships and transports were sunk in the channel, and a boom was thrown across it. The seamen were landed, and posted at different batteries.

Count d'Estaing, on the 16th of September, shortly before he was joined by Lincoln, summoned general Prevost to surrender to the *arms of France*. Against this mode of summons Lincoln afterwards remonstrated, as being improper, when the Americans and French were acting in conjunction. The matter, however, was amicably settled; and the manner of carrying on negociations in future was adjusted, to the satisfaction of both.

Prevost wished, if possible, to gain time, that he might strengthen the works, land the artillery of the shipping for their defence, and give lieut. col. Maitland an opportunity of arriving from Beaufort, with his detachment, consisting of about 400 men. He therefore returned a polite answer to the count's summons, declining to surrender on a general summons, and requesting that specific terms might be proposed. He was informed, in the count's reply, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms; upon which he artfully re-

queſted a truce, for twenty-four hours, for the purpoſes of deliberating upon the ſubject, and preparing proper terms. During this interval, which was injudiciouſly allowed him, he was joined by Maitland and his party, who had made their way through many obſtacles. By the arrival of this detachment, the garriſon was augmented to about 3000 men; with which Prevoſt determined to defend the place, to the laſt extremity.

It was now a queſtion with the allied army, whether they ſhould beſiege the garriſon formally, or attempt it by ſtorm. The former mode being adopted, it became neceſſary to erect batteries, and to land cannon; which, with the different military ſtores, were to be tranſported five miles by land. This, owing in a great meaſure to a want of proper carriages, conſumed much time; during which, the works of the town were greatly ſtrengthened. When the garriſon was firſt ſummoned, the lines were not only weak and imperfect, but almoſt deſtitute of guns. Such were the exertions of the garriſon, that, before the termination of the ſiege, the works were covered with a numerous artillery, conſiſting of nearly 100 pieces.

On the 4th of Oct. the beſiegers began a furious cannonade upon the town, with nine mortars and thirty-ſeven pieces of cannon from the land ſide, and with fifteen from the water. Theſe continued to play for four or five days, with ſhort intervals, but without much effect. About this time, major l'Enfant, with five men, advanced through a briſk fire from the Britiſh lines, and attempted to ſet fire to the abbatis; but the moiſture of the wood, which was green, prevented the ſucceſs of this daring enterpriſe.

After the commencement of the cannonade, Prevoſt requeſted permiſſion to ſend the women and children out of town; but this was refuſed, from motives of policy. The combined army was confident of ſucceſs; and it was ſuſpected that a deſire of ſecreting the plunder, lately collected in South-Carolina, was covered under this ſpecious veil of humanity. It was preſumed, moreover, that a refuſal would expedite the ſurrender of the garriſon. The conduct of the beſiegers, on this occaſion, has, however, been branded by ſome Britiſh writers, with every epithet of barbariſm and inhumanity.

The time which count d'Eſtaing had aſſigned for this expedition being elapſed, and it appearing from a report of the engineers, that a conſiderable length of time would be ſtill neceſſary, to reduce the garriſon by regular approaches, his marine officers remonſtrated againſt his continuing longer to riſk ſo valuable a fleet, on ſuch a dangerous coaſt, in the hurricane ſeaſon, and at ſo great a diſtance from the ſhore that its deſtruction muſt be inevitable, ſhould it be ſurprized by a Britiſh fleet, in good repair, and well manned. Under theſe critical circumſtances, d'Eſtaing was unwilling to hazard the ſafety of his fleet, by any further delay; there was, therefore, no alternative, but to make an immediate aſſault, or to raiſe the ſiege. Prudence would have dictated the latter; but a ſenſe of honour induced the beſiegers to adopt the former. Had count d'Eſtaing been active on his arrival, and attacked the Britiſh lines, in their original weakneſs, before the garriſon was ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Maitland's detachment, there is reaſon to believe he would have

experienced a greater degree of ſucceſs. Indeed, to delay an attack, when he had limited his ſtay to a ſhort period, and while the ſtrength of the garriſon was daily increaſing, ſeems to have been a capital error.

On the morning of the 9th of Oct. before day-light, an attack was made upon the Spring-hill battery, by d'Eſtaing and Lincoln, at the head of 3,500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleſton. To favour the ſucceſs of this attack, two feints were made by the American militia. Thoſe deſtined for the aſſault, marched up to the lines, with great firmneſs; but a heavy fire from the batteries, which took them in almoſt every direction, and a croſs fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confuſion, and a retreat was ordered, after they had ſuſtained this deſtructive fire for fifty-five minutes. Such was the ſpirit and perſeverance of the allied troops during this attack, that two ſtandards were placed on one of the Britiſh redoubts, though it was bravely defended by capt. Taws, who was the only Britiſh officer that fell. The works and ditches near his redoubts exhibited, after the retreat, ſuch a ſpectacle of killed and wounded as, in the opinion of the officers preſent, had only been equalled at Bunker's-hill. Of the French and Americans, nearly one thouſand were killed or wounded. The loſs of the garriſon, who fired from behind their works, was very trifling. Count d'Eſtaing and count Pulaſki were both wounded; the latter mortally, as he was riding into town, full gallop, between the redoubts, at the head of 200 horſemen, with an intention of charging the enemy in the rear. On the part of the Britiſh, gen. Prevoſt, lieut. col. Maitland, and major Moncrieffe, acquired great reputation, by their ſucceſsful defence of a poſt, which was in a very weak ſtate, when firſt inveſted by the fleet and troops of France, under count d'Eſtaing.

The ſiege being raiſed, the continental troops retreated into South-Carolina. Exhauſted with fatigue, dejected by defeat, and expoſed to the viciſſitudes of an autumnal atmoſphere, in a climate unfriendly to health, ſickneſs was very generally prevalent among them. Immediately after the repulſe, the militia returned to their homes, almoſt to a man. Count d'Eſtaing reimbarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

The inhabitants of the ſouthern ſtates were much elated, when this expedition was undertaken. They looked forward to no leſs important an event, than the expulſion of the invaders from that part of the continent. The diſappointment of this expectation was attended with a proportional depreſſion of ſpirits. The ſituation of the Georgia exiles was particulary diſtreſſing. Many of them, who had collected from all quarters, in hopes of being enabled to repoſſeſs themſelves of their eſtates, were now obliged to flee, a ſecond time, from their country and poſſeſſions.

But if the manner in which this campaign was terminated in the ſouthern ſtates, diſappointed the hopes of the Americans, and excited gloomy apprehenſions in their minds; neither did it afford much matter of exultation to the Britiſh. The viſit of the French fleet to the coaſt of America, though it was unſucceſsful, as to its main object,

disconcerted the plans of the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. Besides, the campaign had been productive of no decisive advantage. After having over-run the state of Georgia, to the distance of 150 miles from the sea-coast, and penetrated South-Carolina, as far as the lines of Charleston, they were now reduced to their original limits, in Savannah. Their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed; nor could they expect much, in future, from that class of inhabitants, whose spirits were thoroughly broken by repeated disappointments.

While the allied army lay before Savannah, an exploit, well worthy of being recorded, was performed by col. John White, of the Georgia line. Capt. Trench was stationed, with 100 men, near the river Ogeechee, at the distance of about twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the same place were five British vessels, four of which were armed; the largest with fourteen guns, the smallest with four, and the whole were manned by forty-one sailors. All these men, with the vessels, and 130 stands of arms, were surrendered to col. White, capt. Elholm, and four others, one of whom was the colonel's servant. On the 30th of September, late at night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, practised various other stratagems, to give themselves the appearance of a large force, and summoned the captain, in the most peremptory terms, to surrender immediately. The deception succeeded. Captain Trench was so fully impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant compliance could save his men from being cut in pieces by a superior force, that, without attempting to make the least resistance, he surrendered. The prisoners were secured, and afterwards conducted, by three of the captors, twenty-five miles through the country, to an American post.

Throughout the year 1779, the military operations of the British, in the states to the northward of Carolina, were almost entirely of a predatory nature. Their commissioners had, in the preceding year, threatened the Americans with all the horrors of devastation; in order to render "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connections." This threat was accordingly executed by the British commanders, to the utmost extent of their power. This mode of warfare, unprecedented among civilized nations, was undoubtedly sanctioned by the ministers of Great-Britain. Several members in both houses of parliament, shocked by the inhumanity of the commissioners declaration, and desirous of wiping away a stain so disgraceful to their country, moved for a disavowal of that part of the proclamation, in which the commissioners had taken upon them to denounce a barbarous system of war, no less inconsistent with sound policy, than with the dictates of humanity, and the law of nations. But every motion of this kind was negatived, by the usual ministerial majorities.

In the beginning of May, sir Henry Clinton dispatched sir George Collier and general Matthews, with a considerable naval and land force, for the purpose of making a descent on Virginia. They landed at Portsmouth, which was destitute of defence, and consequently fell into their hands; as did the remains of Norfolk, on the

opposite side of the river. On the approach of the enemy, the Americans burned a number of vessels; but others were saved, and made prizes. The British made a forced march, by night, to Suffolk, where they destroyed a large magazine of provisions and naval stores, together with the vessels which they found there. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's-Landing, Gosport, Tanner's-Creek, and other places in the neighbourhood. The frigates and armed vessels were equally active and successful, along the margins of the rivers, and the adjacent parts of the bay. Within a fortnight, that the fleet and army continued on the coast, the loss sustained by the Americans was prodigious. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Upwards of 130 vessels were destroyed or taken. Several vessels upon the stocks were burned; and every article of naval stores was either carried off or destroyed. The town of Suffolk, the store-houses at Gosport, and sundry public buildings, in different places, were burned. The houses of several country gentlemen shared the same fate. The fleet and army arrived safely at New-York, with their booty, before the end of the month.

The troops, immediately upon their return from the Virginia expedition, were joined to others, going up the north-river, to attack the posts of Stoney-point and Verplank, where the Americans had begun to erect strong works, for the purpose of preserving an easy communication between the southern and eastern states. General Vaughan, with the greater part of the troops, landed on the east side of the river, about eight miles from Verplank. Sir Henry Clinton landed on the west side, and took possession of Stoney-point, without opposition. Directly opposite to Stoney-point, across the river, the Americans had finished a strong fort; which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garrison of about seventy men. It was untenable, however, after the loss of Stoney-point, by which it was entirely commanded. During the night, the British dragged up a number of mortars and pieces of cannon, to the high rocks of Stoney-point, from which a dreadful fire was poured upon the fort early next morning. In the mean time, Vaughan had taken a circuitous rout, and completely invested the fort by land. The garrison finding themselves overpowered, and having no prospect of escape, surrendered prisoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton gave immediate directions for completing the works of both posts; and for putting Stoney-point, in particular, in the strongest state of defence.

The numberless small cruizers and whale-boats, from Connecticut, which infested the sound lying between that state and Long-Island, were so continually watchful and active, and their situation afforded them such opportunities, that they had nearly destroyed the trade to and from New-York, on that side, to the great inconvenience and distress of the British fleet and army. This furnished a pretext to the British for a desultory invasion along the Connecticut coast, the ostensible motive to which was, that they might effect the destruction of the American vessels, and of the materials for ship-building. But they did not confine themselves to this object.

The troops destined for this expedition were about 2600. They were commanded by gov. Tryon, who was seconded by brigadier-

general Garth. The transports, which conveyed the troops, were covered by a number of armed vessels, commanded by sir George Collier. In the beginning of July, they sailed from New-York, and landed, in two divisions, at East and West-Haven, whence, after burning the greater part of East-Haven, they proceeded to New-Haven. The town was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their moveable property of every kind. Such articles as could not be carried off, were wantonly destroyed; and almost every species of enormity was perpetrated. The militia, however, was collecting so fast, that the enemy made a sudden retreat, without executing their original design of burning the town. They next proceeded, by water, to Fairfield. To col. Whiting, who commanded the militia near this place, Tryon sent a flag, with an address, by which the inhabitants were invited to return to their allegiance, and all, except civil and military officers, were promised protection, on condition of remaining peaceably in their usual places of residence. In this address the lenity of the royal army was enlarged upon; and the existence of a single house on the defenceless coast, was said to be at once a monument of British mercy, and of American ingratitude. The col. was allowed an hour for his answer; that he might, if he thought proper, save the town, by a compliance with the terms of the address; but he had scarcely time to read it, before the town was in flames. He, nevertheless, returned a spirited answer. The militia gave the enemy some annoyance, as they were advancing; but were soon obliged to retreat. On the approach of the British, most of the inhabitants quitted the town. A few women, imagining their sex would protect them, remained, in expectation of being able to save their property; but they had reason to repent of their conduct. The soldiers plundered the deserted houses, before they committed them to the flames. They robbed the women of their buckles and rings, and even of their bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs; abusing them, at the same time, with the foulest language; presenting their bayonets to their breasts, and threatening to deprive them of their lives. The women, together with Mr. Sayre, an episcopal clergyman, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, besought Tryon to spare the town; but their joint supplications were disregarded. The British burned the meeting house and episcopal church, and the buildings in general, to the distance of two miles, around the town, including the greater part of Green's farms. The militia, though joined by numbers from the country, were not sufficiently numerous for an effectual opposition. The British concluded their scenes of devastation in this quarter, by the total destruction of the flourishing town of Norwalk. The inhabitants feared that the whole coast, 120 miles in extent, would share the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk; but after the enemy had rioted in the most wanton destruction of property for ten days, they were suddenly stopped in their career, by an order from sir Henry Clinton, to repair immediately to New-York.

The loss sustained by the Americans on this occasion was great. Besides their dwelling-houses, and the effects contained in them, a con-

ſiderable number of ſhips, ſome finiſhed and others on the ſtocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of ſtores and merchandiſe, were deſtroyed. The number of houſes and barns burned was upwards of 300, among which were five houſes of public worſhip. The loſs of the Britiſh, during the expedition, did not exceed 150 men.

Theſe devaſtations, particularly the burning of the houſes, were loudly complained of by the Americans. The only apology offered by the Britiſh was, that the houſes gave ſhelter to the Americans, while they fired upon them; that the burning of them ſerved in ſome inſtances to conceal the retreat of the troops, and was therefore juſtifiable, upon the principle of military neceſſity. Certain it is, however, that no ſuch neceſſity could with truth be urged, either to excuſe or palliate the burning of the greater part of the houſes. General Tryon attempted to juſtify the meaſure, upon principles of policy. In a letter to general Clinton, he ſaid, he ſhould be very ſorry, if it were thought leſs reconcileable with humanity, than with the love of his country, duty to his king, or the law of arms, to which America had made her appeal; that the uſurpers had profeſſedly placed their hopes of ſevering the empire, in avoiding deciſive actions, upon the impoveriſhment of the Britiſh treaſury, and the eſcape of their own property, during a tedious war; that their power was ſupported by the general dread of their tyranny, and the artifices practiſed to inſpire a credulous multitude, with a preſumptuous confidence in the forbearance of the royal forces; and that he wiſhed to detect this deluſion.

Theſe devaſtations were the ſubject of an elegant and pathetic poem, entitled "The burning of Fairfield," written on the ſpot, a few days after the mournful cataſtrophe, by col. Humphries.

Congreſs, on receiving ſatisfactory proofs of the ravages of the Britiſh, in this and other expeditions, of a ſimilar nature, reſolved (July 19) that their marine committee ſhould be directed to take the moſt effectual meaſures, for retaliating upon the enemy, agreeably to their manifeſto of the 30th of October, 1778, by burning or deſtroying the towns of the Britiſh, in Europe and the Weſt-Indies. This reſolve, however, was never carried into effect.

In this deſultory mode of warfare, the Britiſh had great advantages. By means of their marine force, they could command the numerous rivers, harbours, and bays of the united ſtates; and make deſcents where they pleaſed, with ſuch rapidity, and in ſo many different quarters, nearly at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible for the American land-forces to march and counter-march with ſufficient expedition to cover the country, or check the depredations of the enemy. The invaded citizens, as well as thoſe whoſe local ſituation expoſed them to the ravages of the Britiſh, inceſſantly preſſed general Waſhington to detach continental troops from the main army for their protection; but he could ſpare very few. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that the enemy wiſhed to draw off a part of his army from the defence of Weſt-point, with a view to make an attack upon that important poſt. He was moreover aware of the impolicy of dividing his army into ſeveral bodies; ſince this would render his whole force liable to be cut to pieces in detail. It was

therefore his uniform practice, to attempt no more towards covering any particular part of the country, than appeared consistent with the general safety. He was at this time posted with the main army at some distance from New-York, on both sides of the north-river; a position to which he had marched, from his late encampment at Middlebrook, soon after sir Henry Clinton's capture of the posts at Stoney-point and Verplank. The security of West-point being a principal object of his attention, he was by no means desirous of hazarding the loss of any part of his army, either by a general or partial engagement. At the same time, he kept a strict watch upon the enemy. For this purpose, a party of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, commanded by col. White, patrolled constantly in front of the British lines, for several months. This corps had frequent skirmishes with parties of the British; and rendered essential service, by checking their excursions, and procuring intelligence of their movements.

(To be continued.)

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

EULOGIUM *on* MODERN IMPROVEMENTS.

(Intended to have been spoken at a late Commencement.)

THE improvements in modern times are so great, and so superior to what our forefathers could pretend to, that they ought not to be passed over, without their deserved eulogium. We live in the reign of philosophy and the sun-shine of the sciences; and our advance in the arts and the happiness of life bear a proportion to this grand illumination. I have, for some time, wished for an opportunity to display our superiority in these respects—and as I have now the good fortune of possessing a clear stage, with a respectable audience before me, it is my purpose to attempt it. I could wish, indeed, that my abilities were more equal to the arduous task which I have undertaken; that I might celebrate as it deserves, our happiness, my countrymen and fellow-citizens, in being born in these latter ages, when human sagacity, refined by long experience, produces fruits of a most delicious pulp. Yet what I can, I will attempt; but O for the hundred mouths of Fame, with each an hundred tongues, which honest Virgil describes, that I might proclaim the gigantic strides, which we at present make towards perfection, beyond what was ever seen in the world before! Indeed I know not how sufficiently to congratulate my hearers, upon the excellence and sublimity of our discoveries and improvements, both natural and artificial, beyond what has ever been seen in ancient times. Our superiority in knowledge, taste, ingenuity, politics, virtue, and religion, cannot be modestly contested.

I know some sour philosophers, and visionary men, will be ready to spurn at any idea of this sort; and resist that full blaze of evidence

which may be poured upon the ſubject. I am well aware that they will ſcuffle hard for their favourite ancients, and kick up no little learned duſt to blind the eyes of their antagoniſts. Such people, when preſſed cloſely in argument, fly to recrimination and ſilly reproach, inſtead of reaſon and proof—and, when we oblige them to confeſs that we excel the ancients in wiſdom and ingenuity, very ſagaciouſly diſcover, that we alſo advance in depravity; and thus, what we gain or eſtabliſh in one point, we loſe in another. Our fathers, ſay they, after their oracle Horace, were worſe than theirs, and we are more corrupt than they. But with the good leave of theſe muſty objectors, I think their ſhallow aſſertion is not ſupported by fact and experience—and that, on the moſt moderate allowance in favour of modern virtue, we muſt oblige them to confeſs, that our anceſtors, we, and our poſterity are pretty much alike, being all of one kindred, and of a very bad family to boot.

However, not to enter further into diſpute about this matter at preſent, I beg your attention to our improvements of another kind: and here I think it will be eaſy to eſtabliſh our decided ſuperiority over the ancients, in ſcience, taſte, ingenuity, and various other particulars which we may have occaſion to mention.

They boaſt, it is true, of Homer, Pythagoras, Euclid, Solon, Plato, Ariſtotle, and others, whom they impudently aſſert, to be the originals of every uſeful branch of ſcience, and that we only repeat their diſcoveries, and plume ourſelves upon what is at beſt only borrowed;—but were they to appear amongſt the philoſophers, poets, hiſtorians, romance-writers, and politicians, of Europe and America, how would they ſhrink back from the luſtre of our glory?

Homer had the art perhaps of ſwelling to the ſublime in poetry, but he wanted *depth*; he was not acquainted with the profound, the bathos of many modern poets, who ſhall be nameleſs, leſt they ſhould be diſgraced in the compariſon; who, as Pope luckily hits it off,

> True to the bottom, ever careful creep
> The cool, long-winded, natives of the deep.

And whoſe works, as they ſuit the comprehenſion of the great majority, poſſeſs an excellence in this moſt important reſpect, that is unrivalled. The poetical morſels in our muſeums, magazines, and news-papers, are ready at any time, to be produced in compariſon with the odes of Horace, or the trifles of Anacreon—and our witty eſſays, with the humours of Lucian.

Pythagoras is highly celebrated as a philoſopher by the ancients, and it is pretended that all our modern improvements in commerce, agriculture, and mechanical arts, are founded on principles diſcovered by him;—but alas! he was as far from ſome modern lecturers on philoſophy, and modern remarkers on the appearances of nature, as from this earth to the tail of the laſt comet. Did he know that the earth was twenty thouſand years old? or would he have thought of proving it by the antiquities near the Miſſiſippi? Would he ever have dreamed of ſailing to the moon in balloons, or mounting by art beyond the orbit of the earth, to ſail between worlds and worlds, and with eagle-flight to approach towards the centre of our ſyſtem, and gaze upon the ſun? Did it ever enter into his heart to conceive that

moral evils were to be corrected by phyſical cauſes, and that the vice of lying, ſo prevalent in many ages, could be annihilated by a due expoſure to a freezing atmoſphere—a moſt important diſcovery of recent date? Would he have believed it, that the time would arrive when ſlander and lies might be baniſhed from the parties of the gay and rich by a few doſes of ice, duly adminiſtered; and that for this reaſon, the wealthy and public-ſpirited inhabitants of this metropolis, ſhould multiply contrivances for the preſervation of ſo choice a medicine through all ſeaſons of the year?

The ancients boaſt much of the profound reſearches and concluſive reaſoning of Euclid, Ariſtotle, and ſome other long-winded champions of that ſort; but I fancy we ſhould confound them and their reaſoning too, by the more conciſe and pithy mode of aſſertion. This cuts matters ſhort, and precludes the neceſſity of tedious diſcuſſion—and in addition to this, we boaſt of the argumentum ad crumenam, or, the argument of the purſe; by which, in a ſummary way, we reſolve queſtions of the greateſt depth in every ſcience, without difficulty. Yes, the modern invention of deciding diſputes by a wager, was reſerved for theſe ages of invention and improvement! In this way we get rid of a world of trouble, where we meet with oppoſition; and beſides, not only does it free us from the labour of underſtanding ſubjects of debate, but it reſtores that natural pre-eminence to the wealthy, of which, for a period of ages, they had been deprived, by the abilities of poor fellows, who can always parade more arguments than caſh upon any point:—For want ſharpens the wits;—

And, as the tuneful Flaccus ſings,
It is the very beſt of things
To give the true inventive fire,
And ſcrew the peg of genius higher.

As to taſte and refinement of manners, there ſurely can be no compariſon. Who is ſo blind as not to ſee how vaſtly, nay how infinitely I may ſay, the taſte of the moderns exceeds the ancient ſimplicity, or rather ruſticity of manners! Their clowniſhneſs was ſuch, that they had no word, in any of their languages, which could be tranſlated Gentleman or Lady. They had, to be ſure, philoſophers, orators, hiſtorians, legiſlators, patriots, heroes, demigods, nymphs, and goddeſſes; but alas, they had not one fine gentleman or fine lady! There were a few indeed, who ſhot above the manners of the reſt; ſuch as Cataline, Piſo, Claudius, and Mark Anthony, amongſt the men; and Julia and Meſſalina, amongſt the women; who would have been allowed to be very pretty gentlemen and ladies in modern times: for they could dreſs, and dance, and drink, and game, and ſwear to perfection. But thoſe booriſh people had ſo little reliſh for ſuch a character, that they ſcrupled not to call them drunken, gambling, cheating, lying, and lewd wretches. Unfortunate people! they happened unluckily to be born in times when merit ſuffered an eclipſe, and was diſcouraged by an infernal ſpirit of perſecution! Had they lived amongſt us, they might have ranked with the foremoſt—they might have riſen to the height of the beau monde, and ſhone with a ſuperior luſtre at our aſſemblies, routs, and ſunday-even-

ing parties. They might have handled their cards with the fine ladies in our polished circles at present—and speculated and debauched, to admirable advantage, with our very fine gentlemen;—yet as it happened, circumstances were not favourable to their advancement in their own times—and their sinking into infamy among their cotemporaries, sufficiently proves the dulness of taste which generally prevailed. Our prevailing taste, in dress and amusements, in equipage and ornaments, in luxury, and the haut ton of living, beggars all description, and leaves all antiquity behind.

In those rude, unpolished days, their old-fashioned notions were such, that they prided themselves upon a fear of the gods, a reverence for religion and its ministers, a respect for their parents and other superiors, and a scrupulous observance of the laws, and regard to the duties of morality.—But what a pitiful, groveling set must they not have been? Where is any liberality of sentiment in all this? Are we not born free? Free as the winds—and what right have any to insist upon the subordination of others, or to attempt to controul them? Such are the sentiments of liberal men in the present age, who are the ornaments of human nature.—They free us from the shackles of constraint in education, and inculcate an utter contempt of every thing that would cloud mirth, and hinder enjoyment. They destroy those dykes and mounds which imaginary fears and squeamishness of conscience had raised for the guarding of morality and religion. They demonstrate to us that the deity can make no great difference between virtue and vice without crying injustice, and pour salvation upon us like a flood.—Thus we learn to live without constraint, and to die without fear. Happy ages, so long foretold! You have begun to roll upon the world.—How silly would Plato, or Socrates, or Cicero appear amongst modern philosophers! *They* talked of the soul and its capacities—of being like the gods, and of the excellence of piety and virtue. But modern philosophy has dealt so much in matter, and developed so minutely its subtle properties, as sufficiently to prove universal materialism, and triumphantly to evince that there is no soul at all—and I suppose the inference would be clear enough from this, that there is neither god, angel, devil, nor spirit.—Our celebrated philosophers have sufficiently ridiculed the idea of sin, and assured us that even female infidelity is but a pecadillo when it is known, and when not known, it is nothing at all—that the doctrine of a providence which particularly regards the virtuous, or remarks the vicious with disapprobation, is an impious tenet, as far as impiety can exist—and that the clergy or ministers of religion, are the great disturbers of the public repose, and as such ought to be rejected from society, with the utmost abhorrence. In this last respect, our modern philosophers have gloriously freed the world from bondage—As they can easily demonstrate, that God has no rights, of consequence it is ridiculous to pay any duties, and therefore our enlightened patriots and scholars, agree to treat those who pretend to inculcate the contrary with the most sovereign contempt. By shewing the clergy to be a set of pragmatic fellows, not worth minding, they rid us at once of a deal of trouble, which would ensue from attending or believing their lectures, and smooth the principal rub in the road

of free and liberal manners. A few chain-ſhot which have not been levelled at a ſingle mark, but with an enlarged compaſs of aim, have ſtruck at the character univerſally, have knocked down, not only the men, but the buſineſs. And now, it is expected the halcyon days are taking place, when we may all do as we pleaſe, without conſcience or account—that we may range through every ſcene of pleaſure unconſtrained, and conſcience be totally ſubdued.

Our principal characters have ſet the example of a total diſregard to the public, but now antiquated inſtitutions of religion—and have recommended the pleaſing ſuccedaneum of the ſtage, and theatrical exhibitions, in their room. Plato, indeed, was fool enough to ſay, that "plays raiſe and pervert paſſions, and are dangerous to morality;" and Cicero, that "comedy ſubſiſts upon lewdneſs, and the pleaſure which it encourages is the root of all evil." Seneca, under a fit of the ſpleen, complained, that "while the play-houſes were open, nobody would apply to the ſtudy of nature and morality,"—and Tacitus audaciouſly records a reflexion, that would ſeem to imply a brutiſh cenſure upon our female attenders on the theatre; his remark is, that "the German women were guarded againſt danger, and kept their honour ſafe, by having no play-houſes amongſt them." But our legiſlators, more diſcerning and better acquainted with human nature, have pronounced theſe ſame ſtage-plays, the pleaſing and liberal amuſement of the polite, and the promoters of all the virtue that is neceſſary in the world.

It would be uſeleſs in this place to enlarge upon our advances in the ſcience of politics and government;—Theſe are ſo obvious and inconteſtable, that I ſhould but mock your diſcernment to ſtate them at large. The wheels of government run ſo ſmoothly—the well-born have ſuch due and natural weight—the balances are ſo trimmed—our rights are ſo many, ſo well aſcertained, and ſo diſtinctly enumerated—our obligations ſo few—our departments all ſo virtuouſly managed, and the auri ſacra fames ſo utterly baniſhed, that antiquity may forever be blotted from our remembrance, or be brought forward to view, only as a foil to our ſuperior excellence, in this important ſcience.

Upon the whole, therefore, I hope I have elucidated the point in hand, with ſufficient clearneſs, and I preſume on the patience of this reſpectable audience further, only to repeat the ſong of a modern bard; which, though it is not exactly in agreement with ſome of the ſentiments which I have delivered, yet ſupports the opinion which I have inculcated, that the preſent are the beſt and happieſt of times:

Of all the ages ever known,
The preſent is the oddeſt;
For all the men are honeſt grown,
And all the women modeſt.

No lawyers now are fond of fees—
No clergy of their dues;
No doctors now charge heavy fees—
At church no empty pews.

Our rulers, heaven defend us all!
I'll nothing say about 'em:
For they are great, and I'm but small,
So let's jog on without 'em.

Our gentry are a virtuous race,
Despising earthly treasures;
Our youth are sober, temp'rate, chaste,
And quite averse from pleasures.

The ladies seem so plain indeed,
You'd think them quakers all—
Witness the dresses on their head,
So comely and so small.

No races now to drain the purse,
No bets on cards are laid;
And as for dice, so long our curse,
They all are burnt 'tis said.

No drunken sot neglects his spouse,
For bowls of brimming nappy;
Nor taverns tempt him from his house,
Where all are pleas'd and happy.

All cuckold-making is forgot,
No ladies now in keeping:
No batter'd beaux now go to pot,
Whose wives are kill'd by weeping.

No gentlemen now take a freak,
To crowd the roads on sunday,
So horses, lab'ring thro' the week,
Obtain a rest for one day.

Happy 's the nation thus endow'd,
So void of wants and crimes;
Where all are rich, and none are proud;
O these are glorious times!

I see you all, with wond'ring stare,
Think this is mighty high, sir;
But pray forgive us, if we dare,
To say 'tis all a lie, sir.

If you think thus, pray do not frown,
But take another light on't;
Just turn the picture upside down,
And this will be the right on't.

On the Beauty *of* Epistolary Writing.

Its first and fundamental requisite is, to be natural and simple; for a stiff and laboured manner is as bad in a letter, as it is in conversation. This does not banish sprightliness and wit. These are graceful in letters, just as they are in conversation; when they flow easily, and without being studied; when employed so as to season, not to cloy. One who, either in conversation or in letters, affects to shine and to sparkle always, will not please long.

The style of letters should not be too highly polished. It ought to be neat and correct, but no more. All nicety about words betrays study; and hence musical periods, and appearances of number and harmony in arrangement, should be carefully avoided in letters. The best letters are commonly such as the authors have written with most facility. What the heart or imagination dictates, always flows readily; but where there is no subject to warm or interest these, constraint appears: and hence, those letters of mere compliment, congratulation, or affected condolence, which have cost the authors most labour in composing, and which, for that reason, they perhaps consider as their master-pieces, never fail of being the most disagreeable and insipid to the readers.

It ought, at the same time, to be remembered, that the ease and simplicity which I have recommended in epistolary correspondence, are not to be understood as importing entire carelessness. In writing to the most intimate friends, a certain degree of attention, both to the subject and the style, is requisite and becoming. It is no more than what we owe both to ourselves, and to the friend with whom we correspond. A slovenly and negligent manner of writing, is a disobliging mark of want of respect. The liberty, besides, of writing letters with too careless a hand, is apt to betray persons into imprudence in what they write. The first requisite, both in conversation and correspondence, is to attend to all the proper decorums which our own character, and that of others, demand. An imprudent expression in conversation may be forgotten and pass away; but when we take the pen into our hand, we must remember, that "Litera scripta manet."

The most distinguished collection of letters in the English language, is that of Mr. Pope, Dean Swift, and their friends; partly published in Mr. Pope's works, and partly in those of Dean Swift. This collection is, on the whole, an entertaining and agreeable one; and contains much wit and ingenuity. It is not, however, altogether free of the fault which is imputed to Pliny's epistles, of too much study and refinement. Those of Dr. Arbuthnot, in particular, always deserve praise. Dean Swift's also are unaffected; and as a proof of their being so, they exhibit his character fully, with all its defects. Several of Lord Bolingbroke's, and of Bishop Atterbury's letters, are masterly. The censure of writing letters in too artificial a manner falls heaviest on Mr. Pope himself. There is visibly more study, and less of nature and the heart in his letters, than in those of some of his correspondents. He had formed himself on the manner of Voiture, and is too fond of writing like a wit. His letters to ladies are full of

affectation. Even in writing to his friends, how forced an introduction is the following, of a letter to Mr. Addison: "I am more joyed "at your return, than I should be at that of the sun, as much as I "wish for him in this melancholy wet season; but it is his fate too, "like yours, to be displeasing to owls and obscene animals, who "cannot bear this lustre." How stiff a compliment is it, which he pays to bishop Atterbury: "Though the noise and daily bustle for "the public be now over, I dare say, you are still tendering its "welfare; as the sun in winter, when seeming to retire from the "world, is preparing warmth and benedictions for a better season." This sentence might be tolerated in an harangue; but is very unsuitable to the style of one friend corresponding with another.

On the IMPROVEMENT *of the* MEMORY.

THE only infallible method of augmenting the powers of the memory, is frequent, regular, and well-directed exercise.

In order to improve the memory, it is necessary to acquire a confidence in it. Many render it treacherous by fearing to trust it; and a practice has arisen from this fear, really injurious, though apparently useful. It is the practice of committing to writing every thing which the student remarks, and desires to remember. Nothing is more common, and nothing more effectually frustrates the purpose it means to promote. It is better that many things should be lost, than retained in the table-book, without confiding in the memory. Like a generous friend, the memory will repay habitual confidence with fidelity.

There are injudicious and illiterate persons, who consider the cultivation of the memory as the first object in education. They think it is to be loaded with historical minutiæ, and with chronological dates. They entertain a mean opinion of the scholar, who cannot recite matters of fact, however trivial, and specify the year of an event, however doubtful or insignificant. They expect to have the chapter and verse mentioned on every citation, and are more pleased with that little accuracy, than with a just recollection of a beautiful passage, or a striking sentiment. But to labour to remember unideal dates, and uninteresting transactions, must ever be an irksome study to a lively genius; and he who shall train young persons in this laborious track, will give them a disgust for literature. It is to feed them with the husks of learning, which, as they are both dry and hard, afford neither pleasure nor nourishment. Let the reading be pleasant and striking, and the memory will grasp and retain all that is sufficient for the purposes of valuable improvement.

There is one circumstance, which has had an unfavorable influence on aspiring at the excellence of a retentive memory. An idea has prevailed, that memory and genius are seldom united. To be possessed of memory in a great degree, has led some to conclude, that genius was deficient; and all pretensions to memory have been readily sacrificed for the credit of possessing genius. Pope's famous lines,

in which he ſays, that the beams of a warm imagination diſſolve the impreſſions on the memory, ſeem to have induced thoſe who wiſhed to be thought to poſſeſs a fine imagination, to neglect their memory, in order to poſſeſs one ſymptom of a fine imagination.

In giving great attention to the cultivation of the memory, there is danger leſt it ſhould be overladen with minute objects; a circumſtance highly injurious, eſpecially in the courſe of education. Let it therefore be conſidered, that a good memory, according to a ſimilitude of Eraſmus, reſembles a net, ſo made as to confine all the great fiſh, but to let the little ones eſcape.

A general VIEW *of* SIBERIA *and its* INHABITANTS.

[*By M. Patrin.*]

A DESIRE to become acquainted with the northern part of Aſia, and to bring home uſeful knowledge, and intereſting productions, has induced me to reſide eight years, amidſt all the rigour of thoſe ſevere climates, and to ſtudy nature in the vicinity of the pole.

This vaſt country, to us ſo little known, offers to our view ſome curious objects in plants and minerals. To theſe I principally directed my reſearches, and had the happineſs to bring home ſome collections highly valuable. Theſe are materials proper for extending our knowledge in natural hiſtory. But before I enter into any detail reſpecting them, it may be proper to give a general notion of the country, and its inhabitants.

Siberia, which is ſubject to the Ruſſian empire, is ſeparated from it by a long chain of mountains, which extend north and ſouth for near five hundred leagues. The Ruſſians emphatically call it, 'The Girdle of the Earth.' It is the natural limit between Europe and Aſia. Towards the ſouth it is bounded by an immenſe cluſter of mountains, extending from weſt to eaſt as far as the frontiers of China; north and eaſt by the frozen ſea, and the ſtreight which ſeparates it from America.

This vaſt tract is traverſed from ſouth to north, by many of the largeſt rivers in the world.

The inhabitants of this country, as diſmal as it is extenſive, in which the froſt continues for nine months in the year, are not numerous. In a ſpace of fifteen hundred leagues long, and ſix hundred leagues broad, they ſcarcely amount to 1,200,000 ſouls, which conſiſt of Ruſſians and hords of Tartars.

As to the Ruſſians, there appears the moſt ſingular uniformity. In the extremity of Siberia, the human race appear preciſely the ſame as at Moſcow; the ſame language, the ſame kind of clothing, and the houſes on the ſame plan.

The phyſical conſtitution of the Ruſſians is well known; they are the moſt robuſt and vigorous people on the earth. The Ruſſian women are not elegantly made, but their faces are of a beautiful carna-

tion; their language, the ſound of their voices, and all their manner, have ſuch a bewitching ſoftneſs, and are ſo ſtrongly attractive, that few men can be near them with indifference. To a Ruſſian it is impoſſible; for though born in a frozen climate, their conſtitutions are extremely hot. The electric fluid, which abounds ſo much towards the poles, produces the ſame effect on them, as the rays of the ſun do in the tropical climates.

The Ruſſian women, who are extremely fond of dreſs, although their education is rather ſtrict, know how to uſe the advantages nature has given them; they are ſcarcely out of their infancy, before they are able, by the price of their charms, to ſatisfy their vanity; and the luxury of their cloathing, among the inferior claſs, would aſtoniſh, if we were not able to judge by what means they procure them.

All their cloathing is of ſilk or cotton, of the moſt brilliant colours, never of woollen or linen, although Ruſſia has thoſe commodities in great plenty. Theſe remarks will alſo apply to Siberia, except for a very few who inhabit the moſt retired villages.

The Ruſſians ſpeak French, and many foreign languages, with aſtoniſhing facility. Their tongue, which we ſhould believe to be equally rude as their climate, is, on the contrary, ſoft, flexible, and one of the fineſt exiſting. The diminutives which abound in it, give it an infinite grace in the mouths of the women. Its mechaniſm is much like the Greek, and is ſo eaſy, that few languages are learned in ſhorter time.

The language of the Tartars is, on the contrary, of a moſt diſguſting nature.—Theſe people are diſperſed in tribes through Siberia, and live under the protection of Ruſſia; part of thoſe which inhabit the frontiers of Europe are Mahometans, and apply themſelves to agriculture and commerce; their language is a dialect of the Arabic; thoſe which inhabit the eaſtern part of Siberia are *nomades*, or wanderers, and live in tents; they ſpeak the Mogul language, and are idolaters.

The Mahomedan Tartars, who inhabit the Ruſſian villages, live in quarters by themſelves, which are always the beſt built and moſt agreeable. They appear to enjoy eaſy circumſtances. They give tea and other refreſhments in veſſels of ſilver.

During my reſidence in Siberia, I had an opportunity to ſee a great many of theſe Tartars, and found many of them remarkably honeſt.

All the hords of Tartars have great reſemblance to each other. The religion of the wandering Tartars appears to be idolatry, but they acknowledge a Supreme being. They have a Delai Lama, who is ſovereign and pontiff of a large ſtate on the frontiers of China. Their prieſts, whom they call lamas, are men better informed than they are generally thought to be.

On the tops of hills, in the deſarts inhabited by theſe Tartars, I have ſeen places for prayer, a kind of temple, of the ſimpleſt ſtructure; they are in the ſhape of cones, about thirty feet high, formed from young trees, brought from the neighbouring foreſts, hung round with the ſkins of animals. Theſe are offerings to the Deity, whom they emphatically call the GREAT BEING. Wherever I ſaw theſe re-

ligious monuments, I obſerved that there extended from the cone, for ſeveral toiſes each way, four heaps of ſtones, directed to the four cardinal points of the compaſs.—This was not the effect of chance. I obſerved many of them with a compaſs in my hand, and found them very correct.

I once aſked a lama the meaning of this. 'Does not the Great Being,' ſaid he 'breathe on us from the four points of the compaſs, and ought we not to anſwer him each way by our prayers? Look at theſe ſtones, they are written on.' I admired the ſublimity of the idea, and obſerved ſome characters on the ſtones.

Among theſe people adultery is very rare, and is puniſhed in a very ſingular manner: the guilty perſon is carried into the middle of a foreſt, and left there, with a bow and ſome arrows, but no horſe, and is left to his deſtiny. A Tartar, uſed to be on horſeback from his cradle, knows not how to walk; none of theſe unfortunate beings were ever known to appear again.

Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their manners, no people are more hoſpitable than the Tartars. Wherever I went I was received like a friend. I was fond of living in their tents, as I there breathed an air of liberty. The haſte theſe people make to receive ſtrangers, ariſes partly from a natural curioſity. At night, when I have employed myſelf in arranging my collection of plants, I have obſerved the family ranged round me, in profound ſilence, attentive to my plants. I aſked them what they thought? They told me they perceived I was preparing offerings to the GREAT BEING. The notes I wrote and faſtened to the different ſpecies, confirmed them in this; they thought they were prayers. When I endeavoured to undeceive them, they would ſcarcely believe me.

The wandering life of theſe people is proper for hunting, it forms one of their principal occupations; but they do not much quit the plains. They cannot climb the mountains, where the fineſt ſables are to be found. The exiles in Siberia were formerly employed in hunting this animal, but they have lately become ſcarce, and theſe unfortunate wretches are employed in the mines. Some few free Ruſſians, actuated by a hope of gain, alone employ themſelves in theſe huntings; the occupation is truly frightful.

Furniſhed with a ſack of meal, ſome ſalt, a kettle to dreſs his meat, and two long ſnow-ſhoes and a muſket, the hunter ſets off in the midſt of winter, at which time the fur is the fineſt. Thus equipped, he goes for three months into the moſt frightful and retired ſolitudes, acroſs rocks and precipices, paſſing the nights in huts of ſnow, and expoſed all day to the rigour of a moſt piercing cold.

DETRACTION *and* GOOD-NATURE. A VISION.

I FOUND myſelf, during the ſlumbers of the night, in a very extenſive region, which was ſubject to the juriſdiction of a fury named Detraction. The fields were wild, and carried not the leaſt appearance of cultivation. The tops of the hills were covered with

ſnow; and the whole country ſeemed to mourn the inclement ſeverity of an eternal winter. Inſtead of the verdure of the pleaſing herbage, there ſprang up to ſight hemlock, aconite, and other baneful plants. The woods were the retreats of ſerpents; while on the boughs were perched the birds of night, brooding in doleful ſilence.

In the middle of the plain was a bleak mountain, where I diſcovered a group of figures, which I preſently made up to. The ſummit preſented the fury of the place. There was a peculiar deformity attending her perſon. Her eyes were galled and inflamed; her viſage was ſwoln and terrible; and from her mouth proceeded a two-edged ſword. A blaſted oak was the throne which ſhe ſat on: her food was the fleſh of vipers, and her drink was gall and vinegar.

At a little diſtance from her, I obſerved Ignorance talking loud in his own applauſe, Pride ſtrutting upon tiptoe, Conceit practiſing at a mirror, and Envy, like a vulture, preying upon herſelf.

The multitudes who paid their adreſſes to this fury, were a compoſition of all nations and profeſſions, of different characters, and various capacities. There was the mechanic, the tradeſman, the ſcholar; but the moſt zealous votaries conſiſted principally of old maids, antiquated bachelors, diſcarded courtiers, and the like. Each ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with the fury, by ſacrificing the moſt valuable of his friends; nor could proximity of blood move compaſſion, or plead exemption from being victims to her inſatiable paſſion. Some addreſſed this infernal Moloch with the very fruits of their bodies, while others were triumphantly chaunting forth the extent of her power, and expatiating on the numbers of her conqueſts. At this inſtant aroſe in my breaſt all the tender ſentiments of humanity that I had ever cultivated; and I began to blame my criminal curioſity, which had prompted me to aſcend the mountain. But in a few moments the whole ſcene was very agreeably reverſed: for, towards the ſouthern boundaries, I obſerved the clouds parting, the ſky purpling, and the ſun breaking forth in all its glory; when immediately there appeared marching towards us Good-nature, in all her pomp and ſplendor, arrayed like a ſylvan nymph, and blooming with unſtudied graces. She was of a fair and ruddy complexion, which received additional beauty from the frequent ſmiles that overſpread her countenance. On her right hand ſhone Good-ſenſe, with much majeſty and diffidence in her mien. She was an eſſential attendant on the young lady, who never appeared to ſuch advantage as when ſhe was under her more immediate direction. On her left was Generoſity, carrying a heart in her hand. The next that preſented was Modeſty, with her eyes fixed on the ground, and her cheeks ſpread with roſes. Then followed a train of beauties, who, by the unaffected charms of their perſons, made me deſirous of a nearer inſpection. Upon a cloſe approach I diſcovered that they were a tribe of amiable ladies, who were always fond of appearing in the retinue of the goddeſs, from whoſe indulgent ſmiles they received an additional luſtre to their charms. I then turned my eyes towards the monſters I have above deſcribed; the principal of which turned pale, and fell down in a ſwoon from her throne. Pride ſhrunk into a ſhade; Envy fell proſtrate and bit the ground; while Igno-

rance vanifhed like a morning cloud before the rifing fun. As the goddefs drew near, the whole collection of fiends difappeared. The bafilifk fkulked into the glade, and the oak, on which the fury was feated, budded forth afrefh. Wherever the goddefs walked, the flowers fprang up fpontaneous at her feet. The trees, animated with new-born life, difplayed the enamelled blofform. The tender roe was feen bounding over the mountains, and the little lamb fporting on the hills. Inftead of the briar and the thorn, there fhot forth the myrtle, and every odoriferous fhrub. The voice of the turtle was heard in the groves, and the dales refounded with the melodious harmony of the nightingale. In a word, the whole region confefled the happy influence of the deity, and charmed in all the genial foftnefs of the fpring.

A VINDICATION *of the* FAIR SEX, *againft the Charge of preferring* COXCOMBS *to Men of* WORTH *and* GENIUS.

IT has frequently been obferved, by the petulance of wit, and the peevifhnefs of unfuccefsful lovers, that genius and learning are fmall recommendations to the favour of the fair; and that the fex, fo far from holding in due eftimation the fuperior endowments of the mind, are always ready to prefer the flimfy tribe of fycophants and coxcombs, to thofe whofe labours have tended to advance the happinefs of fociety, or whofe talents have given fplendor to their age and country. 'If you mean,' fay they, 'to conciliate the favour of thefe children of affectation and frivolity, you muft renounce at once the deportment and dignity of a rational being, confult their fantaftic whims, flatter, with inceffant praife, their filly vanity, and devote your whole attention to the moft unmanly and degrading trifles; in fhort, you muft affume the pliancy of a fpaniel, and the pert vivacity of an ape.'

But this heinous charge, however generally admitted, and however apparently fupported by the frequent difappointments, in their tender attachments, of literati and men of genius, I am inclined to confider as deftitute of folid and rational foundation; nay I will venture to affert, that when facts are properly examined, we fhall find that the want of fuccefs, in this particular, of which men of letters fo frequently complain, is chiefly to be afcribed to their own folly, (to give it no harfher name) and is, in many inftances, rather a proof of the good fenfe, than of the weaknefs of the fex fo unjuftly fatirifed.

That mere coxcombs are fometimes carefled, is undoubtedly true; and fo are lap-dogs, and monkies: but what is the proportion, or the defcription of females, who beftow their careffes upon either? The queftion is eafily anfwered. There are undoubtedly fribbles and idiots of either fex; and it is fit that they fhould keep each other in countenance. But if we confult the conduct and fentiments of females, whofe underftandings are not greatly below the common ftan-

dard, we ſhall find them almoſt univerſally prepoſſeſſed in favour of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their learning, their genius, or their good ſense: and if they who are fortunate enough to procure favour by their reputation, forfeit it afterward by their conduct, it cannot be difficult to aſſign the cenſure to its proper cauſe.

The annals of gallantry, could they be fairly preſented to our view, would convince us that men are generally ſucceſsful, in proportion to the extent of their capacities; and if we are obliged to make a mortifying exception, with reſpect to men of ſuperlative talents, ſhall we not alſo be compelled to aſſign a cauſe for this exception, ſtill more degrading to literary pride; and to confeſs, that, if even fribbles and coxcombs ſometimes ſucceed, while poets and ſcholars are rejected, there is but too much reaſon to ſuſpect, that the latter are ſometimes leſs calculated to make a rational being happy; ſince innumerable facts will ſupport the aſſertion, that they are frequently more ſullen, more tyrannical, and unſocial; more devoted to ſelfiſh pride, and even leſs communicative and entertaining (within the circle of their own families) than their moſt illiterate rivals? And what degree of happineſs can ſuperior talents confer, if the ſoothing graces of a ſociable, affable, accommodating diſpoſition are entirely wanting?

'I underſtand you,' cries the ſurly ſtudent. 'It is not for the ſuperiority of our capacities; it is not for our talents and acquirements that we are to expect regard; it is by ſacrificing theſe endowments at the ſhrine of female vanity. The cauſe of our failure is ſufficiently evident: we cannot ſubmit to thoſe little, idle, fribbling, and ſervile attentions, with which other men conciliate their favour, by degrading themſelves.'

Nor is it neceſſary. Civility, common reſpect, tenderneſs, good humour, and ſome little vivacity, will be more gratifying to the female mind, than all the flattering ſervility of fools, or the light impertinence of fops: and the man of learning or of genius, who cannot *condeſcend* thus far, has no right to complain, if the eſteem of his talents is not able to ſubdue the diſguſt which his manners muſt inſpire; nor is the fair one to be cenſured for the rejection of a man, who is too proud of his talents to treat her with tenderneſs and eſteem, or whoſe ſcholaſtic roughneſs renders him neglectful of all the ſocial ſoftneſs, which gives to life its ſweeteſt charms, and without which conjugal happineſs, or even the pleaſures of friendſhip, muſt be ſought in vain. Learning and genius, like beauty and feminine vivacity, are to be conſidered but as the ornaments of life, the eſſentials of which are good temper and virtue; and wherever theſe latter, or either of them, are wanting, no talents, however brilliant, can give their poſſeſſor any genuine title to love, or even to eſteem.

I do not mean to inſinuate, that moroſeneſs and ill-humour are neceſſary concomitants of genius; or that great mental acquirements unfit a man for happineſs and ſocial enjoyment. There are certainly many, who blend the greateſt learning with the moſt engaging good humour, and to the fire of genius add the brilliancy of elegant manners; and ſuch are ever ſecure of the moſt gratifying reception from

the fair. All I mean to insinuate is, that when men of letters are neglected by the sex, they owe not their disgrace to the eminence of their abilities, but to some qualities or habits, which, as they might remove them without injury to their talents, it is their duty to themselves and society to reform, instead of cherishing them with irrational pride.

The ADVANTAGES *of* ECONOMY, *illustrated in the Character of* FRUGAL.

MY neighbour Frugal orders his family to bed so early, that they may rise with the sun the year round. Thus he saves candles; for the sun lights him for nothing; and he reckons the sun affords a better light than a candle. Morning drams, and flip before dinner, he has disused for many years. This is a considerable saving: and he now enjoys better health, and eats with a better appetite, than when he used them. He keeps a plenty of wholesome food—good beer and cider; and requires of his labourers no more work than they can perform with the strength of these. Ardent spirits, he thinks, ought to be reserved for occasional use. And he says, his people do more work, and do it much better, than they did four years ago, when he indulged them in the free use of rum. Besides, they seldom quarrel with one another. When he sees a young fellow turn down two or three glasses of rum in quick succession, "There," says he, "is a fellow who will always be poor: he will be a drunkard before he is forty years old." As he was once on a visit to a friend's house, in a town at some distance, he saw a man in a poor habit, with a bottle in his hand, passing the street before sun down, on saturday. He observed that the man went into a retailer's shop, and soon returned, and went into a small house. "There," says Mr. Frugal to his friend, "is a miserable family, soon to be maintained by the town. They waste the earnings of the week in rum. They cannot keep sunday without a bottle. They never go to meeting. I dare say, the women and children are as nasty and ragged as Hottentots, and almost as ignorant. They plead, I suppose, in excuse for not going to church, or sending their children to school, that they are so poor, and have so many rates to pay, that they cannot procure clothes. If one of the family happens to be sick, I presume the neighbourhood must be called upon, to supply them with the necessaries of life. And all this for rum."—"You have hit it exactly," says the gentleman of the house: "And this is the case of several other families among us. Rum is the ruin of them."

Frugal never goes to a tavern without business, nor tarries longer than to finish the business that called him there. If he meets a friend, whom he is glad to see, instead of treating him at the tavern, he invites him to his house; for he says, he can better give a friend a dinner or supper at home, than half a mug of flip at a tavern; and can enjoy more social chat. He observes, that some men invite their

friends to the tavern, because they love the place themselves; and then, by tavern-expenses they are become so poor, that they cannot entertain a friend at their own houses. At the tavern, they can go upon tick, and pay off all by and by, in a lump, with a cow or a piece of land.

Frugal is punctual to pay his debts; and never contracts more than he can pay in a season. Thus he saves interest, the expense of suits, and the vexation of contentions with his neighbours. I need not tell you, that Frugal is a thriving man; and there never was a better neighbour.

On the MISAPPLICATION *of* FRUGALITY.

THE economist recommends *saving*, as the way to make *gain*. But he will be asked, whether a man's *gains* are always in proportion to his *savings?* Certainly they are not so, unless he saves with discretion. There is an extreme in saving, as well as in spending. The former may be as inconsistent with thriving, as the latter. "There is that witholdeth more than is meet; but it tendeth to poverty." Parcus is a husbandman. His father, twenty years ago, left him in possession of a good farm, which he has industriously occupied ever since; but he has made no progress. He has only just kept his ground; and the only difficulty is, he is afraid of every thing that looks like expense. He carries all his savings to an extreme.

If he buys a coat, he aims at the cheapest cloth in the shop, and thus always gets the poorest. The trimmings, the taylor's bill, and the time spent in going half a dozen times to the taylor, before the coat is finished, are about the same, as if he had bought a good substantial coat; but it does not afford half the service.

There is not a farmer in the town, who, with the same quantity of hay, keeps so numerous a stock. But though he seldom sells or kills a beef, or a mutton, he only just keeps his number good. His sheep shed half their wool before shearing time; his cattle arrive not to their growth, until they are five or six years old; and then they are but dwarfs: and his yard, every spring, is the rendezvous of all the neighbouring crows; and all because he is too saving of his hay. If he can make his creatures live through the winter, he thinks he does well. His object is to keep a large stock on a little hay.

If he buys a breeding mare, what he principally regards is a low price. He does not consider that a low-priced animal will eat as much as any other; and that her foals are not of half the value. His buildings fall into ruins, because he dreads the expense of repairing: and the very timbers are roting, while he tries to make the old covering last as long as possible. Rather than be at the expense of convenient implements for his husbandry, he depends on borrowing; and the time lost for want of them, and spent in borrowing and returning, every year amounts to five times the value. Thus

Parcus carries on his business, and, with great industry, on a good farm, he just supports a moderate family; while several of his neighbours, on farms no better, and with less labour, are growing rich, only by *discretion* in saving, and *judgment* in spending.

On the FOLLY *of* ENGAGING *in* TRIFLING STUDIES.

IF some persons be prevented from acquiring useful knowledge, by their intellectual incapacity, there are others, who, possessing talents, fail of important attainments, by wearing away their time in trivial studies. A person generally supposes he gives a satisfactory account of employing himself, when he can say, he has been engaged in reading. He may, however, deceive himself, as well as others, in this respect. It is not more common, or more disagreeable, to find men deficient in their ideas, from a neglect of books, than it is to observe them bloated with false and frivolous notions, by an injudicious choice of authors. An acquaintance of mine, who is celebrated for his literary taste and ingenuity, invited me, the other morning, to look at his library, which is said to be an excellent one. If singularity can give a claim to merit, my friend deserves great praise for his collection of books; for he has certainly filled his shelves with such performances, as scarcely any man but himself would ever think of purchasing. After expatiating upon a variety of authors I had never heard of, and a still greater number I had never read, he told me he had taken immense pains to ascertain every minute circumstance relative to the building of Noah's ark. No history, either sacred or profane, that threw any light upon that interesting subject, had escaped his notice. "It is," he said, "to be regretted, that the particulars, of that celebrated work of antiquity, are not more generally known." The vast delight he had found in his researches, he assured me, were not to be described. As I considered myself uselessly employed in hearing his descriptions, my readers would make the same remark, if this essay communicated a conversation so unimportant. My friend informed me of many other equally curious discoveries or attainments; and his pride seemed to consist in knowing, what none of his acquaintance knew, or had any inclination to know.

The design of reading, is not so much to increase the quantity of our knowledge, as the quality and utility of it. Men of leisure, who have patience of investigation, may, perhaps, employ themselves in useless enquiries, without producing any hurtful effects: indeed they may happen to strike upon some discovery from which benefit will result. But where such an ardour of curiosity prevails, as to induce people to researches, from which no practical advantage is derived, it disqualifies them for active pursuits in life.

It should be an established rule with every person, who reads, to enquire of himself, when he lays aside his book, whether he have gained any ideas at all, and whether they be just and useful. To read, and yet to acquire no ideas, is, at any rate, a destruction of time: but the mere loss of time is not so pernicious, as to catch sentiments that are fallacious or trifling.

EXTRACT *from a "Practical Essay on raising* APPLE-TREES *and making* CIDER;" communicated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, by Mr. A. CROCKER.*

THE business of the cider-maker comes next under consideration; and therein much labour and attention must be employed, or the nursery-man has been working in vain.

About the beginning of October he will find his apples, in general, sufficiently ripe for gathering; this he will know by slightly shaking a loaded bough of an apple tree; for if the apples fall freely it is an indication of their being sufficiently matured for his purpose.

He must then progressively shake the boughs of his trees, (but not pole any, leaving the unripe apples for further maturation,) and gather into heaps this golden harvest of *Pomona*, keeping each kind of fruit by itself. These heaps of apples (which should not be more than a foot deep) must remain in the orchard, or some other open place, for a fortnight or more; in which time they will, in general, acquire a sufficient degree of melioration to be made into cider. Should severe frost set in, these heaps of apples must be covered with straw.

His mill, press, and vessels being previously cleaned, † he must now grind his apples to a pretty fine pumice, and, without much delay, proceed to the expressing of the juice; putting the pumice, for that purpose, into very clean horse hair cloths, or making a cheese thereof with bandages of sweet, clean, wheat reed; taking care not to mix the pumice of various kinds of apples in one cider-cheese, especially of sweet and sour fruit.

The juice thus expressed must be strained through a fine hair-sieve into an open vessel, and from thence conveyed to the casks, which should previously be placed in an open cellar: the bungs of which must be left unstopped, that the gross fæces of the first fermentation may be discharged thereat.

Very particular attention must now be paid to the cider, to catch (as it were) the very moment of the first fining thereof,‡ and immediately to rack it off into a clean, open vessel; where it must remain eighteen or twenty hours; after which it must be tunned into another cask, properly cleaned, and, if need be, matched.§ This first

* It is proposed to publish the whole essay in the Memoirs of the Academy.

† "In none of which must any *lead* be used, lest a poison be thereby administered to those who drink the cider."

‡ This is best observed by drawing out a glass-full frequently, and holding it to the light: Or it may pretty accurately be known by the discharged fæces becoming brown, and beginning to crack.

§ Matching a cask is intended either to suppress an improper fermentation in the cider; to give some particular flavour thereto; or to increase the spirit thereof; and is thus performed. Take a strip of canvass cloth, about eighteen inches long and two broad; one half of which must be dipped in brimstone, [melted in an earthen pan] whereon some pounded Oris root, grains of Paradise, Coriander seeds, Winter's bark, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, or other pungent aromaticks have been strewed.

fining of the cider, made at this ſeaſon of the year, from ſour fruit, will happen within thirty or perhaps twenty hours after making; that of ſweet fruit in not leſs than forty or fifty hours. Hence appears the neceſſity of keeping the different kinds of apples ſeparate: For ſhould a commixture of fruit be admitted, the juice of the ſweet apple will not get fine until the ſecond fermentation of that of the ſour has begun, and a perpetual, unnatural fermentation will enſue, and continue perhaps for months, robbing the cider of its ſaccharine parts, and converting the whole into an acid liquor, unpleaſant to the palate, and far leſs wholeſome than it would have been if duly managed.*

In a very ſhort time after the cider is become fine, if it be not racked, as before directed, the acid fermentation begins. This may be perceived by a hiſſing noiſe, very diſtinctly heard on applying the ear to the bung of the caſk; and its effects can only be remedied (and that but in part) by drawing it off, as ſoon as perceived, into an open veſſel, and ſuffering it there to remain for thirty or forty hours, before it be again turned into a freſh caſk, and by mixing therewith ſome good French brandy, about the quantity of a quart to a hogſhead of cider; or by matching the caſk, in manner ſpoken of in a preceding note.

But permit it to be ſuppoſed that the cider-maker has been cautious enough to catch the firſt fining above mentioned, and to have managed it according to the preceding directions, he will then have nothing more to do therewith until the February or March following, when it will be proper, in a mild ſeaſon of fair weather, to give it another racking; and, if need be, to commix that which was made from ſour fruit (which may be too pale) with that which was made from ſweet fruit, (which is generally dark coloured) thereby giving it as well a proper flavour, as that high amber-colour, which, in the glaſs, is pleaſing to the eye.†

When this match is dry, it muſt be lighted, and put into a caſk, [pendent from the bung] in which a few gallons of cider have been before hand tunned; where it muſt remain until it be burnt out. The caſk muſt remain cloſe ſtopped for an hour or more, and then rolled to and fro, to incorporate the fumes of the match with the cider: After which it muſt be nearly filled with the remaining cider. If the matching be intended merely to ſuppreſs an improper fermentation, the brimſtone alone will be ſufficient; but if an additional flavour and ſpirit be required, take ſuch of the other ingredients as may be liked beſt. For increaſing the ſpirit, it ſeems unneceſſary to be over curious in the choice of the ingredients; for "all the pungent aromaticks have a ſurpriſing property of increaſing the quantity of ſpirit." [Shaw's *Chymical Eſſays.*]

* Chymiſts inform us, and experience confirms the poſition, that vegetable juices undergo *various fermentations*, very different in their effects: The firſt is called *vinous*, and ſo changes the property of the *muſt*, that, by diſtillation, an inflammable ſpirit may be extracted; which, before, could not be done: The ſecond is called *acetous*, converting the liquor into vinegar: All the ſucceeding fermentations are of the *putrefactive* kind, forming mucilage, volatile alcali, &c. Hence appears a philoſophick reaſon for attending particularly to the cider in its early ſtages; that the acetous and future fermentations may be prevented, and the firſt only permitted.

† Should the colour be ſtill too pale, ſome lump ſugar, melted in an iron ſtew-pan and commixed with ſome cider, whilſt in a fluid ſtate, will heighten it to any degree of colour required.

The vessels should, at this time of racking be placed in a close cellar. At the return of the season, when apple trees are again in bloom, the cider will be found in a slight fermentation: Until this operation of nature is past, the vessels must remain unstopped; but as soon as this this is perfected, the cork may be placed on the bung, and daily pressed more and more tight. Should the cider be intended for bottling, it will be best to do it in the beginning of April, leaving the bottles uncorked, for eighteen or twenty hours after their being filled.

Thus, by the month of June or July, the cider-maker will be possessed of a sparkling, vinous, animating liquor; fit for the best subjects of "the free and independent states of America" to regale themselves with.

DESCRIPTION *of the* MISSISIPPI RIVER.

[By THOMAS HUTCHINS, Esq. late Geographer to the United States.]

THE great length and uncommon depth of this river, and the excessive muddiness and salubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Missouri, are very singular*. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. It may be shortened at least 250 miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not thirty yards wide.—Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupee, (or Cut Point) the river made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil of so rich and loose a quality, that in a short time the point was entirely cut through, and travellers saved 14 leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been since sounded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding bottom.

In the spring floods the Missisippi is very high, and the current so strong, that with difficulty it can be ascended; but that disadvantage is compensated by eddies or counter-currents, which always run in the bends close to the banks of the river, with nearly equal velocity, against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles; but it is rapid in such parts of the river, as have clusters of islands, shoals, and sand-banks. The circumference of many of these shoals

* In a half-pint tumbler of this water, has been found a sediment of two inches of slime. It is, notwithstanding, extremely wholesome and well tasted, and very cool in the hottest seasons of the year; the rowers, who are then employed, drink of it when they are in the strongest perspiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans use no other water than that of the river, which, by keeping in jars, becomes perfectly clear.

being several miles, the voyage is longer, and in some parts more dangerous, than in the spring.—The merchandise necessary for the commerce of the upper settlements on or near the Missisippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in batteaux, rowed by 18 or 20 men, and carrying about 40 tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks.—A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, intersperse this mighty river. Its depth increases as you ascend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Ibberville, never return within them again: These singularities distinguish it from every other river in the known world.—Below New Orleans the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river across the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. This point of land which, in the treaty of peace in 1762, is mistaken for an island, is to all appearance of no long date; for digging ever so little below the surface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well as inlets, which arose out of the channel within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs, that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Missisippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

The nearer you approach to the sea, this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the stream; one of which, stopped by its roots or branches, in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place.—Such collections of trees are daily seen between the Balize and the Missouri, which singly would supply the largest city in Europe with fuel for several years. No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height.—In less than ten years time, canes and shrubs grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be asserted, with certainty, respecting its length. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of 3000 miles from the sea, as the river runs. We only know, that from St. Anthony's fall, it glides with a pleasant clear stream, and becomes comparatively narrow before its junction with the Missouri, the muddy waters of which immediately discolour the lower part of the river to the sea.—Its rapidity, breadth, and other peculiarties then begin to give it the majestic appearance of Missouri; which affords a more extensive navigation, and is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Missisippi. It has been ascended, by French traders, above twelve or thirteen hundred miles! and, from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Missouri river to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Missisippi is (some few places excepted) higher than the

eastern. From Mine au-fer to the Ibberville, the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernible rising or eminence, the distance of 750 miles. From the Ibberville to the sea, there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the higher of the two, as far as the English turn. Thence the banks gradually diminished in height, to the mouths of the river, where they are not two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The slime which the annual floods of the river Missisippi leave on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which deposits a similar manure, and, for many centuries past, has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated as the excellency of its soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population will equal that of any other part of the world. The trade, wealth, and power of America will, at some future period, depend, and perhaps centre, upon the Missisippi.—This also resembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all issuing into a sea, that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and south by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the Mexican bay is by North and South America.—The smaller mouths of this river might be easily stopped up, by means of those floating trees with which the river, during the flood, is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left, would probably grow deep, as well as the bar.

An objection has been often made by misinformed men, otherwise of great abilities, who too credulously believed that the navigation of the Missisippi river, on account of its rapid current, was more difficult than it is in reality. It appears, from the calculation made by several skilful and experienced travellers, that in the autumn, when the waters are low, the current descends at the rate of about one and a half or two miles in an hour; and that the waters are in this state more than one half of the year. In the spring, when the freshes are up, or at their greatest height, the current runs at the rate of five or six miles. It is true, that the navigation would be difficult at that season, to those who sail or row up against the stream; but there is no example of such folly. When the waters of this river are high, the commodities and produce of the interior country are gathered, and prepared for exportation with the descending current; and, when the waters are low, the produce of the interior country is growing to maturity. This is the time for the navigator's importation. Great advantages are likewise taken then from eddy currents. At present, there are few builders skilful enough to construct vessels better calculated for that navigation, than those already mentioned. Time and experience will doubtless produce improvements, and render the navigation of this river nearly as cheap as any other.—But that the Missisippi can answer every purpose of trade and commerce, is proved to a demonstration, by the rapid progress the French, German, and Acadian inhabitants on that river, have made. They have attained a state of opulence never before so soon acquired in any new country; and this was effected under all the discouragements of an indolent and rapacious government. It may be further asserted, that

no country in North America, or perhaps in the univerſe, exceeds the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi, in fertility of ſoil and temperature of climate. Both ſides of this river are truly remarkable for the very great diverſity and luxuriancy of their productions. They might probably be brought, from the favourableneſs of the climate, to produce two annual crops of Indian corn, as well as rice; and with little cultivation would furniſh grain of every kind in the greateſt abundance.—But this value is not confined to the fertility and immenſity of champaign lands; their timber is as fine as any in the world, and the quantities of live and other oak, aſh, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypreſs, and cedar, are aſtoniſhing.—The neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi, beſides, furniſhes the richeſt fruits in great variety; particularly grapes, oranges, and lemons in the higheſt perfection. It produces ſilk, cotton, ſaſſafras, ſaffron, and rhubarb; is peculiarly adapted for hemp and flax, and in goodneſs of tobacco equals the Brazils; and indigo is at this time a ſtaple commodity, which commonly yields the planter from three to four cuttings. In a word, whatever is rich or rare in the moſt deſirable climates in Europe, ſeems natural to ſuch a degree on the Miſſiſippi, that France, though ſhe ſent few or no emigrants into Louiſiana but decayed ſoldiers, or perſons in indigent circumſtances, (and theſe very poorly ſupplied with the implements of huſbandry) ſoon began to dread a rival in her colony, particularly in the cultivation of vines, from which ſhe prohibited the coloniſts under a very heavy penalty; yet ſoil and ſituation triumphed over all political reſtraints, and the adventurers at the end of the war in 1762, were very little inferior to the moſt ancient ſettlements of America in all the modern refinements of luxury.

The Miſſiſippi furniſhes in great plenty ſeveral ſorts of fiſh; particularly perch, pike, ſturgeon, eel, and cats of a monſtrous ſize. Crawfiſh abound in this country; they are in every part of the earth, and when the inhabitants chuſe a diſh of them they ſend to their gardens, where they have a ſmall pond dug for that purpoſe, and are ſure of getting as many as they have occaſion for. A diſh of ſhrimps is as eaſily procured; by hanging a ſmall canvas bag with a bit of meat in it to the bank of the river, and letting it drop a little below the ſurface of the water, in a few hours a ſufficient quantity will have got into the bag. Shrimps are found in the Miſſiſippi as far as the Natchez, 348 miles from the ſea.

A Curious Account *of* Dress, *in* England, *in the Fourteenth Century.*

[From Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain.]

WHAT would exhibit a more fantaſtical appearance than an Engliſh beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long pointed ſhoes, faſtened to his knees by gold or ſilver chains; hoſe of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; ſhort breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs, and diſcloſed the

ſhape of all the parts included in them; a coat, one half white, and the other half black or blue; a long beard; a ſilk hood, buttoned under his chin, embroidered with groteſque figures of animals, dancing men, &c. and ſometimes ornamented with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. This dreſs was the very top of the mode, in the reign of Edward the Third.

The dreſs of the gay and faſhionable ladies, who frequented the public diverſions of thoſe times, was not more decent and becoming. It is thus deſcribed by Knyghton, A. D. 1348. Theſe tournaments are attended by many ladies of the firſt rank and greateſt beauty, but not always of the moſt untainted reputation. Theſe ladies are dreſſed in party-coloured tunicks, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another. Their lirripipes or tippets are very ſhort; their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and ſilver, and they wear ſhort ſwords, called daggers, before them, a little below their navels; they are mounted on the fineſt horſes, with the richeſt furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place, in queſt of tournaments, by which they diſſipate their fortunes, and ruin their reputation. The head-dreſſes of the ladies underwent many changes in the courſe of this period. They were ſometimes enormouſly high, riſing almoſt three feet above the head, in the ſhape of ſugar-loaves, with ſtreamers of fine ſilk flowing from the top of them to the ground. Upon the whole, I am fully perſuaded, that we have no good reaſon to pay any compliments to our anceſtors of this period, at the expenſe of our cotemporaries, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency of their dreſs.

Account of a ſubterraneous Paſſage, and the ſudden Deſcent of a very large Current of Water from a Mountain, near Carliſle; *alſo of a remarkably large Spring, near* Reading, *in* Pennſylvania.

[By Benjamin Lincoln, Eſq. F. A. A.]

ON the 2d of Auguſt, being at *Carliſle*, in the ſtate of *Pennſylvania*, I went to view a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had its entrance near a river into a rock. I followed it about two hundred and fifty feet: to this diſtance it was, in general, from ſix to ſeven feet high, and about the ſame in width. At the end of two hundred and fifty feet it divided into three branches.—As they were ſmaller, and more difficult to follow, and finding myſelf exceedingly chilled (which coſt me one of the ſickeſt nights I ever ſuffered) I gave up the purſuit, though I had proceeded but about half the diſtance, as I was informed by Col. *Butler*, who had been near the end. It appeared to me that it was a water-courſe, as the rocks were worn ſmooth, and indented in the manner they uſually are by a long running of water over them. The appearance overhead was curious; ſome parts were ſmooth like the ſides; other parts repreſented various figures, form-

ed by the water which had penetrated through the pores of the rock, and was now petrified and petrifying on its ſurface. The bottom was apparently earth and ſmall ſtones.

About three years ſince, the people in the vicinity of this town, who lived near the mountain, which is about ten miles from the village, were alarmed by a current of water overflowing the banks of the river. The cauſe they could not inveſtigate, as there had been, the night before, but a ſmall rain: however, they ſoon found the firſt effects of the water appeared within about twenty feet of the top of the mountain. Whether it burſt forth from the mountain, or was a column of water from the clouds, has not yet been aſcertained. The courſe in which it ran down the mountain was dry the next morning. It was confined to the width of twenty feet, perhaps leſs. It appeared to be about thirty feet deep, as could be diſcovered by its effects on thoſe trees which were not carried away by the water. It cut a paſſage in the ſide of the mountain, of about ſeven or eight feet wide, and near that depth. The traces of it are ſeen from the town, though, as I ſaid before, it is ten miles diſtant. One rock, of a very conſiderable weight, was thrown into the crotch of a tree, twelve feet from the ground, in which it remained for ſome time. When the water came into the valley, its impetuoſity was ſo great that it was not immediately diverted, but reached a ſmall riſing ground, through which it cut a paſſage; then followed the valley, and ſo on to the river, which was at ſome conſiderable diſtance. In its courſe, it carried off all the fences, and came upon the floors of ſome of the houſes. I have had ſome converſation with Mr. *Rittenhouſe* on the ſubject, who has been twice to ſee the effects of the water. It is his opinion, that it was not a column of water which burſted forth from the mountain, as it was near the top of one of the higheſt.

On my return to *Philadelphia*, in the neighbourhood of *Reading*, I came to the greateſt ſpring of water I had ever ſeen.—It is about fourteen feet deep, and about one hundred feet ſquare. A full mill-ſtream iſſues from it. The water is clear and full of fiſhes. To account for this body of water, was my enquiry. I ſoon found, that it was probably the riſing and burſting forth of a very conſiderable river, which ſunk into the ground and totally diſappeared, one mile and an half or two miles diſtant from this place.

The raiſing of MULES *recommended to Farmers.*

A PERSON well acquainted with the emoluments ariſing from Mules, recommends the raiſing of that laborious and lucrative animal to the more general attention of American farmers. Mules command a ready ſale, at forty or fifty dollars each, at one year old, though produced from mares of not half that value. They would be a valuable article of export to the Weſt-India iſlands, where they are much uſed, on the ſugar eſtates, and ſell for twenty, and from that to thirty guineas. For drudgery, they are far ſuperior to horſes; and require not one ſixth of the keeping, as they live upon the very refuſe of a farm. Their ſtrength and longevity ought to recommend them to the huſbandman, for the cultivation of the earth.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

IMPARTIAL REVIEW

Of American Publications.

An ENQUIRY *into the* CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY *of the* SUPREME FEDERAL COURT, *over the ſeveral States, in their political capacity. Being an anſwer to Obſervations upon the Government of the United States of America; by* James Sullivan, *Eſq. Attorney-General of the State of Maſſachuſetts. By a* Citizen of South-Carolina.——Charleſton, 1792—price 25 cents.

ALTHOUGH we have laid it down as a rule, to exclude from our review of new publications, every production which aims at no higher object than the propagation of religious or political feuds and animoſities; yet it affords us no ſmall degree of pleaſure, to announce to our readers, from time to time, the diſpaſſionate obſervations of men of talents on conſtitutional queſtions, or on political ſubjects, which appear to be ſo general in their nature, as to render them intereſting to our fellow-citizens.

Of Mr. Sullivan's ingenious "Obſervations upon the government of the united ſtates," we have already taken notice, in our review for September laſt. He appears to have been actuated by a keen republican jealouſy, for the ſovereignty of the individual ſtates, conſiſtently with which, or with the conſtitution of the united ſtates, he contends that they cannot be called, directly, to anſwer to a plaint preferred againſt them in the federal courts.

The author of the enquiry now before us, eſpouſes the contrary opinion; and enters into an able and elegant diſcuſſion of the ſubject, which he introduces by the following obſervations on the importance of guarding againſt pernicious precedents, in the outſet of our national government.

The diſcuſſion of conſtitutional queſtions will always be matter of general concern; but it is peculiarly intereſting at this period, when the conſtitution itſelf is new, its various modes of action undefined, its relative powers not fully unfolded, its principles not drawn out into practice, nor its virtues and defects compleatly aſcertained. As every movement under it muſt be conſidered almoſt as an experiment, ſo every thing eſtabliſhed under it will form a precedent, which may ripen into a rule.

Precedents eſtabliſhed in the infancy of government will have their laſting effects. Bad ones may vitiate and even deſtroy the beſt conſtitution; good ones may mollify and almoſt reconcile the worſt.

Mankind have always been found diſpoſed to ſubmit to the authority of precedent; and from whatſoever principle, in human nature, this proneneſs may ariſe, it cannot be denied to be productive of very beneficial effects. It ſtands a barrier againſt *verſatility* in general, which, in every department of life, and particularly in government, is radically dangerous. For ſince human nature is ever ſtruggling to accommodate herſelf to her ſituation, the ſtruggles would be endleſs if the ſituation were always changing. Indeed, a conſtitution cannot be ſaid to be fully eſtabliſhed, until this deſirable conformity is effected—its beſt ſecurity lies in the ſettled habits, the manners, the ſentiments, and the confirmed acquieſcence of the people. The river flowing in its ancient channel, which time has worn into uniformity, glides majeſtically on with

an eſtabliſhed momentum; but frequently conducted into new meanders, it becomes a noiſy boiſterous ſtream; or ſplitting into petty rivulets it loſes both its force and beauty The benefits of uniformity are not leſs obſervable in government, than in the broad expanſe of nature's works, in the ſyſtems of morals, or the regions of ſcience. It operate to harmonize the parts into a correſpondence with each other, to adjuſt and proportion them to the whole, keeping them conſiſtent in their proper ſtation; and, on the other hand, to make the whole a homogeneous ſyſtem, capable of being analyſed into its parts, and of preſerving equability of action throughout. This principle, co-operating with others, will ere long, I hope, ſettle our preſent conſtitution firmly upon its baſe; that it ſhall be recognized by the next generation, not as a ſyſtem to be tried by experiments, to be altered or repaired, but as one already ripened into uſe and approved—to be enjoyed by them, and tranſmitted down in ſucceſſive ages. Nor is it a gratification unworthy of being indulged, to view in anticipation, its future proſperity; when beſides its intrinſic excellence, it ſhall, by the the heary honours of antiquity, collected about it, attract the love, command the veneration, and enſure the obedience of generations long to come.

The benefit of good precedents, and the danger of bad ones, muſt bear an exact proportion to this promptitude in human nature to be thus influenced; and by an obvious conſequence, the importance of examining well all inſtitutions, at the outſet of the government, muſt correſpond in degree with both. Like a young man juſt upon his entrance into life, whoſe character will be fixed by his firſt tranſactions, our inceptive government will carry down into futurity the habits, the tone, and the diſpoſition which it may now receive.

To the gentleman whoſe principles and arguments our author oppoſes, he gives the moſt unqualified credit for purity of intention, and for patriotic virtue.

He, no doubt, believed as he wrote—and had it occurred to him, that in placing every ſtate ſuperior to the juriſdiction or controul of the ſupreme court of the union, he had left them without any conſtitutional umpire to decide their differences, but *arms*, or had rendered a civil war almoſt inevitable, whenever thoſe differences ſhould happen; he would have drawn his concluſion with reluctance, and perhaps have been impelled to teſt with a ſeverer ſcrutiny, the arguments which induced it.

This being a conſtitutional queſtion, our author draws his arguments from the *principles*, the *ſpirit*, the *tenor*, and the *words* of the charter itſelf. Ours being a government *ſui generis*, he contends that the deciſion of the queſtion, ought not to be influenced, in any degree, by examples taken from the political inſtitutions of other countries. Aware that the mode of reſolving conſtitutional queſtions, by arguments drawn from the *ſpirit* of the charter, might be objected to, by ſome, as dangerous and indefinite, he endeavours to ſhew that objections ought not to be made againſt the *uſe* of this mode of diſcuſſion, but only againſt the *abuſe* of it.

They conclude, that it is dangerous to truſt to ſo enlarged a ſcope of conſtruction. Theſe ſcruples have their foundation in the exceſs of republican jealouſy, rather than in ſolid reaſoning. While men are to legiſlate without the aid of inſpiration, much muſt be confided to their virtue, their wiſdom, and their patriotiſm. To theſe we muſt truſt in the end, let our conſtitution be framed as it may. If paſſion, prejudice, faction, and intereſt protrude themſelves into the ſyſtem, or if perſons of weak minds, or graſping ambition, are entruſted with the adminiſtration, the fault muſt be ſought for elſewhere than in the conſtitution. Againſt theſe no conſtitution can effectually guard. While the people are not wanting to themſelves, the errors or evils ſpringing from theſe ſources cannot be apprehended, or if they caſually occur, may be corrected.

Our author, in elucidating his ſubject, from the principles of the conſtitution, ſtates the diſtinction between a *confederation* and a *government*, and infers "that the conſtitution of the united ſtates is exclusively neither the one nor the other, but a compoſition of both."

Like the old confederation, the *ſtates* are repreſented by delegates choſen by their reſpective legiſlatures; and they form one branch of the federal legiſlature in the ſenate. Like an original and ſimple government, the *people* are repreſented by delegates biennially choſen by them; and they form the other branch of the federal legiſlature in the houſe of repreſentatives.

Thus conſtituted and thus balanced, we may ſay that the *ſtates*, in their political capacities, deliberate in one houſe, and the *people* in the other. In the ſenate, the rights of the ſtate governments, ſo eſſential to their own exiſtence, and to the peace and harmony of the whole, will be peculiarly conſulted and protected; in the houſe of repreſentatives, the rights of the *people*, whom they repreſent, will always be the pole-ſtar of their deliberations.

And here one might pauſe for a moment, to obſerve and to admire this ſkilful combination of principles; as new in its nature as it is wiſe and profound. *A confederation of the ſtates, and a conſolidation of the people.* Thirteen ſovereignties made to blend and harmonize in one ſovereign unity—or in other words, leaving in the ſtates ſeverally, their favourite independence, as to all the objects about which they ought to cultivate any great ſolicitude; and clothing the general government with complete ſovereignty, as to all the objects which the general weal requires ſhould be placed under their agency. And all this without engendering the political monſter of *imperium in imperio.* Warned by the fruitful examples of the Grecian confederacies, the framers of the government have ſteered clear of thoſe ſources of anarchy, which ſubſiſt in a mere confederation of unequal ſtates; while on the other hand, aware of the genius of the people of America, they have cautiouſly avoided intrenching too much upon the cheriſhed doctrine of ſtate independence By drawing the power from the primary fountain, the people, they have infuſed into the ſyſtem all the vigour which is neceſſary for its ends; while that power happily tempered by defining the objects, and ſkilfully diſtributed between the ſtates, and the people repreſented in their reſpective branches, leaves the one nothing to fear, and the other nothing to complain of.

The diſtribution of the powers ſeems to contemplate theſe three variations, 1. With regard to ſome particular objects, the federal power is original, excluſive and ſupreme. 2. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſtate powers, as to ſome other objects. 3. The power is co-equal and concurrent between the two, as to ſome other objects. The ſovereignty of the individual ſtates, is as complete in the ſecond claſs, as that of the united ſtates is in the firſt. With regard to the third, it is evident, that there is no definite ſupremacy in either; but as they may alternately occupy the objects of it. Thus the united ſtates are ſovereign as to peace and war, alliances, coinage, the making uniform rules of naturalization, and the like; each ſtate is ſovereign, as to all the objects of its internal police; and concurrent with the federal government, as to all the forms of direct tax tion

We are brought to this concluſion, that the *ſtates*, being repreſented as well as the people, form an integral part of that mixed ſyſtem which we have adopted. This is the great principle that runs through the conſtitution, and muſt be adhered to for the conducting of our enquiries as to conſtitutional points. It teaches us that the *ſtates*, as well as the *people*, are made the ſubjects of *federal legiſlation.* Now it is a truth, too evident, and too generally recognized to need demonſtration, that in all governments, the judicial department muſt be co-extenſive with the legiſlative. What the one commands, the other muſt decree the obedience of, and the executive muſt enforce it. All conſtitutional acts of power, proceeding from the executive and judicial, have as much legal validity, and import as much obligation, as thoſe proceeding from the legiſlative department. Thus *treaties* made by the one, and no doubt ſolemn deciſions or adjudications by the other, become the ſupreme law of the land.

He next adduces a variety of arguments, from the *ſpirit* and *tenor* of the conſtitution, to prove, "that the ſtates, in their collective or political capacity, are and ought to be amenable to the federal judiciary; where they ought to be decreed to do juſtice." With reſpect to the *ſovereignty* which the ſeveral ſtates poſſeſs, it cannot, he obſerves, be a *ſovereign* power to do as they pleaſe; for the conſtitution contains both poſitive and negative injunctions upon every ſtate.

Our author, in the laſt place, ſupports his opinion by the *words* of the conſtitution. The arguments arranged under this diviſion of his ſubject, are plain and forcible. The following extract will give our readers ſome idea of the ſubſtance of them.

The *words* of the particular clauſe, which conſtitutes the judicial power, with obvious fitneſs to the principles, the ſpirit and tenor, expreſsly declare, that the judicial ſhall have cognizance, not only of caſes, where the united ſtates may be a party, but of all *controverſies between* two or more ſtates, a ſtate and citizens of another ſtate, citizens of different ſtates, and of the ſame ſtate, claiming lands under different ſtates. The import, ſpirit, and neceſſary conſtruction of which words are, that as on the one hand, every ſtate may apply to this tribunal for juſtice againſt any ſtate, any individual, or any corporate body, in the nation; ſo they, in their turns, poſſeſſing reciprocal rights, may appeal to this great and paramount fource, and obtain *juſtice* when it is unconſtitutionally witheld by any ſtate; on every of which its obligations are equally binding.

Our author ſhows the impropriety of applying the term "corporations" to the ſtate governments. The following are detached extracts from his obſervations on this ſubject.

It may be demanded, is the preſent ſyſtem then not a confederation? Is it true, what has often been vehemently aſſerted by its oppoſers, that the conſtitution adopted by the united ſtates, concentrating within itſelf all the efficient power of America, has ſtripped the individual ſtates of all their prerogatives, and reduced them to the contemptible ſtandard of ſubordinate corporations?

The want of proper diſtinctions, has often cauſed the people to be alarmed with language like this. The term *corporations* has artfully, or injudiciouſly, been made uſe of, while in fact it has not the ſmalleſt application. What is a corporation? In the general it no doubt applies to the idea of government, in as far as it is compoſed of organized bodies with privileges defined and duties enjoined. All governments may, in this view, be called by that name But what is underſtood by the term in its ordinary ſenſe; in that which is contemplated by thoſe who employ it to repreſent the individual ſtates, and to excite alarms about the general government? It is an inferior dependant body, veſted with particular immunities for particular purpoſes; deriving its exiſtence from the government, and liable to be diſfranchiſed by that government, whenever its good pleaſure ſhall ſo determine. Now do the ſtate governments derive their exiſtence from the federal? The reverſe is more true—and if the term could ever apply to either, it would be to the federal government itſelf.

The ſtate and the federal governments are co-ordinate in ſome caſes, and reſpectively ſupreme in others; the ſtate governments are no more ſubject, within their reſpective ſpheres to the general authority, than the general government is ſubject to them in its own ſphere. Like the principle of gravitation in the planetary ſyſtem—each orb has its proportionable agency in fixing the common centre, round which each of them, and the ſun himſelf, conſtantly revolves.

Our author concludes with anſwers to ſuch objections of Mr. S. as appear to militate againſt the doctrine he contends for. Theſe anſwers are no leſs ingenious than candid. Our author never deſcends to thoſe petty quibbles, for which ſome gentlemen of the bar are remarkable. Inſtead of ſifting out trivial inaccuracies of thought or expreſſion, magnifying apparent contradictions, or treating his antagoniſt, or his arguments, with diſreſpect, he ſtates the ſubſtance of the objections with fairneſs, and delivers his anſwers, like a man of dignified ſentiments and poliſhed manners. Such ought ever to be the manner of diſcuſſing a ſubject, if truth be the author's object. Controverſy is generally managed with too little either of decency or of candour; and this may be one reaſon, why few become proſelytes even to the true doctrines of controverſial writers. Aſperity never yet convinced an opponent, nor failed to excite the diſguſt of every ſenſible reader.

THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The following verses were written by a lady, on the anniversary of her marriage. She had been obliged to flee from Philadelphia, with her husband and children, when the city fell into the hands of the British; and was just returned, after their evacuation of it. Sundry elegant productions, with the same signature, and from the same pen, have, at different times, adorned our Parnassiad. Such of our fair readers as are nobly ambitious to shine as wives and mothers, will, we doubt not, be gratified by the perusal of a performance, the glowing sentiments of which, must be, in some measure, congenial with their own. It is to be lamented, that the amiable writer lived but a short time after, to partake of those domestic enjoyments, which she so feelingly describes, and of which she appears to have formed so just an estimate.

HAIL, honoured Wedlock! source of fond delight!
Nature's first law, and *Eden's* sacred rite!
Oh! let the muse, on each returning day,
Wake at thy shrine her long forgotten lay!
This day which saw us, in thy blissful bands,
Unite our hearts, and join our willing hands.
Nor pomp nor grandeur dignified the scene;
But *Constancy* and *Laura* blessed the green.
Beneath her friendly roof our vows were sealed,
And sure I boast they have been strict fulfilled!
Three suns have now their annual courses run,
Since Hymen's tender joys have made us one;
Yet each succeeding year more sweet does glide,
And meets the *wife* more happy than the *bride*.
Our fond affection, oft severely tried,
Surmounts each storm, and stems each adverse tide;
Remains unchanged mid direful war's alarms,—
Softens its horrors, and its shafts disarms.
When forc'd by *British* arms abroad to roam,
Far from our humble roof and native home,
My *Damon's* love each anxious fear repress;
Hushed every sorrow, and composed to rest:
With him, the dear companion of my way,
Each object pleased, and every scene looked gay—
Yon wood-crowned hills,* yon mountains rudely great,
Where nature reigns in wild majestic state.
Charmed by the native grandeur of the scene,
Beyond the *sloping lawn* and *level green*,
By *Lehigh's* sylvan stream † I happy strayed,
While *love* and *liberty* still blessed each shade.
We lived contented in the peaceful grove,
With the dear pledges of connubial love;
And, far remote from all the world calls joy,
Tasted those pleasures which could never cloy.
But heaven has since vouchsafed, with powerful hand,
To send from hence Britannia's martial band;
To us our homes and much loved friends has given,
And distant far the clash of arms has driven.
Great are these blessings. May they justly raise
Our hymns of gratitude, and warmest praise!
Great as they are, to me they'd tasteless prove,
Unless to them were added *Damon's* love.
Unshared by him, *wit*, *music*, lose their power;
Dull's the gay dance, and grave the festive hour.
Tis his dear presence makes my heart rebound,
And fondly flutter at each well-known sound;

* *Lebanon.*
† *Bethlehem.*

Gives *life*, and *health*, and friends, their power to charm;
Can heighten pleasure, and e'en pain disarm.
And Oh! thou most beloved of all below!
How does my grateful heart with joy o'erflow;
That we together are again restored,
To the loved circle, and the social board;
Where honest joy, and guiltless mirth are found,
And friends and dear connections smile around!
For this my muse shall raise her grateful song,
And pray that heaven these happy scenes prolong;
Secure our freedom, and our peace restore,
And drive stern war to earth's remotest shore.
These golden moments may we still improve
To the blest purpose of a virtuous love!
And while the tender objects of our care,
Hang round our knees, and our attention share,
The task be ours to stamp the infant mind
With seeds of *knowledge* and *religion* joined.
And may kind heaven its needful grace impart,
To fix each youthful blessing on the heart;
Reward our cares, and raise their grateful love,
As they in virtue's paths each day improve!
So shall thy goodness to thy son descend;
Like thee he'll shine, as *husband*, *brother*, *friend*.
May Providence his choicest favours shed,
In purest blessings, on my *Damon's* head;
Secure his life 'gainst danger and disease,
And grant thy *Sylvia* still the power to please!
Blessed in thy presence, tenderness, and health,
I ask no other joy, no other wealth;
But, whilst I live, my favoured home thy breast;
And may I sink on that to endless rest!
But hush, my *muse!* nor one sad thought impart;
Touch not a string to wound my *Damon's* heart:
Enough that blessings crown the present hour,—
The *future leave* to *Heaven's protecting power*.

SYLVIA.

Philadelphia, 30*th Nov.* 1778.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE *to* SENSIBILITY.

(*Written by a Lady, in* 1770.)

COME, Sensibility, divine!
Thy vivid joys impart
Let thy bright beams extatic shine,
To animate my heart.

Tis thou that wav'st the mantling blush,
Quick through the azure veins;
Swift as the wand of magic touch,
Which wondrous spells contains.

A vital spark of heaven's own soil,
Is this keen sense of heart:
Tis this which heightens *pleasure's* smile,
And sharpens *sorrow's* dart

Language here fails to shew thy force;
Words are a medium faint:
The soul alone contains that source,
Which eloquence can't paint.

Is it the nerves fine texture wrought?
Or dwells it in the brain?
Is it abstract etherial thought,
Which does the spark retain?

Thy joys near verge upon distress;
Thin barriers form the line.
We almost wish thy raptures less;
Thy beams less keen to shine.

In social life, how soft thy charms,
When kindred spirits meet!
Thy thrilling joy each bosom warms,
In bowers of calm retreat.

E'en *beauty's* self's a lifeless *form*,
If thou grace not the whole;
Thy touch can plainest features warm,
And draw their speaking soul.

Without thy influence, what is love?
Gross, sensual, unrefined!
But roused by *thee*, the heart does move
To hail its kindred mind.

As *chaos* lay, a sordid heap,
When first creation sprung;
A dark abyss, profound and steep,
Then lighted by no sun;

God's spirit darted forth a ray—
Earth instant felt delight:
At once shone forth refulgent day,
Dispelling gloomy night.

Thus dost thou wake us from the sleep,
Which dull *Indifference* sheds
May she remote her mansion keep,
Nor hover o'er our heads!

Yet if in future 'tis my lot
To meet some gloomy mind,
Be every former scene forgot,
Where joy and peace were joined.

For sure the height of human woe,
Is to compare the past,—
(If soft did soothing moments go,
Short *moments!* not to last.)

To view lost bliss and present pain,
And mourn the change severe——
The mind cannot the task sustain,
Without a bitter tear!

The view swift steals all peace away;
Keen feelings prove our curse;
Our *peace* the poisoned dart does slay,
And former joys reverse.

Then *Sensibility* no more
Breathes forth her group of joys;
She, the dread portress, bars our door,
And every scene annoys.

If *thorns* and *brambles* strew our road,
A coat of *mail* let's wear,
(Best fitted for the harsh abode,)
Lest darts our bodies tear.

Then in thy room, *celestial* power!
Let cold *Indifference* stay;
Drag heavy through life's tasteless hour,
And saunter time away!

So if I breathe no raptured wish,
I shun each pang severe;
I shall each keen vexation hush,
With dull *Indifference* near.

LAURA.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE *to* AUTUMN *and* HUMANITY.

(By the same.)

SEE! bounteous *Autumn* pours his goods,
In rich profusion round!
What various tinges dye the woods!
What plenty decks the ground!

The dulcet apple's sprightly juice,
The purple loaded vine,
With joint consent their wealth produce,
And in thronged clusters twine.

The bursting barns, with *Ceres'* grains,
Unlock their golden stores;
Reaped from the mellow, fertile plains,
Where earth her treasure pours.

Taste, colour, form, at once combine,
To cheer the heart of man;
Declare Jehovah's fond design,
His grand paternal plan.

Let mild *Humanity* appear,
And tenderly impart
Some social good, some action dear,
To heal misfortune's smart.

We all one general parent claim,
Which should unite our race:
Those souls that from the Eternal came,
Should all, in love, embrace.

Each favour sent is but a hint,
To raise the sluggish mind.
Since heaven does not its bounties stint,
Shall mortals prove unkind?

Montgomery County. POMONA.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

VERSES *written near the* GRAVE *of a* YOUTHFUL FRIEND.

FORLORN, from shade to shade I rove,
By Friendship's sacred spirit led,
Where horror wraps the twilight grove,
That, glooming, seems to mourn the dead.

Dear youth! tho' hence I wander far,
Thy fate will cloud each rising morn;
And, lo! with evening's dewy star,
My tears shall bathe thy distant urn.

Remembrance often, with a sigh,
Shall view the spot where many a maid,
And many a swain, with swimming eye,
The tender rite of sorrow paid.

How few the sighs of Virtue mourn!
For few, alas! the friends she knows—
Yet, here she moves, a pilgrim lorn,
To bid her son in peace repose.

With sculpture let the marble groan,
Where Flattery mocks the lifeless ear—
How nobly far thy nameless stone,
Embalmed by Pity's simple tear.

W.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE *to* LOUISA; *on* SPRING.

SEE, Louisa! spring appears
In our western climes again—
Now each prospect doubly cheers,
That was bound in winter's chain.

See yon joyful sun arise,
And expand his genial ray!
Soft the breezes fan the skies,
From each morn to close of day.

Yonder amaranthine flowers,
Scent the air with sweet perfume;
And are visited by showers,
Which reanimate their bloom.

Yet how oft have we observed,
Many a garden flower decayed,
That due caution had preserved,
Ere its honours yet did fade.

Thus, dear girl! does Danvil grieve,
When he's severed from thy arms;
Nought his sorrows can relieve,
But his fair Louisa's charms.

Thou, his bosom's better part,
Art more sweet to him than spring.
Bud of beauty! void of art,
Still could he thy praises sing.

When, ah when, shall spring return,
To that bosom, cold as snow!
When shall Danvil cease to mourn,
And forget each rising woe!

Shall he ne'er those smiles regain,
That his longing eyes forsook?
Or ne'er join the festive train,
Where those smiles he once partook?

Fond *Remembrance* brings to light,
Bliss that he oft used to share,
(Scenes of youth, and fond delight!)
And oft tells him "Such things *were!*"

Yet if e'er, in spring's fair morn,
Thou shouldst thro' these vallies rove,
May, oh may *Remembrance* warm
Thy cold heart, with Danvil's love!

LYRICUS.

Philadelphia, April, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

EPIGRAMS; *addressed to a* LADY *who* PAINTED.

(From the French.)

I.

CANDOUR said I did my duty,
Cloris! when I praised your beauty;
But the druggist overhearing,
Said it was beyond all bearing—
Her beauty! said th' astonished wight,
You deprive me of my right!
It shall be her's, I'll grant your will,
When, for the paint, she pays my bill.

II.

Let low bred cits of their finances boast,
Yours must by far exceed all common cost;
Tho' they oft sport new liveries, and new lace,
You every day can sport a span new face.

III.

Transcendent artist! matchless skill is thine,
To do thee justice mocks my weak design;
Since to thy skill the faint attempt must fail,
Who'rt copy, painter, and original.

IV.

Cloris! 'tis just we on your charms bestow
The rose's coral, and the lily's snow;
With such as these they must relation claim,
Their birth, their beauty, and their fall the same;
Like those they flourish with the morning light,
And fade at noon, or disappear at night.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The BRIDEGROOM.

FLY swift, ye lazy minutes! fly,
With love's impetuous speed;
And bring the happy hour, when I
A husband's right shall plead:—
To airy hope, substantial joy
Shall rapidly succeed.

Yes! when I seize those various charms,
Of all I hoped secure,
I'll clasp my treasure in my arms,
And think a monarch poor.—
Hymen shall sound to soft alarms,
While Cupid guards the door.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

To MIRA, *who wished to be accomplished.*

TO make thee in external beauty shine,
Neatness in dress may all its powers combine;
But to confirm thee beauteous, good, and wise,
Nature and virtuous precepts will suffice.
Still be their tenets on thy mind impressed;
And thus be fair, be honoured, and be blest.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the ſeſſion which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

WE have already preſented our readers with the moſt important official papers laid before congreſs, during the late ſeſſion, by the preſident of the united ſtates; and alſo, with ſuch reports, of the heads of departments, as were of a general or public nature. And, in doing this, we have exhibited a view of the moſt material objects of legiſlative diſcuſſion. In the laws of this ſeſſion, which we have alſo publiſhed, the reſult of the deliberations of congreſs, ſo far as they terminated in legiſlative acts, has already appeared. In order to complete our *congreſſional hiſtory*, it remains that we give a view of the intermediate progreſs of the buſineſs, through both houſes of congreſs. This will neceſſarily occaſion us to introduce a ſketch of the debates, in the houſe of repreſentatives, particularly on ſuch ſubjects as may be deemed the moſt intereſting to the public. The ſenate having hitherto perſevered in keeping their doors ſhut, the public muſt not expect much information reſpecting the deliberations of that branch of the federal legiſlature. Like the myſteries of free-maſonry, the reaſons of their conduct, it ſeems, are never to be divulged. Even the arguments againſt opening their doors, (if any ſuch arguments have been uſed,) have not been made public; although this would ſeem proper, for the ſatisfaction of that numerous claſs of citizens, who have publicly expreſſed their diſapprobation, of the ſecret manner in which legiſlative queſtions are decided upon in that houſe. May not a greater part of thoſe murmurings, and of that want of confidence in the government, which have, for ſome time paſt, been gaining ground amongſt us, be juſtly aſcribed to this myſterious conduct of the ſenate. We apprehend they may—And, if ſo, the evil will probably increaſe, while its cauſe is ſuffered to exiſt. It is, indeed, impoſſible that a free government ſhould long be maintained, in any country, the citizens of which are kept in the dark, with reſpect to public meaſures. If rulers will exact obedience from the people, they muſt not treat them like ſlaves; they muſt convince them of the reaſonableneſs and propriety of the laws, or they will not continue to reſpect and obey them. If they ſhould, they would be unworthy of freedom. If, like the idolaters, who erected an altar "To the unknown God," a people are content *ignorantly* to obey, they are ſlaves, in the worſt ſenſe of the word——ſlaves, of their own choice. We feel too deep an intereſt in the freedom and welfare of our country to ſuppreſs theſe ſentiments. We, however, advance them with the more confidence, becauſe we are convinced that they are not our ſentiments alone, but thoſe of a large majority of our fellow-citizens, throughout the united ſtates*. If, as it has been contended by many, the ſtate-governments are likely to have their powers encroached upon, by that of the union, it would be an injuſtice to the ſtate-legiſlatures, to ſuppoſe, that they will be ſo negligent of their own or the people's rights, as to re-elect any of their federal ſenators, who have voted againſt opening the doors of that body. The houſe of repreſentatives might, with equal propriety, ſhut their doors alſo; but this they will ſcarcely attempt, while they are immediately reſponſible to the people, by being rendered dependent upon them for their ſeats, at the end of every two years.

The narrow limits within which we muſt compriſe this ſketch, will oblige us to omit all debates on ſubjects of a private or trivial nature, that we may be enabled to dwell longer upon thoſe of primary importance. It might, in general, be ſufficient to ſtate the ſubſtance of the arguments, on both ſides of a queſtion; but as it is of material conſequence, that the people ſhould be made acquainted with the principles and conduct of their particular repreſentatives, we ſhall, occaſionally, introduce the individual ſpeakers, on ſubjects of general importance, and alſo give liſts of the *yeas* and *nays*.

* *Beſides the numerous popular complaints on this ſubject, in the public prints, the legiſlatures of ſeveral of the ſtates, have paſſed reſolutions, expreſſive of their diſapprobation of the ſecrecy obſerved in the ſenate of the united ſtates, when acting in a legiſlative capacity.*

On the 24th of October, 1791, the day appointed, by law, for the firſt meeting of the ſecond congreſs, under the preſent frame of government, a quorum of both houſes attended. This punctuality was the more laudable, and worthy of notice, on account of the great diſtance at which many of the members reſide, from the ſeat of government, and from each other. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, was elected ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, and John Beckley, clerk.

On the 25th, both houſes met in the ſenate-chamber, where they were addreſſed by the preſident of the united ſtates, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which he deſcanted upon the proſperous ſituation of the united ſtates—ſtated a variety of objects which had engaged the attention of the executive, during the receſs, and concluded by recommending a number of important ſubjects to their attention. He particularly inſtanced the rapidity with which the ſubſcription to the bank of the united ſtates had been filled, as a proof, "not only of confidence in the government, but of reſource in the community." He mentioned the various meaſures which had been taken, to conciliate the friendſhip of the Indians, and the partial ſucceſs with which thoſe meaſures had been attended. He lamented that the perſeverance of ſome of the ſavage tribes, in their hoſtile conduct, had rendered offenſive operations neceſſary, on the part of the united ſtates; but overtures of peace, he obſerved, were ſtill continued. He concluded this part of his ſpeech with ſundry propoſals, for promoting the happineſs of the Indians, and attaching them to the united ſtates, in which he obſerved, that "a ſyſtem correſponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy, towards an unenlightened race of men, whoſe happineſs materially depends on the conduct of the united ſtates, would be as honorable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of ſound policy." He obſerved, that ſome diſcontents had ariſen, in conſequence of the exciſe law, and recommended the ſubject to the further deliberation of congreſs. "If there are," ſaid he, "any circumſtances in the law, which, conſiſtently with its main deſign, may be ſo varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections, that may happen to exiſt, it will conſiſt with a wiſe moderation to make the proper variations. It is deſirable, on all occaſions, to unite with a ſteady and firm adherence to conſtitutional and neceſſary acts of government, the fulleſt evidence of a diſpoſition, as far as may be practicable, to conſult the wiſhes of every part of the commuuity, and to *lay the foundation of the public adminiſtration in the affections of the people.*"—The laſt ſentence of this extract ought never to be forgotten, by thoſe to whom it was addreſſed, ſo long as they continue to diſcharge the important truſt committed to them, as legiſlators. The preſident further informed congreſs that a diſtrict, for the permanent ſeat of government, had been fixed, during the receſs, and a city laid out; that the cenſus of the inhabitants of the united ſtates, (of which formal returns had been received from all the diſtricts, except that of South-Carolina) afforded the pleaſing aſſurance, that the population of the country bordered on four millions of perſons; that a foreign loan had been negociated, on favourable terms, and another was depending; that two treaties, which had been proviſionally concluded, with the Cherokees, and ſix nations of Indians, would be laid before the ſenate, for their conſideration and ratification; that the ſubſcriptions to the loans, in the domeſtic and ſtate debts, had been ſo conſiderable, as to ſhew, at once, the ſatisfaction of the public creditors with the terms which had been propoſed, and their diſpoſition to conſult the convenience of the government; that, as the time limited for receiving ſubſcriptions was expired; that part of the debt of the united ſtates, which remained unſubſcribed, would naturally engage their further deliberations; and that the revenues which had been eſtabliſhed, promiſed to be adequate to their objects, and would ſuperſede the neceſſity of laying any new burthens on the people, if no unforeſeen exigency ſhould occur. He referred, generally, to former communications, for ſeveral objects, upon which, in conſequence of the urgency of other affairs, no definitive reſolutions had been taken; but particularly mentioned the militia, the poſt-office and poſt-roads, the mint, a ſtandard of weights and meaſures, and a proviſion for the ſale of the vacant lands of the united ſtates, which were pledged as a fund for redeeming the public debt. He made ſome remarks on the importance of theſe ſeveral objects. A liberal and comprehenſive plan for the eſtabliſhment of the poſt-office and poſt-roads, he conſidered as greatly deſirable, as well on account of the expedition, ſafety, and facility of communication, as of their "inſtrumentality in diffuſing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government; which, while it contributes to the

ſecurity of the people. ſerves alſo to guard them againſt the effects of miſrepreſentation and miſconception."

On the following day, the houſe of repreſentatives formed itſelf into a committee of the whole, on the preſident's ſpeech. Mr. Vining moved a reſolution to the following effect:

"*Reſolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the preſident of the united ſtates, by the houſe of repreſentatives, in anſwer to his ſpeech, to congratulate him on the proſperous ſituation of the united ſtates—expreſſive of the approbation of the houſe, of the wiſe and prudent meaſures he has purſued during their receſs, in the execution of the duties committed to his charge; promiſing ſpeedy attention to the important and momentous objects recommended to their conſideration, and expreſſing their approbation of the humane and effectual ſteps taken, under his direction, for the defence of the weſtern frontiers."

This reſolution was objected to by Meſſrs Lawrance and Sedgwick, Smith (S. C.) and Livermore, upon the principle, that it expreſſed the ſenſe of the houſe upon points which required further information and inveſtigation, before the houſe could, with propriety, determine. It was difficult to ſay, before proper documents were laid before the houſe, whether the meaſures adopted for the defence of the weſtern frontiers were the moſt prudent that could be adopted. It was impoſſible, poſitively to aſſert, that the preſident, in the execution of the duties aſſigned him in carrying into effect the exciſe act, had done all for the beſt. Every member that ſpoke agreed in expreſſing his individual opinion, that no doubt the preſident had acted with his wonted prudence and wiſdom, in the execution of the truſts repoſed in him; but alſo agreed that it was improper, indeed that it was no compliment paid to the preſident, to approve before a formal examination.

In anſwer to theſe objections it was obſerved, that ſo far as circumſtances had been known to the members, relative to the ſteps taken by the preſident during the receſs of the federal legiſlature, ſo far they claimed the approbation of the houſe, and that the opinion of the houſe was only meant to be given, as far as they were informed. It was urged, that the anſwer of the houſe ſhould be a candid expreſſion of their feelings; feelings which the proſperous ſituation of the country undoubtedly called forth, and which the iſſue of the meaſures adopted could not fail to excite.

Several modifications were propoſed to the reſolution, which was finally agreed to, in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

"*Reſolved*, That an anſwer be returned to the preſident's addreſs, containing aſſurances of ſpeedy attention to the important objects recommended to the conſideration of the legiſlature." Thus modified, the reſolution was reported to, and adopted by the houſe.

An anſwer, correſponding, in ſubſtance, with this reſolution, was accordingly prepared, and preſented to the preſident. The anſwer of the ſenate was nearly ſimilar.

The ſeveral objects recommended to the deliberation of congreſs, by the preſident, were referred to committees, that which reſpected the operation of the exciſe law excepted, which was referred to the ſecretary of the treaſury.

One of the earlieſt as well as one of the moſt important ſubjects of diſcuſſion, in the houſe of repreſentatives, was the cenſus lately taken, and the apportionment of repreſentatives, agreeably thereto, among the ſeveral ſtates. No queſtion involved a greater variety of local and diſcordant intereſts than this. Although the moſt convenient ratio of repreſentation for the union ought to have been principally taken into view, yet it is evident, from the debates, that the queſtion was not altogether conſidered upon general principles, abſtracted from ſtate intereſts. Various calculations were made, to ſhow the advantages or diſadvantages that would reſult to particular ſtates, according to every ratio of repreſentation that was propoſed. Whatever might be the proportion fixed upon, it was evident that inequalities in the fractions, or unrepreſented remainders of population, in the ſeveral ſtates, muſt inevitably take place. But, then, it was an object with members, who were influenced by partial intereſts, that their reſpective ſtates ſhould ſuſtain the leaſt poſſible diſadvantage in this way. It was probably owing to this difficulty, that the repreſentation bill underwent a very tedious diſcuſſion; was ſeveral times reſumed in the courſe of the ſeſſion, and was not finally decided upon till it had been before congreſs upwards of five months.

On the 31ft of Oct. Mr. Lawrance moved, in committee of the whole, that, till the next enumeration, the numbers of reprefentatives fhould be in the proportion of *one* to every *thirty thoufand* inhabitants.

Mr. Livermore faid he was apprehenfive the motion would be premature, till the fate of an amendment to the conftitution propofed to the people, was known; that amendment fays that the ratio of reprefentation fhall be one to every 30,000 perfons, till the number of reprefentatives amounts to 100—after which the ratio is to be one to 40,000——If this amendment is agreed to, the refolution on the table will contravene its operation; if the amendment is not adopted, and, faid he, I heartily wifh it never may be, we fhould on the propofition now moved, have a larger houfe than that amendment contemplates: he was oppofed to fo large a number of reprefentatives as would be confequent on the plan propofed, and concluded by enquiring, whether the above amendment had been adopted by the requifite number of the legiflatures

On examination, it did not appear that a fufficient number of the ftates had made returns refpecting the amendments, to determine the queftion.

Mr. Sedgwick faid, the conftitution provided that the number of reprefentatives fhould not exceed one for every 30,000, but congrefs might increafe the number of conftituents of each member; he read the refult of a calculation of the number of reprefentatives which would be returned, on a fuppofition of there being one to 30, 33, 34 and 40 thoufand perfons; according to the prefent cenfus, fuppofing South-Carolina to contain 240,000 perfons, 30 thoufand would give 110; 33, 104, 34, 10 , and 40 thoufand, 82 members.

Judging from the fenfe of the people, fo far as it could be collected from what had been done refpecting the propofed amendment on this fubject, he was of opinion, that the ratio which would meet the general approbation, was that which would give about 100 members in the houfe of reprefentatives.

Mr. Livermore was in favour of a ratio, which would give the fmallefl number that was mentioned by the gentleman.

Mr. White faid, that the general fentiment of the people was perhaps more fully known on the fubject before the committee, than on any other that could come before them. Among the objections to the conftitution, the fmallnefs of the reprefentation was very generally one. An increafe of the number of this houfe is expected. It has been faid by the enemies of the conftitution, that congrefs will never confent that there fhall be a reprefentative for every 30,000 perfons. The time is now come when the queftion is to be determined; and I hope, faid Mr. White, that congrefs will act with the utmoft liberality on the occafion; and that they will not diminifh the number of reprefentatives

Mr. Dayton faid, he confidered the fubject in a different light from the gentleman laft up. He fuppofed the fenfe of the people, at the prefent day, was oppofed to a great increafe of the number of reprefentatives. He thought that one to 40,000 perfons would give the moft eligible number, but was willing to meet the gentleman half way, and propofed to infert the word *five* between "thirty" and "thoufand," in the refolution.

Mr. Sewey obferved, that the fubject was too important, in his opinion, to come to a fudden decifion upon, efpecially as many of the members of the houfe had not arrived.

He moved, therefore, that the committee fhould rife, report, and afk leave to fit again The committee accordingly rofe.

On the 3d of November, this fubject was refumed, in committee of the whole, and was very fully difcuffed, on this and feveral fubfequent days.

Mr. Dayton moved, as an amendment to Mr. Lawrance's motion, that the word *thirty*, before thoufand, fhould be ftruck out, leaving the blank to be afterwards filled up.

Mr. Clark obferved, that it was well known that great uneafinefs prevailed among the people, in various parts of the union, on account of the falaries and compenfations to the officers of government; the expenfe of fupporting the government was increafing, and it muft therefore be contrary to the general wifhes of the people, to enlarge the reprefentation, which would add to the public burthen, without being productive of any advantage He was in favour, therefore, of the motion for ftriking out *thirty*, and would then move to infert *forty*.

Mr. Williamson, after a few preliminary remarks on the several calculations that different members had made, and applying the various results to the population of the small states in particular, observed, that such a ratio should be adopted, as would leave the fewest fractions, and at the same time do as much justice as possible to those states. With respect to the general question, he thought the people were divided in opinion; some were in favour of a large representation, others were opposed to a great addition to the present number. The expence of supporting the government is great; the people realize that in the nature of things it must increase. This consideration should lead to adopt a medium, and, if possible, to fix on a ratio that might give general satisfaction. At all events, he wished that congress would reserve to itself the power of encreasing the number of representatives, in case the sentiments of the people should be in favour of the measure. He observed, that the lowest number of constituents which had been mentioned, was thirty thousand, and the highest forty—if gentlemen could not agree in either, he hoped they would adopt the medium.

Mr. Lawrance objected to striking out *thirty*. This subject, said he, has been canvassed throughout America; innumerable are the pamphlets and newspaper publications which have appeared, in all parts of the united states. The smallness of the representation was early objected to; and it was very generally expected, that, when the amendments to the constitution took place, one representative to every 30,000 persons would be the established ratio. The majority of the publications on this subject, the various amendments proposed by the states, all plainly declare that the sense of the people is in favour of one for every 30,000.

And what, said he, are the objections? It is said that the public business will be impeded by a large number of members in the house, and that the expence will increase the public burthens of the people. With respect to the first objection, it seems to be a general idea of gentlemen, that about 100 members would be the most eligible number: the proposed ratio will give about 112; an addition of ten or twelve cannot embarrass the public business. The objection on account of an increase of the expense, he did not consider as well-founded. The increase of the representation will be in proportion to the increase of the people, who pay for the support of the government. The objection he could not consider, therefore, of sufficient weight, to deter congress from establishing such a ratio, as would give a representation fully competent to doing full justice to every part of the union.

The government, said he, is a government by representation, and it is of the last importance that the confidence of the people should be inspired, by feeling that their interests are fully represented. He observed, that increasing the ratio would undoubtedly excite uneasiness and complaint in some of the states, by diminishing their present representation.

Mr. Gerry observed, that in all the decisions of the legislature, they ought to follow, as far as possible, the opinion of the great body of the people. If this opinion, said he, should be found to be against the ratio of thirty thousand, the amendment ought to be adopted; but if we refer to the amendments proposed by the conventions to the constitution, we shall find that five states were in favour of one representative to every thirty thousand persons, till the number shall amount to two hundred. None of the propositions now moved as amendments to the motion of the gentleman from New-York, amount to that number. Several others of the conventions were of opinion, that the representation was too small to secure the liberties of this country. This government, said he, is a government of representation; the people may control their representatives, but their influence is small in respect to the senate and the executive, and still less over the officers of government. On what then do the people depend for checking encroachments, or preventing abuses? On their representatives. If these should be too few, or if they should fail them, they never can redress their grievances without having recourse to violence. If the number is small, a majority may be the more easily corrupted; on the other hand, too large a number will be attended with difficulties; a medium then is most eligible. An adequate number is absolutely necessary. To shew that one to thirty thousand would not produce more than an adequate number, he referred to the ratio of representatives in England and France, in which there was a greater proportion of representatives than in the legislature of the united states.

It had been objected to an increaſe of repreſentatives, that it would lead to encroachments on the part of the general government, over thoſe of the individual governments. He thought that the reverſe of the objection was true, and inſtanced the opinion and plan of gov. Hutchinſon of Maſſachuſetts, who propoſed and adviſed a reduction of the repreſentation of Maſſachuſetts, as a neceſſary ſtep, in order to effect the deſigns of Great-Britain. Decreaſing the number, therefore, would be leſſening, in proportion, the ſecurity of the liberties of the people.

He then adverted to the objection ariſing from the additional expenſe; but, he obſerved, after congreſs ſhall have paſſed a few more of the moſt important acts, it is not probable that the public buſineſs will in future require, that the ſeſſions ſhould be for more than four months annually—this would reduce the expenſe greatly, in the firſt inſtance; and, agreeably to a late calculation, an addition of forty-ſeven members to the preſent number, would make the aggregate expence but about one eighteenth part more than at preſent, ſuppoſing the ſeſſions to be four months long—But he conſidered the objection on account of the expenſe as merely ſpeculative.

Although congreſs is not poſitively bound by the conſtitution to give one member for every thirty thouſand inhabitants, yet he would aſk, whether the citizens of the united ſtates did not expect that this ratio would be adopted? and whether they would not conſider it as an abuſe of power, if congreſs, inſtead of one to thirty thouſand, ſhould ſettle the repreſention at one to forty thouſand? Eight ſtates had already adopted the firſt article of the propoſed amendments to the conſtitution; and if the houſe ſhould either ſettle the number of the repreſentative body, as it now ſtands, or reduce it, or eſtabliſh it at one hundred, perhaps they might, before the end of the ſeſſion, be obliged to repeal their act; as they would be bound by the amendment, as ſoon as it was ratified by a ſufficient number of ſtates. If gentlemen thought it probable, that the propoſed amendment would be ratified by the ſeveral ſtates, they ought already to conſider it as a rule for their conduct, and be reſtrained by it, from giving leſs than one repreſentative for thirty thouſand inhabitants. When the repreſentation ſhould amount to one hundred, congreſs would no doubt, have a right to fix it there, until it ſhould be increaſed by the ratio of one to forty thouſand: but that was a power, which, he preſumed, congreſs would not exerciſe; but that they would then eſtabliſh ſome ratio, by which the increaſe of repreſentation might be made to keep pace with the increaſe of population, until the houſe ſhould conſiſt of two hundred members.

Mr. Boudinot was convinced of the propriety of ſtriking out the word *thirty*. The houſe ought to conſider what would be an adequate number, for doing the buſineſs of the union; and that number ought not to be exceeded, except to anſwer ſome very valuable purpoſe. Buſineſs would proceed with difficulty, if the repreſentation was ſo numerous, as it would become by the ratio of one to thirty thouſand. The preſent repreſentation of the united ſtates was in a ratio very different from that of one to thirty thouſand; and yet he thought it fully adequate. From a rough calculation, he ſaid, that the ratio of thirty thouſand would produce one hundred and thirteen members; thirty-five thouſand would give ninety-ſeven; and forty thouſand would produce eighty-one. If the number once ſettled, was to reſt there, he would not be over anxious to oppoſe the increaſe; but if gentlemen would take into view the increaſe conſequent on the next enumeration, they would find that the number muſt by far exceed the due bounds.

The increaſe of expence had been mentioned. He thought it would greatly exceed the calculation of the gentleman, and, for his part, although he was willing to tax the people for the neceſſary purpoſes of government, yet he would never conſent to ſubject them to unneceſſary burdens. Every man muſt ſee, that if the number was doubled, it would take almoſt double the time to do the buſineſs, as every member would have an equal right to deliver his ſentiments, and thus protract their deliberations.

He thought the people of the united ſtates would be duly repreſented, and to their entire ſatisfaction, if the ratio was ſet higher than thirty thouſand; nor could he imagine that ſuch an exact proportion, between the repreſentatives and the repreſented, was at all requiſite to ſecure their liberties, or to do the neceſſary buſineſs of government. This, indeed, might be the caſe, if the power veſted in congreſs was proportionate to their number: but ſince the houſe would poſſeſs the ſame powers, whether it conſiſted of a greater or a ſmaller number, he thought the people

equally ſecure in either caſe. The ratio of thirty-five thouſand, which would produce ninety-ſeven members, would, in his opinion, be a very proper one. If, however, the people ſhould think otherwiſe, they had it in their power to correct the miſtake, by ratifying the propoſed amendment. Their not having as yet ratified it, was to him an argument, that they thought the ratio too low; or, at leaſt, that they conſidered the queſtion as doubtful. Some of the ſtates, he obſerved, had poſtponed the conſideration of the amendment; and eight only had agreed to it. On the whole, the houſe might ſafely adopt the ratio of one to thirty-five thouſand; for that the increaſing population of the united ſtates would ever ſupply a repreſentation, ſufficiently numerous to anſwer every good purpoſe.

Mr. Steele was in favour of the motion for ſtriking out *thirty*. In diſcuſſing the important ſubject before the committee, he obſerved that there were two enquiries to be attended to. What is the proper number to conſtitute a repreſentative body for the united ſtates, and what ratio will leave the feweſt fractions in the reſpective ſtates? One member to thirty thouſand, he conceived, would give too numerous a repreſentation; according to the preſent number of inhabitants, it would almoſt double the preſent number; it would divide and diminiſh the reſponſibility, make the houſe too unwieldly, retard public buſineſs, and increaſe the public expenſes unneceſſarily. An adequate repreſentation, he thought, might be compriſed within a much ſmaller number.

Gentlemen, ſaid he, have called our attention to the houſe of commons in Great-Britain, and the national aſſembly of France; but God forbid that we ſhould draw our precedents from ſuch examples as may be cited from European repreſentation.

He was oppoſed to thirty thouſand as the ratio—it would, in fractions throughout the united ſtates, leave above three hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand citizens unrepreſented. Thirty-five thouſand, he thought the moſt eligible number, as it would leave the feweſt fractions.

Some gentlemen, continued he, ſeem to favour the ratio of thirty thouſand, becauſe that number has been recommended by ſome of the conventions, in their propoſed amendments to the conſtitution; but he hoped that no deciſion would be founded on thoſe ſubſequent amendments—It would be well to recollect the ſentiments of gentlemen in the ſeveral conventions; in many of them, they were agreed to, without any wiſh or expectation that they ſhould ever be taken into conſideration, and therefore, he thought, that no argument ought to be drawn from them—neither ought congreſs to be influenced by the example of the ſtate governments. Buſineſs is ſo tranſacted in moſt of them, on account of their numerous repreſentation, that there is very little permanency, or conſiſtency in their ſyſtems. Too numerous an aſſembly is perpetually liable to diſorder—and when that is the caſe, government becomes contemptible—this conſideration, he ſaid, had greater weight with him than an additional expenditure of a few dollars. He again objected to any example from Great-Britain or France; their aſſemblies, he ſaid, were too numerous and unwieldly to tranſact buſineſs without confuſion—and, compared with what he conſidered as an adequate number, were mere mobs.

With reſpect to the propoſed amendments, he ſaid, they had not been adopted by three fourths of the ſtates; and thence he inferred that they would be finally rejected.

He thought the amendment reſpecting the ratio of repreſentatives, not ſo good as the original clauſe in the conſtitution—and ſaid he would not heſitate to declare, that it ought never to be adopted as a part of it. It had been ſaid, that the voice of America was in favour of the ratio of thirty thouſand; were this the caſe, he would obey the voice of America—but he believed that the opinion of enlightened America was, that forty or fifty thouſand would not be too high a ratio. He ſhould prefer either of thoſe numbers, to thirty or thirty-five thouſand, were it not on account of the fractions that would remain. He concluded, by ſaying he ſhould vote for thirty-five thouſand.

Mr. Lawrance agreed that an adequate number was the great object to be attended to; but he contended that the original motion would give this number more completely than a larger ratio; and it ought to be conſidered, that before the next enumeration, it would not be, probably, more than one to fifty thouſand. As to the increaſe of expenſe, he obſerved that the great objects being accompliſhed, the future ſeſſions will be ſhort; beſides which, the compenſation of the members may be diminiſhed; but he conſidered a neceſſary increaſe in the expenſe, to be fully coun-

terbalanced, by affording greater ſecurity to the liberties of the people. The firmneſs of a government depended on a ſtrong executive; but this executive ſhould be founded on a broad bottom—and the broader the baſis, the more ſecure would be the public freedom under a vigorous executive.

The exiſtence of the union may depend on the fulneſs of the repreſentation. The inequality in the proportional increaſe of the number of inhabitants, in different ſtates, ought alſo to be taken into conſideration: for it was very probable, that, in a ſhort time, while ſome of the ſmaller ſtates had a repreſentative for every thirty thouſand, others would not have one to forty thouſand. He ſaid he was governed by general principles, and not by any calculations of fractional numbers. The conſtitution contemplated the ratio he had propoſed, and therefore he hoped the motion for ſtriking out would not obtain.

Mr. Goodhue obſerved, that the ſituation and circumſtances of the government of the united ſtates were ſo different from thoſe of France or Great-Britain, that no parallel could be drawn reſpecting them. Nor is there, ſaid he, an abſolute ſimilarity between this government and thoſe of the ſtate governments. The objects of legiſlation which come under the cognizance of congreſs, are but few, compared with thoſe which engage the attention of the Britiſh houſe of commons and the national aſſembly of France. A much larger repreſentation for them, and in our ſtate legiſlatures, is therefore proper, than is neceſſary for us in the general government. He doubted the juſtice of the opinion, that a large repreſentation was leſs liable to corruption than a ſmall one: ſome facts appeared to confirm the oppoſite ſentiment. He did not conſider the expenſe as a material objection, if an increaſe of the number was neceſſary to doing more ample juſtice, or for the greater ſecurity of the liberties of the people; but as he thought this was by no means the caſe, he was in favour of ſtriking out *thirty*, in order to inſert a larger number.

Mr. Barnwell agreed with the gentleman laſt up; he ſaid he ſhould vote for ſtriking out thirty, in order to ſubſtitute the largeſt number that had been mentioned. He entered into an abſtract and philoſophical diſcuſſion of the principle of repreſentation in government—the leading ſentiment was, that a large proportion of repreſentatives was not neceſſary to obtain the beſt objects of legiſlation, in expreſſing the will of the people, or to ſecure the liberties of the conſtituent body. The great point, he obſerved, was to combine the greateſt portion of honeſty, with a due degree of activity. That number which would compriſe a due proportion of theſe, would be competent to all the purpoſes of legiſlation, whether the number for which it legiſlated was ten thouſand, or five hundred thouſand. On this principle he was decidedly againſt a large number, and in favor of a ſmall one. Adverting to the Britiſh houſe of commons, and the national aſſembly of France, with reſpect to the former, he ſaid, their corruption was in a great degree owing to their numbers; as to the latter, he obſerved, that the national aſſembly had acted in his opinion politically and wiſely—they ſet out with a large repreſentation, in conformity to the ſentiments of the people at the moment; but, on experience, finding the number too great, they had reduced it from twelve hundred to about two hundred and fifty. He believed, he ſaid, that the general ſenſe of the people was againſt a large repreſentation in congreſs—the inconveniencies experienced from numerous bodies, in the ſtate legiſlatures, had led ſeveral of the ſtates to leſſen the number. He inſtanced Georgia, South-Carolina, and Pennſylvania.

Mr. Baldwin was oppoſed to the motion. One repreſentative for thirty thouſand appeared to him by no means a great repreſentation. The opinion that, of late, had been ſo often advanced from the preſs, and in public diſcuſſion, for reducing the repreſentative branch in government to a ſmall number, he held to be full of dangerous error. He was ſenſible, that the terms great and ſmall were ſo merely relative in their ſignification, that it was difficult preciſely to underſtand each other in the uſe of them. Perhaps they might, moſt properly, both of them, be conſidered as extremes. No doubt, repreſentation, which of late ſeemed to be uſed as the character of republican government, was a great improvement upon democracy, or legiſlation by the whole body of the people. He could conceive that a repreſentation might be ſo large, as to partake of the evils of aſſembling the whole body of the people; but it was a very improbable, and not a dangerous extreme: the other extreme was full of danger. Theſe obſervations, ſaid he, acquire much force, when applied particularly to the governments of this country; enfeeble the repreſentative part of them,

and you ſap the very principles of life. They ſtand on a different baſis from the governments which have gone before them, and may juſtly be ſaid to be new experiments in government; time, as yet, has ſcarcely given room to judge of the probable iſſue; but this we may pronounce, with much certainty, let the principles of repreſentation languiſh, and they have no chance of ſucceſs.

It had not been found practicable to ground repreſentation, in the federal conſtitution, upon any other principle than that of numbers—but extent of territory was unqueſtionably one of the natural principles on which it reſted, and would, if poſſible, be regarded. One for thirty-four or thirty-five thouſand might be deemed a proper repreſentation, in the kingdom of France, or of Great-Britain. The four millions, which compoſed the united ſtates, if compactly ſettled, where there was great ſameneſs in the country, and pretty equally diſtant from a common center, would be properly repreſented by a ſmaller number than in their preſent ſparſe ſettlement: But ſtill farther, the ſettlement of the united ſtates was a fillet, ſtretched along the ſea-coaſt for ſeventeen hundred miles, comprehending as great a variety of climate and intereſts as one of the other quarters of the globe. It was difficult to conceive of a ſituation which called for a greater extenſion of the principle of repreſentation.

It had been ſaid that one for thirty thouſand would make too large and unwieldy a body; he was ſenſible that was a point that did not admit of being determined by any concluſive reaſoning; it was a mere matter of opinion; ſound judgment only could be uſed—time and experience would come on, and confirm or correct the opinion. In ſuch a caſe, ſaid he, it is wiſe to enquire how this has been judged of by others, who have had a repreſentative body. In France, 1200 was not thought too great a repreſentation in forming their national aſſembly, and the number eſtabliſhed by their new conſtitution, for the ſtated legiſlature, was not 250, as the member laſt up had ſtated—but if he had not been miſinformed, by the publications in this country, it was nearly 750.—In the kingdom of Great-Britain, 500 is not thought too great a repreſentation; and can 113, which is the greateſt number contended for, be conſidered, in this country, as a huge and impracticable maſs of repreſentation.

It had ever appeared to him, to be among the ſtrongeſt marks of our youth and inexperience, that we grew wiſe too ſuddenly. He was afraid this inſtantaneous wiſdom, which ſprung up ſo at once, and ſet at nought, or moved to the extreme of abſurdity and folly, the deliberate and tried opinions of the moſt profound and enlightened among men, in circumſtances peculiarly favourable to honeſt deciſion, would itſelf be left by time on that extreme.

And how does this conſiſt, he aſked, with the opinions and experience of this country in the ſtate governments? The idea had before been called up, but, in his opinion, juſtice was by no means done to the compariſon. It had been ſaid, that the ſtates in general had found their repreſentation too large, and were diminiſhing it. Let another view be taken of the compariſon; a ſtate will not ſuffer the ordinary buſineſs of its own internal legiſlation to be intruſted to fewer repreſentatives, than from one to two hundred, and in ſome inſtances more; and yet, in the federal government, they are obliged to ſubmit to a legiſlation, which can much more ſubſtantially affect their happineſs and property, and perhaps they have there but a ſingle repreſentative, or at moſt but five or ſix. The ſlighteſt compariſon ſhews that there is no manner of proportion between them, that they are irreconcilably diſtorted; ſurely gentlemen of the oppoſite opinion will not have the effrontery, to attempt to draw an argument from that ſource, for diminiſhing the preſent repreſentation.

The ſeveral ſtate conventions, which had thought proper to animadvert at all upon the federal conſtitution, had pretty uniformly expreſſed their wiſh that the repreſentation ſhould be increaſed. Theoriſts in government, ſo far as he had been informed, had generally given their opinion, that this part was too ſmall, and out of proportion. He was as far from venerating mere theories of government as any man, and was ſenſible they muſt adjuſt themſelves to the times and circumſtances of the people; but it would not be uſeleſs to enquire, how does this appear in practice? He could ſay for himſelf, that it brought his own mind to the ſame concluſion, that it was the part of the federal conſtitution, of all others, moſt defective and inſecure. Thirty-three members had formed the houſe, ſeventeen was a majority, and equal to the deciſion of any queſtion. Queſtions had already occurred, involving property to the amount of from fifty to eighty millions of dollars, and much of it in the hands of the

most daring individuals, rendered desperate by their speculations. He did not say there had been any foundation for uneasy apprehensions from that quarter; but he did say, that, in other countries, it would be supposed to be a most dangerous experiment upon the passions and imperfections of human nature. But it had been said, and with an unexpected assurance, that increasing the numbers did not increase the security against these evils. If so, why not reduce it at once to the venerable number thirteen, or indeed three, which would give us as great a security as the whole body of the people? It is idle to pursue observations on such a point—the mind that can ask for reasoning upon it, can scarcely be supposed in a situation to be benefited by reasons.

The federal government, it must be admitted, is in fact pretty highly seasoned with prerogative—practice has already evinced the necessity, in many instances, of increasing it, by devolving much of the legislative power upon the executive department, arising from the difficulty of making particular provisions and details in our laws, and accommodating them to the various interests of so extensive a country. The other branch of the legislature has many traits of a perpetual, at least of a very solid constituent part of the government.

He did not mention these as imperfections in the government, they were perfections, if the other parts could be in due proportion; but it was surely a sound reason against taking positive measures at this time to diminish the representative branch; for his own part, he was not well satisfied as to the intention. If there was any reason to apprehend that the government would depart from the point on which it was first placed, he could scarcely suppose that any one could be honestly alarmed, with the fear that the departure would be towards democracy. He concluded, by expressing his hopes, that the representation to the next congress would be fixed at one for thirty thousand, as it had hitherto been, and that the motion for striking out would not prevail.

Mr. Findley declared himself to be in favour of one representative for every 30,000 persons. The opinion of the people, he said, should be the guide of the committee; that opinion he conceived to be in favour of the ratio he had mentioned.

The representation ought, as nearly as possible, to express not only the will, but to participate in the wishes and interests of the people. A large representation would embrace these interests more fully, and be more competent to giving and receiving information. The objects of legislation were such as came home to the doors, to the feelings of every man; the government ought therefore to secure the confidence of the people, by a large representation. The expense he considered as trifling, compared to the benefits. The people expected, and were willing to pay for being well governed, and having their liberties secured. An increased representation, he considered as an additional security against corruption. As to delays occasioned by a numerous body, he observed, that the representatives were chosen to deliberate, and to mature every subject before decision. He instanced the advantages derived from the numerous representations in France and Ireland; the former had framed a constitution in two years, for twenty-six millions of citizens, and provided for securing the liberties of their country; and the latter had proved a successful barrier, against the encroachments of the arbitrary power of England. He concluded, by asserting that the voice of the people was in favour of the amendment proposed to the constitution, which would give one representative to every 30,000 persons.

Mr. Giles said, this subject had struck him in two points of view: Whether congress were not precluded from exercising any discretion on the subject; and whether, if they were not, it was expedient for them to exercise that discretion at this time. The ratio of representation was, he said, a constitutional, and not a legislative act. He referred to the constitution, in which it is said that there shall be one representative to every state; and, secondly, that, until the enumeration, the number should be as therein appointed to each state: after the enumeration, the number is mentioned below which it shall not be placed; but there is a negative power to increase the ratio, and from this negative power, a positive discretionary power is inferred. But, he observed, that congress had precluded itself from a right to exercise this discretionary power, by sending out to the several state legislatures an amendment on this very subject. This amendment he considered in a serious point of view; and had this idea been attended to, at the commencement of the discussion, he conceived that it would have prevented the opinion from being brought forward,

whether it was expedient that any change in the ratio of the representation should take place. The idea of one to 30,000, he considered as fully settled in the minds of the people; and a change on the part of the government, would indicate a changeable disposition, and a mutability of counsels, which is but another name for weakness.

The sense of the people had been resorted to, by gentlemen on both sides of the question. This, if it could be ascertained, would undoubtedly be the best guide; and he thought those in favour of one to 30,000 had, with great propriety, referred to the conventions, and to the acts of congress itself. But the amendments were said to have been a matter of compromise, insincerely acceded to by the majority; but even on this ground, he conceived that the sense of the people was equally as well declared. He, however, differed from gentlemen, in respect to the motives which produced those amendments. In the state he came from, both federalists and antifederalists were fully of opinion, that further security, as to the representation, was requisite. The numerous representations of the states, whatever inconveniencies might attend them, plainly shewed the sense of the people on this subject.

He then took a view of the objects of legislation of the state assemblies, and of those of the general government: in the former, he said, above 1000 persons were employed, though their attention was confined to their internal police; those of the general government, on the other hand, were on the great objects of the whole finance of the union, a sum of more than eighty thousand millions of dollars, &c. &c.

It is said that we shall want abilities; but I should be sorry if a representation of ten times the present number of this house, should comprise the abilities of a single state.

He assigned different causes, from numbers, for the corruption in the British house of commons: among these were the frequent mortgages of the funds, and the immense appropriations at the disposal of the executive—the mode of their elections &c. A large number, he observed, is not so easily corrupted as a small body.

An inequality of circumstances, he then observed, produces revolutions in governments, from democracy to aristocracy and monarchy. Great wealth produces a desire of distinctions, rank, and titles. The revolutions in property in this country, have created a prodigious inequality of circumstances. Government has contributed to this inequality. The bank of the united states is a most important machine, in promoting the objects of this monied interest. This bank will be the most powerful engine to corrupt this house: some of the members are directors of this institution, and it will only be by increasing the representation, that an adequate barrier can be opposed to this monied interest. He next adverted to certain ideas, which he said had been disseminated through the united states; and here he took occasion to observe, that the legislature ought to express some public disapprobation of these opinions. The strong executive of the government ought to be balanced by a full representation. He hoped the motion to strike out 30,000 would not be adopted.

Mr. Page. I can no longer refrain from expressing my sentiments, respecting the question before the committee; not only because I wish, if possible, to remove the error, which I think several members, for whom I have the highest respect, have fallen into, but because I feel myself more interested in the question, than I ever was in any one I have had to decide on.

Sir, it gave me pain to see those worthy members calculating, and coldly applying the rules of arithmetic to a subject beyond the power of numbers, to express the degree of its importance to their fellow-citizens. I was distressed, sir, to find, that in their honest zeal for securing order, dispatch of business, and dignity of members in the general legislature, they used arguments which have been applied in other countries to the establishment of insolent aristocracies; in some, tyrannical despotisms, and in others, kings; those countries which were most on their guard, with the semblance of a free government.

Sir, the errors I wish to correct are these: They think that because it is *proposed*, by a *proposed* amendment to the constitution, to authorise them to interfere in the business of ascertaining, and fixing the ratio of representation to the population of the united states, that congress ought, without any hesitation, to enter on that business; but I humbly conceive, that congress, as this is a delicate question, in which their own weight and importance must unite with the weight and substantial interest of their constituents, ought to listen to the suggestions of delicacy, and leave its dis-

cussion to a disinterested convention of the states. I say it appears to me no small error, to quit the plain path of legislation, marked out for us by the constitution, needlessly to wander into the field of political speculation, respecting its supposed defects.

Let me therefore advise, to leave the restriction of the numbers of members of this house to the people, or to some future congress, which can see more plainly than can now be descried, the evils of a too numerous representation. By so doing, we shall avoid, if not an improper measure, at least a rash step; at least we shall stand clear of a charge of indelicacy, and deprive our enemies of the triumph they expected in the completion of their predictions, that congress would never propose any amendments to the constitution, but such as would be subservient to their own views and aggrandizement. Let us not give the enemies of our new government cause to exult, and its friends to sigh and mourn. Let us not give our friends occasion to repeat what many have said, that so many of our citizens have been led away by theoretical writers on government, as to render it problematical, whether the American states are not at this time as much indebted to the national assembly for its remains of republican principles, as France was to congress in 1776, for their first ideas of that liberty which they now enjoy. Let us not, in this moment of general exultation of the friends to the rights of man, take a step which may damp their joy, and lead them to fear that Americans, who were foremost in the glorious career of liberty, have stopped short.

But, sir, granting that we were now sitting in full convention, convened for the sole purpose of altering that article of the constitution which respects the number of representatives, would it not become us to consider rather what was the sense of the members who framed that constitution, and what was and is the sense of their constituents and ourselves respecting it, than what may be the result of our own enquiries concerning the speculative opinions of writers on the subject of government, or even the real consequences of the most plausible theories reduced to practice in other countries.

But not to take up the precious time of this house, with relations of facts, to show what was and is the opinion of our fellow-citizens on this interesting subject, I will only state a few arguments, which have weight with me, as being in themselves evident truths, viz. Our constitution being framed by the people, and introduced to us in their name, and congress being the creatures of their will, spoken into existence by the word of their power; for congress, to lessen *their* weight, to diminish their importance, and to exclude them from as full a share in their own government, as can be consistent with the nature of it, and indeed from that share which they claim, must be impolitic and dangerous.

But granting that the people wished not a greater share in the general government than proposed by the amendment, as it is impossible, in a country like the united states, that one man can be sufficiently informed of the opinions, wishes, and real interests of thirty-five thousand of his fellow-citizens, therefore laws might be enacted contrary to the opinions, wishes, and interests of the people, in which they might nevertheless acquiesce, sacrificing their interests for the sake of peace and quiet, to the wills of their representatives, one thirty-five thousandth part of their own number. What friend to his country would wish to see such a dangerous influence on the one hand, and such a blind submission on the other? How long could an enlightened people remain in such a state of insensibility and torpor? and what might not be the consequence of their awaking from their lethargy? If not an expensive revolution, an expensive repeal of laws. And here I will remark, that the smallest number of legislators, and they too well selected, for their wisdom and respectability, if unacquainted with their constituents, might pass well-framed laws, founded on the wisdom of other countries, and yet find them disagreeable to their constituents, and be under a necessity of repealing them; but this could not be the case, if the people had in that legislature a sufficient number of representatives, on whose fidelity, attachment, and disinterestedness, they could rely. This, sir, is a truth worthy of our attention—an ignorance of which, or inattention thereto, I suspect, has been the occasion of much political evil in the world. Happily for France, the people had such a number of representatives in the national assembly, as could engage their feeling, inform their judgment, attach their interest, and establish their confidence in

their fidelity and difinterefted nefs; had that number been much fmaller, it is probable France would never have been delivered from oppreffion by their exertions.

I believe the national affembly have judged about 750 members fufficient to repreffent their people, which, on a fuppofition that they amount even to 26 millions, will be 1 repreffentative for every 34,000; a larger repreffentation than is propofed by the amendment before us; but, fir, it is not, and cannot be, the intereft or wifh of the people at large, to have a fmall repreffentation in congrefs, under the prefent government. We are told, however, that, to avoid expenfe, the people wifh it, and that, to avoid confufion in this houfe, we fhould comply with that wifh. With refpect to the article of expenfe, I think we may with propriety make ufe of arithmetical calculations, to find how much at 6 dollars per day paid to 1 repreffentative, it would coft the 30,000, the number of citizens—and we have 1-50 of a cent per diem, the expenfe of each citizen, if to be equally divided amongft them—that is 1 cent for every 50 citizens per diem, or which muft be the fame thing, a cent muft be paid by each citizen for every 50 days feffion of their repreffentative in congrefs: Sir, I have the confolation to find that if our conftitution had 1 repreffentative for every 15,000 inftead of 30,000, they could well afford to pay them, and that if it were even more expenfive as to the payment of members, yet the people would moft certainly be better fatisfied with the laws, which they would then have fo great a fhare in framing. The people fee that if their intereffs are not well guarded, by a fufficient number of their fellow-citizens, who have a fellow-feeling, a common intereft, they may be facrificed to the ambition of fome, or the vanity of others. I truft, fir, that they know too well the high price they have paid for the purchafe of their liberties, to be unwilling to pay a few farthings for the only poffible means of preferving them. They fee now, that the monarchical and ariftocratical part of government is to be reftrained; the former, from abfolute tyranny, and the latter from an infufferable infolence, by a very numerous body of the repreffentatives of the people alone. Americans know, fir, that monarchical governments were neceffary, for the protection of weak, ignorant people, againft the encroachments of ambitious and ferocious neighbours, and for the prefervation of order amongft themfelves; that an ariftocratical form became convenient, to protect them againft the oppreffion of tyranny, fpringing up out of monarchy—that this form was adapted to a fmall progrefs, in the fcience of government; and that thefe two forms, properly checked and controled by the democratical form, are ftill better fuited to a general knowledge of that fcience; that a repreffentative government, fuch as their own is, every part of which is more or leffs pervaded by the fpirit of repreffentation, cannot by any other means be fo perfectly fecured, as by their having at leaft as full a fhare as they have claimed, in the democratical branch of their government.

I know, fir, that many friends of our conftitution, thought that the convention did not pay a fufficient attention to the intereffs of their conftituents, when they reftrained them from having more than one repreffentative for every 30,000 citizens. I know that there is a report, that the people are indebted to their prefident, even for this fhare of their government; and I believe, fir, if this report be true, that whatever has been fo juftly faid of him, as compared to Fabius, to Hannibal, to Alexander, may be forgotten, when this inftance of his wifdom, difintereftednefs, and attachment to the intereffs of his fellow-citizens, will be more and more known and applauded, and be for ever engraved on the hearts of their poftcrity. Shall we then, Mr. chairman, the direct repreffentatives of the people, be leffs attentive to their intereft, and that too refpecting their fhare in the deliberations of their own houfe of repreffentatives, than the prefident of their convention was? I truft not.

I will not pretend to fay, however, whether, in an affembly where attempts are frequently made, to carry into effect the projects of monarchical or ariftocratical juntos, the virtuous ftruggles of patriotic members may not produce mob-like diforders: but in an affembly like congrefs, where I fhould fuppofe no fuch queftion can be agitated, none which may not be difcuffed with temper and decency, fuch diforder need not be apprehended. I fhould fuppofe there would be leffs danger of animofities and diforderly debates in congrefs, amongft 1200 members, than in the Britifh parliament, if it confifted of but 100. Where we have all but one and the fame great object in view, the happinefs of our country, (not the intereffs of a particular body of men, born with privileges infulting to the feelings and the rights of freemen,

nor the whims of an individual, born to trample on his fellow-creatures) we can have no cause to be dissatisfied with one another.

Surely, sir, unless these gentlemen suppose the members of congress void of sense, or of every idea of decency and propriety, they cannot suppose that even 500 members would not be easily restrained within the bounds of order.

Upon the whole, sir, I conclude, that neither an apprehension of expense, nor of disorderly debates, ought to induce this committee to run the risk of being charged with indelicacy, if not, of sacrificing the interests of their constituents. I hope, therefore, that the worthy and ingenious members, who, by supporting the amendment, have produced a full discussion of the question, will now join with me, and a great majority, in voting against it.

Mr. Steel said, he should not have troubled the committee again, if his observations had not been distorted, by the remarks which had been made on them; he hoped that, what he should offer, on some of the opinions which had fallen from gentlemen, in opposition to him, would be received with that candor with which he should deliver them. He professed to be as warm a friend to the liberties of the people as any man, but he differed in his ideas respecting the measures which would most effectually secure them; the present question, he thought, was not particularly interesting to the liberties of the people, as the point of difference would not make a very great variation in that number of the representative body, which appeared to be the most eligible to the majority of the committee; but the principle contended for, he conceived, had a very important aspect on the stability of the government; the subject, therefore, should be considered principally with respect to legislation; the great and essential principles of which, he observed, were involved in the discussion: and here he thought that our own experience was the best instructor; for the examples quoted from Great-Britain did not, in his opinion, apply to this country in all respects, the circumstances of the people of the respective countries being essentially different.

The states, experiencing the difficulties arising from numerous representative assemblies, had, in several instances, diminished them; the endless divisibility of power consequent on such numbers, had fully satisfied the people, that the want of responsibility was the pernicious effect of a large representation; they were therefore reducing those unwieldy bodies, as fast as they could. Pennsylvania, he said, appeared to be far happier since the reduction of its assembly.

A large sphere of representation gave the people a fairer opportunity to select the best characters; they could exercise their own judgments, unbiassed and uninfluenced; the trust conferred was greater, and, in proportion to its magnitude, would be the public solicitude, that it should not be improperly delegated—besides which, it is, said he, impossible, in a large sphere of representation, for candidates to practice those little arts, so common at elections; nor can they go round, and take every little demagogue of the district by the hand, to secure his vote.

As European examples had been recurred to, he would mention one circumstance, which confirmed the justice of his remarks. Those parts of Great-Britain, which are divided into the largest districts, send the smallest number of representatives, such as London and the county of Yorkshire. The latter, though containing more inhabitants than the ancient dominion, sends only two members to parliament; and the members of those two districts, it is remarkable, have always been the staunchest friends of the liberties of the people. In noticing the remarks of Mr. Giles and Mr. Findley, he said, that the object of representation was different from that of giving information to their constituents; legislation was their great business, and not making up weekly large packets, to send off to the influential characters in the districts, which the members represented on the floor of that house. The people, it is true, have a right to be informed of public measures, and it is the indispensable duty of government, to make provision for that purpose; and this ought to be done through the medium of the post-office: this medium is the only competent one, as it will open the way for that general information, which is necessary to the security, and to the liberties of the people.

With respect to security from corruption, by means of a numerous representation, he still retained his former opinion; he did not anticipate evils from that quarter.

He cited some examples, to shew what excesses a very numerous representative body may be guilty of. He then related a fact, which occurred in Virginia; the legislature of which, on a certain time, had acted in a legislative, executive, and judicial capacity, on the same occasion. He also instanced a more recent fact, in the secession from their duty, of a considerable body of the representatives of Pennsylvania: these facts demonstrated, that a numerous representative body was liable to a mobbish spirit.

He concluded, by saying, that if the ratio were at this time fixed at 30,000, it must hereafter be increased; in doing which, some serious difficulties might take place, especially in respect to those states, whose number of representatives must in that case be reduced. He thought it best, therefore, to agree at the present time on a larger ratio.

Mr. Clark said, he did not rise to trouble the house with a lengthy discourse, for he had always believed that long speeches answered no valuable purpose; he meant only to offer a few remarks on what had been said, in opposition to his former observations, and he hoped, that, although gentlemen contended for the ratio of 30,000, as the only basis whereon to found the liberties of the people, he should not be stigmatised with the name of an aristocrat, for voting in favour of a large ratio. Hitherto, he had not borne that character, and he could not suppose himself yet infected, unless he had caught the disorder since he became a member of the present house.

In reply to Mr. Findley's observation, that more wisdom would be brought into the house by increasing the ratio, he asked whether this would not also bring in more folly? for the probability is, that the ratio of both wisdom and folly will increase with the increase of numbers, and likewise of honesty and dishonesty; and with respect to the smallness of the district, or that it was safer for a small number to send a member than a greater, he was of a different opinion, as he believed, that if ever the practice of bribery should come into play in America, it would be easier for a representative to purchase a small district than a large one: if ever the liberties of the people are endangered, it will not be by the smallness of the representation, but by the corruption of electors and elections.

A gentleman from Georgia had observed, that the disposition of a great many millions of dollars had been in the hands of a quorum of the house, of whom it required only 17 to form a majority: on this Mr. Clark observed, that the old congress, which was composed of a much smaller number, were entrusted with the disposal of larger sums, and no complaint was heard of their conduct.

But there is an argument which ought to have weight in the present question. The senate, although a much smaller body than this house, are fully competent to judge of our proceedings, and of the safety of the country; indeed, said Mr. Clark, it appears very evident to me, that we are not in want of a larger number, in the house of representatives, to debate any question, if it be considered how much has already been said on the subject now before us.

Mr. Vining expressed much surprise, that the subject, which to him appeared perfectly definable, should have occasioned the debate to travel so widely from the line marked out by the constitution. The pendulum seemed to vibrate between the numbers 81, 96, and 113; and should that pendulum rest on any one of them, in preference to the others, he could not suppose that it would affect the liberties of America. Why, therefore, all this extraneous argument, about a point of so easy decision? We are sent here to administer the government; the first principles of which are already fixed, so that neither branch can encroach on the other. The senate, the house of representatives, the president, have each defined powers; and whilst those remain, I shall always believe the liberties of America are inviolable.

Under this impression, Mr. chairman, I shall vote for striking out 30,000, in order to accommodate the question to a medium. But I shall do this on different principles from some other gentlemen; notwithstanding, I at the same time confess, that the ratification of the first amendment to the constitution ought to govern us in deciding this question. The spirit of the amendment appears to me clearly to imply, that we should not suffer the number of representatives to exceed one for 30,000. I am here, not as a person who shall exercise discretionary opinions, but judge by the letter of the constitution; and in this case, we may increase the number, but we cannot make it less after the enumeration. In the mean time, until that enumera-

tion is complete, the repreſentation remains as it has been hitherto, which, I believe, may be about one member to every 40 or 41 thouſand.

If we go upon theory only, I would enlarge the repreſentation to its greateſt extent, and hand down the principle to futurity, in letters of gold; that a very great repreſentation—that democracy, is the very beſt government that can poſſibly be deviſed, provided it were practicable to give it ſtability. Next to a government, as free as theory could extend, we have the freeſt in the world; a government of repreſentation, which will increaſe with the population of the country; but if you increaſe it to an extreme, you may render it tumultuous, although it may be ſafe.

Mr. chairman, a great deal has been ſaid, of the neceſſity of planting ſtrong guards againſt the invaſions of influential characters. Sir, I fear no corruption; neither can I ſee the ground on which it can make an entry into theſe walls. In the Britiſh parliament I will admit that corruption has planted her ſtandard; but that is the natural conſequence of a very large repreſentation, and a conſtitution widely different from ours. But to what end would corruption be attempted in this government, which is, in itſelf, perfectly rotatory? The preſident is elective every four years; the ſenate, by interlocations, from two to ſix years; and the houſe of repreſentatives every two years. Then, ſurely, ſir, there is no need of guards to prevent the encroachments of corruption; and the argument is not in the leaſt applicable to the preſent ſyſtem of our affairs. The difference between the ſtate legiſlatures and the national one, affords another ſecurity to the citizens. They have the power of life and death, of making laws, &c. &c. and congreſs have a concurrent legiſlation in ſuch affairs as are proper. Election forms another barrier, in favour of the liberties of the people; for whilſt elections are kept pure and free, there is double ſecurity.

I agree with the gentleman from Pennſylvania, that a trifling expenſe is no object, compared to the ſecurity of the people; but I am ſorry to hear any thing of locality, or the paſſions of the people introduced, for the voice of the people; for if locality and paſſion were to govern this houſe, inſtead of *vox populi* we ſhould ſoon have occaſion to term it by another name, the *vox diaboli*.

I am under no apprehenſions from the ſtock-holders of the bank, or the ſpeculators in the funds; for it is their intereſt to have a wiſe and good repreſentation. The people, who are employed in the more ſimple path of agriculture, removed at a great diſtance, are not more intereſted in the ſecurity of the government, than the more informed ſtock-holder.

The ſtate which I repreſent contains 59,000 inhabitants, and yet I ſhall feel myſelf acting in the line of my duty, by voting for a ratio of 34,000, as coming neareſt to the ſpirit of the amendment.

The queſtion was now called for, on the amendment, to ſtrike out "thirty," which was negatived. The original reſolution, that *thirty thouſand* ſhould be the ratio of repreſentation was then carried, and reported to the houſe. On the queſtion, will the houſe adopt the reſolution, as reported by the committee? the yeas and nays being called for, it was carried in the affirmative—

Yeas—Abraham Baldwin; Egbert Benſon; John Brown; William Findley; Thomas Fitzſimons; Elbridge Gerry; William B. Giles; James Gordon; Andrew Gregg; Samuel Griffin; Daniel Heiſter; Daniel Huger; Iſrael Jacobs; Aaron Kitchell; John W. Kittera; John Laurance; Amaſa Learned; Richard Bland Lee; James Madiſon; Andrew Moore; Frederick Auguſtus Muhlenberg; William Vans Murray; John Page; Joſiah Parker; Joſhua Seney; Upton Sheridine; Thomas Sumpter; Peter Silveſter; Thomas Tredwell; Thomas Tudor Tucker; Abraham Venable; Jeremiah Wadſworth; Anthony Wayne; Alexander White, and Francis Willis.

Nays—Fiſher Ames; John Baptiſt Aſhe; Robert Barnwell; Elias Boudinot; Shearjaſhub Bourne; Benjamin Bourne; Abraham Clarke; Nicholas Gilman; Benjamin Goodhue; William Barry Grove; James Hillhouſe; Samuel Livermore; Nathaniel Macon; Nathaniel Niles; Theodore Sedgwick; Jeremiah Smith; Iſrael Smith; William Smith; John Steele; Jonathan Sturges; George Thatcher; John Vining, and Artemas Ward.

Yeas, 35—nays, 23—majority, 12.

A committee was then appointed to bring in a bill, agreeably to ſaid reſolution.

The CHRONICLE.

FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.

WAR having been declared against the king of Hungary, the French ministry resolved that sundry bodies of troops should penetrate into the Austrian Low Countries. The following have since been stated as the motives for this procedure, by the minister at war, in a communication to the national assembly.—1st. That the war might be withdrawn from a frontier, but fifty leagues from Paris.—2d. To prevent the assembling of the force of the enemy; and to act before they had formed their plan of operations, fixed their magazines, and taken their ground.—3d. To seize so favourable a moment for seconding the ardour of the troops, who were eager for an attack.—4th. To give the inhabitants an opportunity of declaring their disposition, which was supposed to be friendly to the cause of liberty; and to drive from the frontiers the troops of the enemy which had forced the nation to arm.

Though the troops, he said, wanted many of their stores, it was not thought adviseable to retard them in their march, and it was thought, at the same time, that the want of that discipline, so necessary to regular action, was not an obstacle that ought to stop their motions; for if it were true that the country was dissatisfied, discipline was the less necessary to the success of the troops, a regular war not being the object. The movements of the army of M. Luckner, at Strasbourg and its vicinity, were to be merely defensive, that frontier being opposite to states with whom France was not at war. The army of M. la Fayette was to be detached towards Givet, and that general was to attack Namur, in concert with M. Rochambeau.

The plan for penetrating the country was, that lieutenant-general Biron, with the advanced guard of Rochambeau's army, consisting of about 10,000 men, should appear before Mons, in order to sound the disposition of the Austrian soldiers, and of the inhabitants.—A body of cavalry, consisting of ten squadrons, commanded by M. Theobald Dillon, marechal de camp, was directed to march from Lisle, at the same time, for Tournay. M. Carl was to march to Furnes, with a detachment of 1200 men. The motive for making all these movements at the same time was, to divide the attention and forces of the enemy. M. Rochambeau's army, at Valenciennes, was intended to support M. Biron.

M. Biron left Valenciennes on the 28th of April, in the morning, took possession of Quievrain that evening, dislodged the Austrians from all the posts which they occupied between that place and Mons, and arrived on the 29th, within a short distance of that city. He then perceived the Austrian army upon the heights, occupying an advantageous position, and appearing more formidable than had been expected. Nevertheless, M. Biron passed the night, between the 29th and 30th, in the presence of the enemy, and took care to inform M. Rochambeau of his situation. His army appeared to be in the best possible disposition; notwithstanding this, he soon learned that the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons had retired. He immediately set off alone, and brought them back to the army, which he now found in the utmost agitation. The fugitives had propagated the news on their retreat, that the general had gone over to the enemy. The disorder which this false intelligence had thrown the troops into, did not fail to be perceived by the Austrians, who immediately commenced an attack, and M. Biron was forced to retire, although with bravery and firmness on the part of the French, who prevented the enemy from gaining any considerable advantage. M. Biron attempted to regain the post which he had occupied the night before at Quievrain, but this was taken possession of by the enemy, whom he found it impossible to dislodge; he was obliged therefore to push for Valenciennes. M. le Marchal de Rochambeau advanced, with three regiments, to secure the retreat of the troops. M. Biron was the last person who entered Valenciennes.

The Austrian accounts state M. Biron's loss to be 250 killed, besides a number taken prisoners; and also that five pieces of cannon fell into their hands, with a large quantity of baggage and camp equipage.

M. Dillon marched from Lisle on the 28th of April, in the evening, with the intention of appearing before Tournay early next morning. He was met, three leagues from Tournay, by the enemy, who were much stronger than had been supposed.

His troops betrayed a total want of discipline; and fled in the most precipitate and disorderly manner, crying out that they were betrayed, that Dillon was an aristocrat and a traitor, and had purposely led them into an ambush. He was accordingly massacred in the most barbarous manner, by his own men; who, to satiate their brutal vengeance still further, committed his body to the flames, and, like barbarians, exulted in the deed.

The cry of treachery was also raised against M. Rochambeau, who, upon finding that he could not command the confidence of the army, and that the ministers paid no attention to his information, but issued orders directly to M. Biron, and other officers who were under him, without informing him thereof, resigned his command. He complained, in his letter, of the offensive operations which had been commenced, contrary to his advice, under the mistaken notion that the Austrian troops were ready, as soon as an opportunity was offered, to join the French standard. He had all along, he said, informed the ministers, that he saw no symptoms of such a disposition. M. Biron, who had been in view of them for two days, declared that he found the country entirely hostile. Not one patriot joined him, or gave him intelligence; not one deserter came in.

It appears that the army afterwards acknowledged the injustice they had done M. Rochambeau, and were very desirous that he should retain his command, that they might have an opportunity of atoning for their conduct. M. Luckner was appointed to succeed him; but it was expected that M. Rochambeau would be prevailed upon to continue in command, agreeably to the wishes of M. Luckner, as well as of the national assembly. The detachment which marched for Furnes was kindly received by the inhabitants, and, after taking some refreshment, returned to Dunkirk. The disasters which attended the French troops before Mons and Tournay, seem to have discouraged them from making any further incursions at present. M. Fayette has halted his army in the vicinity of Namur, where he is receiving continual reinforcements. The enthusiasm of the French soldiers appears to be astonishingly great; but they are wretchedly disciplined, impatient of control, and the armies are badly provided with provisions and military stores The marquis has addressed his troops in an animated and forcible speech, on the necessity of their attending to order and discipline, for the establishment of which his endeavours are unremitting. The national assembly have addressed the citizens who have taken up arms, on the same subject.

We have not heard of any incursions into the French territory, by the Austrians. They seem to be waiting till their forces are united, and joined by the Prussian army, which is to be commanded by the king in person Even when united, it is probable that they will be cautious how they venture far within the confines of France, lest they should find it a difficult matter to return. It is fortunate for France that no decisive battle has taken place. The defeats she has experienced in skirmishes may have a good effect. It is possible to beat a people into discipline. This was the case with the Americans, in the beginning of their contest with the veterans of Britain; and it is not improbable that the same consequence may be the result of the defeats which the French troops have experienced.

M. de Grave has resigned his office of minister of war, and M. Servan has been appointed in his room. A court-martial has been ordered for the trial of those dragoons of the 5th and 6th regiments who called out "treason," in the action with the enemy before Mons. Measures have been taken to bring the murderers of Dillon to justice. The minister of war has informed the national assembly that the desertions to the enemy are exceedingly numerous, and that great injury is done to the service by the continual resignation of officers Great-Britain has given assurances, of a pacific disposition. Upon the whole, however, the complexion of French affairs is rather gloomy; but animated as the people are by the love of liberty, there is little room to doubt but that they will be ultimately triumphant over the mercenary armies that are employed against them, by despots who are endeavouring in vain to stifle that unquenchable flame of liberty, which is probably destined to extend its influence, ere long, over every part of Europe.

POLAND.

Such is the abhorrence with which European despots view every thing that looks like civil liberty, that the empress of Russia is preparing to invade Poland, with a

large army, for the purpose of obliging the people to relinquish their new constitution, although it was formed in peace, and agreeably to the wishes of all orders of men in the kingdom. This, to be sure, is the height of tyranny and injustice. The king having informed the diet of the expected invasion, measures have been taken to place the nation in a situation, which may enable the people to repel every attack upon their liberties.

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Late accounts from England state, that, in consequence of a disagreement in politicks between Mr. Pitt and the lord chancellor Thurlow, the latter has been informed of his majesty's wish that he should resign—that, in consequence of the murder of a soldier, in a house of ill-fame, at Birimingham, fresh riots had broken out at that place —That Mr. Paine has published a third pamphlet, entitled the CRISIS—That a royal proclamation has been issued against seditious writings and meetings; which appears to be levelled not only at Paine, but at the different societies which have been instituted, for the purpose of effecting a reform of the abuses in government, and particularly a parliamentary reform. New societies, however, have since been instituted, with this avowed object in view. A *reform* of the constitution, and not *innovations* seems to be the extent of the general wish But even against a *reform* both ministers and parliament appear to have taken a firm stand. The king has received the thanks of parliament, and of the city of London, for his proclamation. A motion made by Mr Fox, for the repeal of some odious penal statutes against dissenters, was negatived, in the house of commons, by a large majority. In the course of the debate on this motion, Mr. Burke inveighed, with great bitterness, against dissenters, as being friends to the revolution in France, and desirous of effecting similar innovations in the British government.

In *Ireland*, the government seems to have acted with considerable policy, in repealing, at this crisis, some of the penal statutes against Roman catholicks, and making a further annual allowance to the presbyterian clergy. But these palliatives will not be sufficient to reconcile the people to the many oppressions under which they groan. Societies of "United Irishmen" have been formed, in almost every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of grievances; and the press continually teems with spirited publications. Paine's Rights of Man have been published, at full length, in the Irish magazines, and in most of the popular newspapers. Thus it appears, that the *seeds* of liberty are plentifully sown in that country; but we fear that the inequality of condition which the feudal tenures of the soil have established, will be a powerful barrier against such a reform in the government, as would effectually relieve the oppressed peasantry. Nothing less than the shock of a general convulsion, that shall overthrow all established forms, will answer this great end.

UNITED STATES.

PHILADELPHIA. *July 4th.*

Considerable damage was done by a party of Indians, at and round the town of Frankfort, in Kentucky, about the middle of May. They were pursued over the Ohio by a party of volunteers, who found the savages too strong to be attacked, and returned without doing any thing.

The foundation of an academy is now laying in the town of Newark, New-Jersey. This building, it is said, will, when finished, be at least equal to any edifice for this purpose in America.

The question has been carried in the British house of commons, that the African slave trade, in British bottoms, shall cease after January 1st, 1796.

Last week, sailed in a vessel from this port for England, Mr. *Thomas Pinckney*, minister plenipotentiary from the united states to the court of Great-Britain.

On Sunday afternoon last, a violent squall of wind from W. N. W. and N. W. did considerable damage in this city and port. Several square-rigged vessels were driven from their moorings at the wharves, but were fortunately secured from injury by anchoring in the stream, except an English brig, which grounded on the bar opposite

the lower part of the town, and the ship Juno, lately from Havre de Grace, which, soon after breaking from her moorings, overset, and, drifting along the island, got aground about a mile below the town, where she now lies on her beam ends, and is said to have lost most of her spars and rigging.

Several small craft and boats were also much damaged, but we are happy to hear that no lives were lost, although the gale was very severe, and came on so suddenly that it was almost impossible to escape its fury.

In the city, some chimnies and parts of brick walls were blown down; the roof of a store below the Bird-in-Hand wharf was removed several inches from its place, and large limbs torn from many trees in different parts of the town.

One of the ferry-boats of this city was overset within three hundred yards of the Jersey shore. There were on board nine persons, five men and women, and four small children. Captain Scott, of Massachusetts, who was one of them, by his exertions brought them all safe on shore: first one of the children, and afterwards successively the others, who, in the mean time, with difficulty had saved themselves from drowning by hanging to the boat, which supported them, tho' full of water.—A boy was drowned by the oversetting of another boat, which is the only life lost that we have heard of

July 7. Wednesday, the 4th instant, being the anniversary of the independence of the united states of America, completing sixteen years since the declaration of independence, was celebrated in this city with every demonstration of joy suitable to the occasion. At 12 o'clock the minister of France, and the ministers of other foreign nations, the officers of the city militia, and many respectable citizens, waited on the president of the united states, and congratulated him on the day. The state society of the Cincinnati, preceded by the governor and chief justice of the state, their president and vice-president, went also in procession, nearly about the same time, to pay their respects to the president of the united states. A number of cannon were discharged on the occasion, and an entertainment in honour of the day was given at Oeller's hotel, by the Cincinnati, to which the heads of departments and foreign ministers were invited, who favoured the society with their company. Fireworks were to have been displayed in the evening, but the badness of the day, being almost a continual heavy rain, prevented.

On Saturday last, some boys bathing in a pond, near this city, one of them wandering from the rest, sunk into a deep hole and disappeared. After lying under water about twenty minutes, he was at length taken up, to all appearance dead. By rubbing him with salt, however, in less than twenty minutes the body exhibited signs of re-animation: in about three hours more, he was so far recovered as to turn himself in the bed, and in a day or two was perfectly well.——Our accounts further say, that before the usual methods of recovery were tried, the body had every appearance of being lifeless; and many supposed that a total suspension of the animal functions had taken place.

The final abolition of the African slave trade is determined on by the government of Denmark, as far as concerns themselves; to avoid the disadvantage, however, of too sudden a change in that trade, its final abolition is not to take place for ten years, that is till January 1, 1803; during which time every means is to be used to encourage the breeding of negroes in their colonies, and to establish such laws as may be of mutual benefit to the blacks and whites. After the expiration of the time above mentioned, no Danish subject will be permitted to carry on the slave trade in any shape whatever.

A squall visited New-York last sunday afternoon, at nearly the same time as here; near thirty persons were drowned in consequence thereof, men, women, and children, that were taking their pleasure on the river. Reports were in circulation of many other persons being lost, by the oversetting of boats. Much damage, it is said, was also done to houses and orchards.

In the months of April, May, and June, 1792, there have been shipped from the port of Philadelphia, one hundred and sixty-one thousand, three hundred and forty-four barrels of flour; and during the same period, fourteen hundred and eighteen barrels of middlings.

Capers have been thought only capable of growing in warm climates. A tree is now growing near New-London, full of that fruit; and equal in appearance to any imported from France, Sicily, or any other foreign country.

Capt. Joſeph Brandt, the celebrated Indian Chief from Canada, departed a few days ſince from this city, on a journey to the weſtward. It is ſaid his object is to endeavour to conciliate the minds of the hoſtile Indians, and lay the foundation for a permanent peace between thoſe tribes and the united ſtates.

In the report of the committee appointed by the Engliſh houſe of commons, to enquire into the effect of the laws relative to impriſonment for debt, an inſtance is produced of a man having been confined forty-five years, for a debt, originally amounting only to ſix pounds.

July 14th. We are informed that the directors of the national manufactures, attended by the ſecretary of the treaſury, met at the town of Patterſon, (N. J.) on Tueſday laſt, and, after purchaſing the lands from the reſpective proprietors, fixed upon the exact ſituation of the different mill-ſeats, and other principal buildings of the eſtabliſhment.—Inſtructions were given to the conductors of the different branches of the manufactory, immediately to remove thither and complete their machinery, with all convenient ſpeed—that deciſive and definite arrangements took place, reſpecting their future operations, entirely to the ſatisfaction of all concerned.—Our correſpondent further adds, that the celebrated architect, Monſ. L'Enfant, is expected there on Tueſday or Wedneſday next, for the purpoſe of laying out the new town, the form of which is contemplated to be nearly circular, encompaſſing a delightful plain, intended for a bleaching ground. Nature has been particularly bountiful to this ſpot, a healthy and delightful country, excellent water both for domeſtic and mill purpoſes, abundance of good building ſtone is to be met with on the ſpot, plenty of fuel, the river and brooks around it abound with fiſh; proviſions are very cheap, and the country thickly ſettled. Theſe advantages, together with its contiguity to, and eaſy communication with one of the firſt cities in the united ſtates, make it unqueſtionably one of the moſt eligible and deſirable ſituations in the world, for the permanent eſtabliſhment of manufactories.

By a late arrival at Salem (M.) intelligence is come to hand, that Ankerſtrom, the Swediſh regicide, has been executed according to his ſentence. He was publicly whipped three different times in the market place; ignominiouſly expoſed to view in the pillory; his right hand was cut off; and finally he was beheaded, quartered, and expoſed at the common place of execution. He gloried in what he had done, to the laſt; and even in the agonies of death rejoiced that he had rid his country of a tyrant.

On the 26th of June, a man named John Fuller was executed at Charleſton, for attempting to paſs a forged note, knowing the ſame to be forged—He declared himſelf, to the laſt, innocent of the crime for which he was doomed to ſuffer.

July 18th. Saturday laſt, the 14th of July, the anniverſary of the French revolution, was celebrated in this city, with every demonſtration of joy and congratulation.

The veſſels in the harbour were dreſſed in their colours, and a French veſſel ſaluted the day by frequent firings.

Several ſelect companies celebrated the day in a convivial manner. And the evening was cloſed by a brilliant diſplay of rockets and other fire-works, which met with the greateſt applauſe from a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators.

The advocates for the *buckle* in London, and thoſe for the *ſhoe-ſtring*, have ſettled their differences, and are about to unite in a claſp.

On Wedneſday afternoon laſt, the preſident of the united ſtates, with his lady, ſet out for Virginia.

Mr. Bolton, of Birmingham, has applied the ſteam engine to coining. By his machinery, four boys, of ten years old, can ſtrike off 30,000 guineas in an hour. The machine keeps an unerring account of the pieces ſtruck.

July 21ſt. The ſpirit of party in New-York, reſpecting the late election for governor of the ſtate, is ſaid to have riſen to ſuch a height as to occaſion ſeveral duels. Amongſt theſe, Col. Marinus Willett and William Wilcocks, Eſq. had a meeting, and exchanged a few ſhots; but their friends interfering, prevented any bad conſequences. Col. Willett is friendly to governor Clinton's election, which is oppoſed by Mr. Wilcocks.

The anniverſary of American independence has been celebrated far and wide, by the friends of America and republican government—The 14th of July, as far as we have yet heard, has been the object of almoſt equal attention by the patriots of America, and will no doubt, in future, be conſidered as our ſecond day of eminence in the calendar of liberty.

On Thurſday, July 5th, the brig Charleſton, capt. Garman, on her paſſage from this port to Charleſton, and within one day's ſail of the bar, was ſtruck with lightning. Both maſts were ſtruck, but the foremaſt and its topmaſts ſuffered moſt. A horſe on deck was killed. The mate and ſeveral of the hands were knocked down, and remained lifeleſs for ſome time; and Mr. William P. Young, paſſenger on board, lay a conſiderable time, deprived of his ſenſes, and very much ſcorched and otherwiſe hurt. The ſhock was ſo great, that the brig, although going at the rate of five or ſix knots, was totally ſtopped, and continued motionleſs ſome time.—It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that ſo little attention ſhould be paid to arm veſſels with *lightning rods*, to prevent miſchief of this kind. They might be put on and taken off at pleaſure, with very little trouble.

July 25th. Advices from Cape Francois, and other parts of French Hiſpaniola, to the beginning of July, are as unfavorable as ever. A ſpirit of diſcord ſeems to have taken poſſeſſion of all deſcriptions of people, which threatens, we may ſay has nearly enſured, the total ruin of the colony. The people of Port-au-Prince, Cape Nichola Mole, and Port Jeremie, have refuſed to accept the decree of the national aſſembly, granting certain privileges to the mulattoes and free negroes.

Several French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies are ſaid to be in a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, in conſequence of attempts to re-eſtabliſh the old form of government. Reports ſay, that in Martinique a counter-revolution is abſolutely effected, and that ſeveral of the leading patriots in Gaudaloupe had eſcaped, with difficulty, to other iſlands.

Extract of a letter from Havre, dated May 18.

"The declaration of war againſt the king of Hungary, it appears, was done with a view to fix the minds of the people, to diſcriminate internal friends from lurking foes, to enforce diſcipline, and to get things on a reſpectable war eſtabliſhment. So far matters ſeem proper: whether a ſerious invaſion of the Auſtrian provinces was ever intended, is not clear. In future, we ſhall remain on the defenſive, unleſs by ſome event forced to dootherwiſe; at leaſt this is the opinion of people verſed in the politics of the kingdom. Advices from the frontiers inform us that it is pleaſing to ſee how willingly people haſte to thoſe parts, to aſſiſt in defending their country againſt any invaſion, and to protect the conſtitution. It is not probable, however, that any thing very material will take place, in military affairs, till the combined armies have ſhewn themſelves in the Auſtrian Low Countries."

On the 16th and 17th inſt. the preſident of the united ſtates, and the commiſſioners of the federal buildings, examined the plans for a capitol, and preſident's houſe, to be erected in the city of Waſhington; ſeveral of conſiderable merit, for each building, were preſented. The premium for the beſt plan of a preſident's houſe was adjudged to James Hoben, from Charleſton, South-Carolina, but no deciſion was given in favour of any plan for a capitol; three or four of ſuperior merit are under conſideration, and it is expected that the commiſſioners at their next meeting, the 1ſt of Auguſt next, will then make their election.

Commencement in Dickinson College.

ON Thurſday the 3d of May, 1792, was held a commencement for degrees in the arts, in Dickinſon college, at which were preſent a very large and reſpectable audience. As twenty-five young gentlemen had prepared orations for the occaſion, and theſe could not all be delivered in one day, it was found neceſſary to begin the exerciſes on Wedneſday.

The truſtees, faculty, and ſtudents of the college, having proceeded, in order, to the Preſbyterian church, in which the commencement was held, the buſineſs was begun with prayers, by the Rev. Dr. *Charles Neſbit*, the principal; after which followed

1. The *Salutatory* oration, in Latin, on the ſtate of the ancient republics of Greece; by Mr. *John Moore*, of Virginia.

2. An oration on the inſufficiency of human laws for preventing moral diſorders; by Mr. *John Lyon*, of Carliſle, Pennſylvania.

3. On ſenſibility, and its effects on moral conduct; by Mr. *James Smith*, of Maryland.

4. On the true and proper uſe of reaſon; by Mr. *Robert Whitehill*, of Pennſylvania.

5. On the unlawfulneſs of domeſtic ſlavery; by Mr. *Iſaac Wayne*, of Philadelphia.

6. On the neceſſity of knowledge and virtue in free governments; by Mr. *Andrew Steel*, of Kentucky.

7. On the causes of the imperfection of human knowledge; by Mr. *John Creigh*, jun. of Carlisle.

8. On the causes of the uncertainty of our judgments with respect to the moral characters of men; by Mr. *James Laird*, of York county, Pennsylvania.

9. On the connexion between a profession of scepticism and licentiousness of conduct; by Mr. *George Dugan*, of Baltimore.

10. On the distinction between truth and falsehood; by Mr. *John M'Jimsey*, of Pennsylvania.

11. On the pernicious consequences of scepticism; by Mr. *John Steel*, of Kentucky.

12. On the danger of relying on the principle of self-interest in political establishments; by Mr. *James M'Knight*, of North-Carolina.

13. On the influence of instinct and obscure ideas; by Mr. *Rennels*, of Pennsylvania.

14. On the influence of education on national happiness; by Mr. *James Postlethwait*, of Carlisle.

15. On the uncertainty of the effects of education; by Mr. *William Hunter*, of Carlisle.

16. On the influence of the principle of imitation; by Mr. *Augustin Smith*, of Virginia.

17. On the influence of the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments on moral conduct; by Mr. *Samuel Davidson*, of Pennsylvania.

18. On the influence of a sense of honour and shame on moral conduct; by Mr. *David Cassat*, of Pennsylvania.

19. On the necessity of veracity and faithfulness in society; by Mr. *John M'Kesson*, of Pennsylvania.

20. On the pernicious consequences of a love of singularity; by Mr. *Haden Edwards*, of Kentucky.

21. On natural and artificial distinctions in society; by Mr. *William Woods*, of Pennsylvania.

22. On the influence of vice on reason and science; by Mr. *James Gilleland*, of North-Carolina.

23. On the principles that serve as substitutes for virtue in bad men; by Mr. *John Foulk*, of Carlisle.

24. On the love of imitation, and its influence in society; by Mr. *William Carcaud*, of Maryland.

The degree of *Bachelor of Arts* was then conferred on the following gentlemen, being all of the same class: viz. Messrs. John Moore, John Lyon, James Smith, Robert Whitehill, Isaac Wayne, Andrew Steel, John Creigh, James Laird, John M'Jimsey, David Cassat, Samuel Rennels, John Steel, James M'Knight, William Hunter, James Postlethwait, Augustin Smith, Haden Edwards, Samuel Davidson, George Dugan, James Gilleland, John M'Kesson, John Foulk, William Woods, William Carcaud, Maxwell M'Dowell, James Hemphill, Robert Calender, Josiah Leek, John Todd, Charles Ross, John Brakenridge, William Steel, and John Wilson.

Mr. James M'Cormick also received the honorary degree of Bachelor of Arts; and has been chosen Professor of Mathematics in Dickinson college.

The degree of *Master of Arts* was conferred on the following gentlemen, formerly graduates in this seminary, viz. Messrs. Isaac Greer, Robert Duncan, James Duncan, David Watts, Jonathan Walker, Steel Semple, Thomas Creigh, David M'Keehan, Isaiah Blair, and James Calhoon.

The degree of *Doctor in Divinity* was conferred on the Rev. James Waddel, of Virginia; the Rev. Samuel M'Corkle, of North-Carolina; the Rev. Robert Cooper, and the Rev. John King, of Pennsylvania.

After this, the *Valedictory* oration was delivered by Mr. *Maxwell M'Dowell*, of Pennsylvania.—And the business of the day was concluded by a solemn and weighty charge, delivered by the principal, to the class about to take their leave of the institution; earnestly recommending diligence in their future studies, zeal for the public, and regard for all the important duties of morality and religion.—Concluded with prayer.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of JUNE, 1792.

Days.	Baromet. Eng. foot. In. 1/12 1/16	Thermometer of Farenh. D. 1/10 ○	Thermometer of Reaum. D. 1/10 ○	Anemometer Prevail Wind	rain +	thunder	hail	WEATHER.
1	30 0 14	68 0	16 0	W				Overcast
	30 1 3	90 5	26 0	E				Cloudy, windy
2	30 0 6	59 0	12 0	Variab.	1			Rainy
	29 10 6	73 6	18 5	Idem.				Idem
3	29 10 13	65 7	15 0	E				Overcast
	30 0 0	82 6	22 5	WSW				Idem
4	30 1 13	63 5	14 0	E	1			Overcast, rainy
	30 2 0	66 2	15 2	E				Drizling rain
5	30 1 10	59 0	12 0	S	1			Idem
	29 11 5	89 0	25 3	S		1		Fair, thund. small rain
6	29 11 0	65 7	15 0	Variab.		1		Idem, idem, idem.
	29 9 13	77 0	20 0	Idem.	1	1		Thunder & rainy
7	29 8 9	59 0	12 0	NE	1			Rainy,
	29 9 3	72 5	18 0	Variab.				Overcast, rainy
8	29 11 6	51 0	8 5	NE	1			Idem, idem
	29 11 11	60 0	12 4	NE				Rainy
9	29 11 9	54 5	10 0	NE				Cloudy, windy
	30 0 12	70 2	17 0	SE				Idem, idem
10	29 11 2	52 2	9 0	NE	1			Overcast, windy, rainy
	29 10 6	53 0	9 4	NE			1	Heavy rains, stormy
11	29 10 6	48 6	7 4	NE	1			Idem
	29 10 8	54 3	9 8	NE			1	Idem, stormy
12	29 11 14	52 2	9 0	ENE				Cloudy, windy
	30 0 12	67 5	15 8	ENE				Idem, idem
13	30 1 6	53 4	9 5	ENE				Cloudy
	30 1 1	71 4	17 5	ENE				Fair
14	30 1 8	53 4	9 5	ENE				Foggy
	30 1 2	78 8	20 8	ENE				Fair
15	30 1 0	53 4	9 5	ENE				Idem
	30 0 3	84 9	23 5	ENE				Idem
16	30 0 11	56 7	11 0	E				Idem
	30 0 2	84 9	23 5	ESE				Idem
17	30 0 4	61 2	13 0	WSW				Foggy, fair
	30 0 4	87 81	24 81	SE	1	1		Fair

Days.	Baromet. Eng. foot. In. 1/12 1/16	Thermometer of Farenh. D. 1/10 ○	Thermometer of Reaum. D. 1/10 ○	Anemometer Prevail. Wind	rain	thunder	hail	WEATHER.
18	30 0 13	63 0	13 8	WSW				Fair
	30 1 0	90 5	26 0	WSW				Idem
19	30 1 12	62 0	13 4	WSW				Idem
	30 1 0	88 9	25 3	SW				Idem
20	30 0 2	63 5	14 0	WSW				Idem
	29 11 7	88 7	25 2	WSW				Idem
21	29 9 7	68 0	16 0	ENE				Overcast.
	29 8 5	93 6	27 4	WSW	1	1		Thunder & rain
22	29 9 9	68 0	16 0	E				Overcast
	29 8 7	87 8	24 8	SW				Cloudy
23	29 7 10	69 6	16 7	Variab.				Overcast
	29 7 5	69 6	16 7	Idem	1			Rainy
24	29 11 5	65 7	15 0	Idem				Cloudy.
	30 0 4	79 2	21 0	Idem				Fair
25	30 1 7	59 0	12 0	SE	1			Rainy
	30 1 5	74 7	19 0	SSW				Cloudy
26	30 1 7	63 5	14 0	NW				Fair
	30 1 2	83 3	22 8	W				Idem
27	30 0 12	65 7	15 0	WSW				Idem
	29 11 14	89 4	25 5	WSW				Idem
28	29 11 9	64 8	14 6	W				Idem
	29 11 0	90 0	25 8	W				Idem
29	29 10 0	70 2	17 0	SW				Overcast
	29 9 0	91 6	26 5	SW				Fair, lightning
30	29 9 14	65 7	15 0	W				Idem
	29 11 0	87 0	24 5	SW				Idem
RESULT.	4th gr. elev. 30 2 23d least el. 29 7 5 Variation 6 11 Meaneleva. 1 29 11 9	11th gr. de. of heat 93 6 27 4 11th least de. of heat 48 6 7 4 Variation 45 20 Mean degree 70 16 9	NE WSW	11	4	2		Fair, rainy, & wet.

THE
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
AND
Columbian Magazine,
FOR AUGUST, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

CONTENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*,
BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

To CORRESPONDENTS.

MEMOIRS *of a ſingular character* are not calculated to anſwer any uſeful end, that we can perceive. We believe the *ſingular* character drawn by our correſpondent to be the offſpring of his own imagination. Such a compound of contradictions and abſurdities is ſurely not in nature.

Flavia's propoſed tax on old bachelors, would perhaps be found ineffectual for the promotion of early marriages. To encourage theſe, inducements ought to be held out; and not penalties inflicted. Beſides, it is cruel to increaſe the miſeries of thoſe, who are almoſt univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt wretched of mankind.—If celibacy carries its own puniſhment with it, why would our fair correſpondent be ſo vindictive as to add to this puniſhment? Few, we apprehend, are ſo far diveſted of the feelings of nature, as to prefer a ſingle life; unleſs they have cogent reaſons, indeed, for ſo doing. If theſe reaſons be well founded, (as they ſometimes are) no cenſure is due; and if imaginary, thoſe who are influenced by them, deſerve to be conſidered as objects of pity, rather than of puniſhment.—If *Flavia* writes from chagrin, or diſappointment, let her reflect whether the fault be not, in ſome degree, her own. It is not very uncommon for young ladies to be ſo vain of their ſuppoſed accompliſhments, or *perſonal* beauty, (ladies of good ſenſe are out of the queſtion) as to think themſelves too good for gentlemen, with whom they might enjoy connubial happineſs; and to indulge very unreaſonable expectations of grandeur, &c.—It is a ſad thing, when the bloom of youth is gone, to be left to repent of this miſtaken conduct.—Obſervation has furniſhed us with one fact, which we ſhall take the liberty of mentioning, for the ſake of our young female readers, but without any remarks on its phyſical cauſe.—We have found that female beauty generally fades in America, at a much earlier age than in more temperate and equable climates; and that unmarried ladies are commonly afflicted with a dreadful train of maladies, which ſometimes commence before the twenty-fifth year. The beſt preſervative, both of female health and beauty, is a prudent and early marriage.—We would willingly hope that this information does not come too late for our fair correſpondent.

The Dog-Star, a poem, is neither poetry nor proſe.

Elegy on a lap-dog, by *Maria*—inadmiſſible—Peace to his *manes*; and conſolation, and a more rational companion, to his miſtreſs.

PHILADELPHIA, *Auguſt* 31, 1792.

Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	22s.	*Bank U. S. whole ſhares per cent advance*	50.
Deferred ſix per cents,	13ſ4.	*Bank of N. America do. do.*	30.
Three per cents,	12ſ9.		

COURSE *of* EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London,	*90 days,*	69.	*Amſterdam,*	*60 days, per guilder,*	3s.
Ditto.	*60 days,*	70.	*Ditto.*	*90 days,*	2ſ11.
Ditto.	*30 days,*	72½			

THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

Columbian Magazine,

FOR AUGUST, 1792.

On the EXCLUSION *of* MINISTERS *of* RELIGION *from* CIVIL OFFICES.

THE queſtion relating to a conſtitutional excluſion of the miniſters of religion from civil offices, is a very ſerious one, as it affects a reſpectable and venerable order of citizens, and ſtill more important, as it involves certain fundamental principles of government.

The American conſtitutions have taken different ſides of the queſtion; even thoſe of lateſt date, and therefore the reſult of the fulleſt and clereſt information, are in oppoſition to each other thereupon. Thoſe who argue for the diſqualification of the clergy ſay, 1ſt. That religious duties afford ſufficient employment, and are of a nature not to aſſort with the buſtle of political ſcenes; and therefore the miniſters of the altar ſhould not only live by the altar, but remain at the altar. 2dly. That, if eligible to public offices, their influence over the people will give them an undue advantage over other candidates, and by degrees throw all power into their hands, which would be neither prudent nor ſafe. 3dly. That when they enjoy particular emoluments or exemptions under the law, it is but right and juſt that theſe ſhould be balanced by particular legal diſqualifications and diſadvantages; otherwiſe this claſs of citizens would not be on a level with the reſt.

Now the firſt argument cannot be allowed the leaſt weight in the queſtion. It may be very proper for the conſideration both of the paſtor and the flock, but is a matter to be decided by them alone. The ſecond argument falls under a ſimilar obſervation. If the people are pleaſed to ſend the man who inſtructs them in their religious duties, to manage their other concerns alſo, and he is willing to undertake the ſervice, on what principle can either be disfranchiſed of their common right? on no principle whatever, that would not authoriſe a like diſqualification of any other profeſſion, or calling in

life, till the right of choofing and being chofen fhould be narrowed down to a rank ariftocracy. The third argument has weight, but inftead of being turned againft the right of fuch difqualifications, it lies againft the wrong of fuch exemptions. Thofe who enjoy peculiar privileges under the law, may fairly be fubjected by the law to peculiar difabilities.—And as it would be an injury to them to impofe the latter without the former; fo to grant them the former without the latter, would be equally an injury to all others. When it is confidered that religion is not an object of political regulation, and that the rights of confcience are, from their nature, as well as by moft of the declarations of rights, excepted out of the jurifdiction of the civil magiftrate, too much care cannot be taken to keep government and religion feparate and diftinct. And it feems not to have been duly confidered, by the conftitutions which impofe thefe civil difqualifications, and which probably did not mean to violate their principle of religious liberty, that they pave the way therefor as much by beginning with the difqualifications, as if they had begun, on the other fide, with particular favours and exemptions. For there is the fame interference of the civil power on account of religion, in the one cafe as in the other; and on whichever fide the government interferes, its interference on the other follows of courfe. Juftice pleads for it. Privileges authorife difabilities, and difabilities lead to privileges; till at length the miniffers of religion are eftablifhed into a political order in the ftate; the magiftrate is clothed with complete jurifdiction over it; and religion is turned into a mere engine of civil government. Let the miniffers of religion then be confidered by civil fociety merely as members of civil fociety. Let them claim no privilege not common to all other citizens; and let other citizens impofe no burden whatever not common to themfelves. This is the only juft and fafe way in which this queftion can be decided.

Philadelphia, Auguft 8, 1792.

On Banking Companies *in the* United States.

TO arreft the progrefs of error in its paffage, and to throw light on fubjects not commonly underftood, however laborious a tafk it may feem to an author, ought furely to compenfate him, by the fuavity of feelings with which it is attended, and the general good that fometimes enfues; nor ought he to be difcouraged by the malevolent afperfions of the designing, or the ftill more fubtle management of the intereffed, from purfuing the thread of enquiries evidently tending to objects of confiderable public utility.

It is but a little time fince banks were frequently to be met with in this country; and but a very fhort one fince the experiment of having more than one in one place has been tried: until it was tried here, many vain and miftaken theories were fported about it, in fpite of the plaineft reafon, which proved that banks, as any other

ſhops, might be multiplied to any given number, without danger to the public, while they were conducted with prudence, and their buſineſs confined within proper bounds, compared with their capital—without which, their exiſtence muſt, of neceſſity, be ſhort.

The experiment, however, has been fairly made, and two banks actually exiſt not only at Philadelphia, but at Charleſton, at Baltimore, at New-York, and at Boſton—to ſay nothing of thoſe erected at Albany, at Hartford, at Providence, and the branch meditated at Richmond; ſurely their number has fully confuted the ideas of thoſe, who romantically thought one bank and its branches, alone ſufficient for the union, and that, placed as it was under the wings of the government, none other could ſtand in competition with it.

And now ſome are complaining of theſe numerous inſtitutions as great evils, from which, they apprehend, that too much paper money will iſſue—when the fact is, that ſo many banks will rather limit this circulation, by dividing it into ſo many parts as to render it unſafe for any bank to exceed the prudent limits of its capital: for how can any bank ſafely venture itſelf to treſpaſs on this great line of right conduct, when it knows not the hour at which its forces may be put to the teſt;—each bank, therefore, is left in ſociety, as each individual is and ought to be, to ſtand or fall by the prudence and wiſdom of the management of its own concerns.

In every community there is, and muſt be from its nature, a demand for a certain quantity of current money—this is ſupplied either by the precious metals or by the bank paper; neither can be extended beyond that certain demand which I have preſuppoſed. The chief diſadvantage ſuſtained by a nation from banks is, that this demand, which would, in its natural order, have been filled up by ſpecie, becomes chiefly ſupplied by paper, which, reſting only on commercial credit, is liable to be ſhaken with it; but it is certainly a mighty ſecurity for a public, that this bank paper be ſupplied by various inſtitutions, on various capitals, becauſe the ſolidity of it becomes more apparent; juſt as it appears to be better for a man in trade to have his common book-debts due from numbers of good people, rather than from only one debtor, who, however ſafe he might be ſuppoſed, might wholly ruin him in caſe of accident.

The only ill conſequence ariſing from the multiplication of banks is to the ſtockholders, whoſe profits may be leſſened by it: but what are theſe ſtockholders to the body of the nation who are benefitted?—The nation is benefitted, not by monopoly, but by a general diffuſion of the profits of banking, as of any other trade, among the greater number; and the bank itſelf is benefitted by the competition that forms the only operative check upon its directors; inſtead of twelve directors, as formerly, we have now perhaps thirty in the city;—ſo knowledge is extended on an abſtruſe ſubject, and impartiality more effectually ſecured in the adminiſtration.

In no country have monopolies worked good, but to a few intereſted in conducting them; the Eaſt-India company of England, to whom was granted the excluſive privilege of navigating for Great-Britain, in all ſeas beyond the Cape of Good-Hope—that Eaſt-India company that waged war and maintained armies, that plundered provinces and de-

throned nabobs ; amid the ſplendour of their conqueſts, or the brilliancy of their atchievements, paid but the pittance of 6 to 8 per cent to their ſtockholders, and contracted debts of eight millions, which they will kindly leave to aftertimes to diſcharge ; but in the mean time they have created nabobs at home, and, tho' poor themſelves, have enabled their ſervants to purchaſe ſeats in parliament, and extend the tide of national corruption ; while the farce and pageantry of ſtate trials have been held upon delinquents, at an expenſe, it is ſaid, already, in a ſingle inſtance, of upwards of thirty thouſand guineas to the public. Who, that conſiders theſe things, but muſt deprecate MONOPOLIES, as among the foreſt evils that have fallen to the lot of countries, or of men to ſuſtain !

RUSSELL.

Philadelphia, Auguſt, 1792.

On the INCONVENIENCE *and* IMPROPRIETY *of the* OFFICIAL ROBES *worn by the* JUDGES *of the* UNITED STATES.

HAVING by accident chanced the other day to walk by the court-houſe, and obſerving a crowd at the door, I was tempted to enter for an inſtant, to ſee what was the object of attention, when I was ſurpriſed at my going in, to behold upon the judicial ſeats, ſix gentlemen, arrayed in a robe as unſuitable to the ſeaſon, as it was new in point of faſhion. I was for ſome time at a loſs to diſcover the kind of dreſs they had on, till, on a nearer approach, I found it to be of ſcarlet, trimmed with ermine. Such a dreſs in Auguſt was truly ſurpriſing, for in point of convenience it muſt be extremely oppreſſive, and in point of ſhew or appearance it certainly was much leſs ſolemn and decorous, than the black coats, till lately always obſerved on thoſe ſeats.

The dreſs, I have been told, is borrowed from a country we are but too ambitious to copy, though we were lately ſo fond of diſdaining. I am ſorry our judges ſhould have imitated an example originating, probably, in barbarous times, and probably preſerved only in England, on account of its antiquity. But if our judicial concerns could not be carried on without a decoration ſo extraordinary, why not take the whole of it ? The wig of long tails and curls, as well as the gown ?—for the *tout enſemble* ought to have gone together, if taken at all ;—the effect being now to give a very ſmall appearance to the head, compared to the ermined ſhoulders ; and this effect is ſuch, as to deſtroy totally whatever ſolemnity might have been conceived to reſide formerly in this *toga judicis.*

But is it indeed in this enlightened age, in the eighteenth century, that we can expect dreſs to go for any thing in the popular eſtimation? —Alas, as Mr. Burke obſerves, the age of chivalry is gone, and with it are departed that ſanctity annexed to exterior veſtments, which were often ſo ill ſuited to their wearers.—No, it is law, ſound

judgment, and impartial juſtice alone, that can dignify thoſe ſeats, and theſe would have had their ſway in the common dreſs—

" Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow,
" All elſe is nought but leather or prunella"

So Pope thought formerly, nor is the doctrine leſſened in repute by the prevailing tide of modern politics.

I would not be underſtood, by what I have ſaid, in the leaſt to wiſh to leſſen the reſpect which I really feel for theſe gentlemen, and which is eſſential to the due execution of the laws. But ſeeing the conſtitution of the united ſtates has not warranted any diſtinctions of dreſs, uſed in regal courts, to be adopted in our own; but, on the contrary, forbids expreſsly, by its ſpirit, the introduction of orders of nobility, ſo connected with diſtinctions of dreſs: Seeing, alſo, our amiable preſident does not aſſume the royal robes, at his levees, to which he has, at leaſt, as much apparent right; I have not been able to forbear theſe ſtrictures;—meaning always to oppoſe them to every novelty, which appears to me calculated to alter the habits of our plain republican ſyſtem.

RUSSELL.

Philadelphia, Auguſt, 1792.

On PUBLIC SPEAKING.

[*By the late* F. Hopkinson, *Eſq.*]

To ſpeak in public, with propriety and effect, requires many talents, natural and acquired. The object of all public ſpeaking is *perſuaſion;* to make other people believe or act according to the ſpeaker's mind. For this purpoſe, it is neceſſary that the orator ſhould have a *pleaſing addreſs, a lively imagination, a thorough knowledge of his ſubject, and a good ear,* with reſpect to the language in which he is to deliver his ſentiments.

Firſt impreſſions have an unavoidable influence on the mind. The moſt judicious and impartial hearers conceive ſome predilection for, or prejudice againſt the ſpeaker, on his very firſt appearance. It is, therefore, of great importance, that a genteel manner, and graceful addreſs, ſhould beſpeak the favourable attention of the audience; otherwiſe, the orator will not only have to encounter the difficulties incident to his ſubject, but muſt alſo labour againſt a foreign influence: whereas a genteel figure, a graceful deportment, and a pleaſing addreſs, ſometimes operate in his favour, to greater advantage than all the force of his arguments; and, what is of infinite importance, he is ſure of the good opinion of the ladies.

A lively imagination will enable the orator to throw an air of novelty over his ſubject, and to preſent it in points of view in which it hath not frequently been conſidered; to enforce his arguments with apt alluſions, and embelliſh the whole with ſtriking metaphors. To hear a dull and hackneyed ſubject elaborately diſcuſſed, by a dull and phlegmatic ſpeaker, affords about as much entertainment, as to hear

a demonſtration from Euclid, proving a propoſition which cannot be denied; or a ſtring of logical ſyllogiſms, proving nothing at all.

A thorough knowledge of his ſubject, I have laid down as the next requiſite in a public ſpeaker. This, I confeſs, is not abſolutely neceſſary; as there are many who make a very tolerable figure without it. It might indeed, be extremely inconvenient to make this rule ſtrict and general, inaſmuch as there would be danger of ſileneing one third of the gentlemen of the bar; one half of the orators of the pulpit; and three fourths of the ſpeakers in parliaments and houſes of aſſembly: yet it ſeems but reaſonable, that an author ſhould have ſome knowledge of the ſubject he is handling, and, therefore, this rule is rather recommended than inſiſted upon.

A good ear is the laſt mentioned, though not the leaſt important qualification of a good ſpeaker. If his language is pure, his periods harmoniouſly arranged, and his voice melodiouſly adapted to the conſtruction of every ſentence, the orator will not fail to charm his hearers, even though there ſhould be but a very ſcanty portion of ſolid ſenſe diluted in his flowing rhetoric. The mind is inſenſibly captivated by pleaſing ſounds, and the moſt obdurate judgment yields to the magic influence of ſweet harmony. It is, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary that authors of little ſenſe ſhould pay great attention to the powers of ſound; for every hearer expects to be either inſtructed or pleaſed; and he has a right to expect it.

It is next to impoſſible to lay down rules for harmonious compoſition. When words and ſentences are ſo arranged, as to produce a pleaſing melody, all acknowledge the effect, but none can point out that particular conſtruction in which the magic conſiſts. Grammar-rules have nothing to do with it; for a ſentence may be ſtrictly grammatical, and yet as offenſive to the ear as the ſharpening of a ſaw. For inſtance, obſerve the contraſt between the two following ſentences; both of which are equally unexceptionable in point of grammar.

"Some have a happy talent of expreſſion, whereby they compenſate the want of ſentiment, by the melody of their ſtyle; their language ever flowing like a wave of the ſea, and their periods cloſing in ſuch muſical cadence, that the ear is faſcinated by the magic of ſound, and the mind lulled in a pleaſing repoſe."

"Others, without giving to grammar-rules offence, ſhall arrange ſo unſkilfully their words, breaking, as it were, and interrupting the ſenſe, or rather nonſenſe, they mean to inculcate, by frequent (and oftentimes unneceſſary) parentheſes, that the ear ſtumbles through the rugged paragraph, as the feet would ſtumble in ſcrambling through a ſtreet, when the pavement had been broken up, over bricks, ſtones, and poſts, mixed together confuſedly."

A fine ſpeech, like a fine lady, enforces attention, and captivates the heart. When it deſcribes pleaſing objects, it is beautiful nature, dreſſed by the graces; when it ſoars in the ſublime, it elevates the ſoul, and animates the nobler paſſions: it gives to perſuaſion irreſiſtible force, and bids the tear of pity fall, like the dew of heaven—gently fall—on virtue in diſtreſs.

HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 16.)

1779. THIS campaign, however barren of important events, was diſtinguiſhed by one of the moſt gallant enterpriſes that occurs in the whole hiſtory of the war. This was the ſtorming of Stoney-point, by the Americans. General Wayne, who conducted this daring enterpriſe, was furniſhed with a choſen body of infantry, at the head of which he ſet out from Sandy-bank, fourteen miles from Stoney-point, on the 15th of July, about noon; and, after a fatiguing march, over very bad roads, arrived within a mile and an half of his object, at eight o'clock in the evening. Here the men were formed into columns, and halted, while general Wayne, with a few of his officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to obſerve the ſituation of the garriſon. At half after eleven, the whole detachment moved on to the aſſault, in two columns; the general having iſſued the moſt pointed orders, to both, not to fire a ſhot, on any account; but to place their reliance entirely upon the bayonet. It was not unworthy of obſervation, that a weapon, which had been ſo often fatally employed againſt the Americans, on ſimilar occaſions, and particularly againſt general Wayne himſelf, at the Paoli, was the only one uſed by them in this attack. General Wayne headed the right column; the van of which, conſiſting of 150 volunteers, with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, was commanded by lieut. col. Fleury. The van of the left conſiſted of 100 volunteers, with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, and was commanded by major Stewart. Each was preceded by a forlorn hope, of twenty choſen men, with an officer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed bravery. Theſe were particularly directed to remove the abbatis, and other obſtructions. The two columns directed their attacks to oppoſite points of the works, while a feint was made in front, to divide the attention of the garriſon. The approaches proved to be much more difficult than had been apprehended; the works being defended by a deep moraſs, which was at that time overflowed by the tide. But neither the moraſs, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, nor the ſtrong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour, or withſtand the fury of the aſſailants. In the face of an inceſſant and moſt tremendous fire of muſketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-ſhot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obſtacle, until both columns met in the centre, where they arrived at nearly the ſame inſtant.

General Wayne was wounded in the head by a muſket ball, as he paſſed the laſt abbatis, but inſiſted on being carried forward; adding, that if he died, he wiſhed it might be in the fort. Fleury had the honour of ſtriking the Britiſh ſtandard, with his own hand. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, eſcaped unhurt; although the former loſt ſeventeen men out of twenty, and the latter nearly as many.

There is scarcely any thing in the transactions of war, which affords more room for surprize, and is more difficult to be accounted for, than the prodigious disparity between the numbers slain in those different actions, which otherwise nearly correspond, in their principal circumstances, nature, and magnitude. Nothing could well be supposed, from its nature and circumstances, more bloody, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than this action; and yet the loss, on both sides, was moderate. The killed and wounded of the Americans, amounted to ninety-eight. Of the garrison, sixty-three were killed, and five hundred and forty-three made prisoners. That so few of the enemy were killed, was owing to the clemency of the assailants. The cruel customs that war has established, with respect to nightly assaults, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have furnished sufficient apology to the conquerors for putting the whole garrison to the sword; but they, no less generous than brave, scorned to take the lives of men calling for mercy, and ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist.

Nothing could exceed the triumph of the Americans, upon the success of this enterprise, and the vigour and spirit with which it was conducted. And, indeed, considered in all its parts and difficulties, it would have done honour to the most experienced veterans. General Washington received the thanks of congress "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the states; and which were, among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the enterprise against Stoney-point." They also passed a vote of thanks to general Wayne, for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct, in this spirited and well conducted attack. They took honourable notice of col. Fleury and major Stewart; and warmly applauded lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. They ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck; one of gold to be presented to general Wayne, and one of silver to lieut. col. Fleury, and a singular mark of their approbation to major Stewart. To lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's volunteer aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain. At the same time, they passed resolutions in honour of the officers and men generally; and directed that the value of the military stores, taken at Stoney-point, should be ascertained and divided among the troops by whom that garrison was reduced.

No sooner did this post fall into the hands of the Americans, than they turned its artillery against Verplanks-point, with such effect, that the shipping stationed there were forced to cut their cables, and fall down the river. But the possession of these two posts was an object of importance to the British. Accordingly preparations were immediately made, at New-York, to relieve the one, and to recover the other. To risk an engagement, for either or both of them, was not the intention of general Washington, who was in the uniform habit of weighing the probable consequences of every military transaction, and of adopting a cautious or enterprising line of conduct, as either seemed necessary, or appeared best calculated to promote the true interests of his country. He therefore evacuated Stoney-

point, after having removed the cannon and stores, and demolished the works. The British regained possession of it, on the third day after its capture.

Shortly after this successful enterprise, the execution of another, which equalled it in boldness of design, was committed to major Lee, who was furnished with a detachment of 350 men, chiefly of the Virginia line. The plan was to surprise the British garrison at Powles-hook, opposite to New-York; not so much with a view to any great intrinsic advantage, that could arise from the success of the enterprise, as for the purpose of throwing a lustre upon the American arms, and thereby elating the public mind, and rousing the people into activity; an object of the utmost importance, in every stage of the war, inasmuch as every thing depended upon the spirited exertions of the great mass of citizens. Should the undertaking appear too hazardous, either in the execution, or in the difficulty of effecting a retreat afterwards, major Lee was left at liberty to abandon it. On the morning of the 19th of July, before day-light, the fort was completely surprised. Major Sutherland, the commandant, and a number of Hessians, favoured by the darkness, escaped to a small block-house, near the fort; but with the loss of thirty of his men killed, and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was not more than about half a dozen. Major Lee, agreeably to his orders, retreated immediately, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery; a step which the approach of day, and the vicinity of the enemy's main body, rendered absolutely necessary. As a reward of his "prudence, address, and bravery," major Lee was honoured with the thanks of congress, who also ordered a gold medal, emblematical of the event, to be struck and presented to him. They also applauded the good conduct of his troops, and ordered a considerable donative, in money, to be distributed among them.

These advantages, however, were far from being an equivalent for the loss soon after sustained by the state of Massachusetts, in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce a British post, on the bank of Penobscot river, in the eastern confines of New-England. The fort was advantageously situated, and was commanded by col. Macleane, who, with a detachment of 650 men, arrived from Halifax, for the purpose of establishing it, in the middle of June; in consequence of directions for that purpose, from sir Henry Clinton. This measure excited a considerable alarm at Boston; and the most vigorous means were immediately adopted, for driving the enemy from their newly-established post. That a sufficient number of armed vessels and transports, as well as seamen, might be speedily obtained for an expedition against it, an embargo, for forty days, was laid by the government of Massachusetts, on all their shipping. A considerable naval armament, consisting of eighteen armed vessels, besides transports, under the command of commodore Saltonstall, was accordingly fitted out, with extraordinary expedition. The Warren frigate, which was the largest vessel in this fleet, carried thirty-two guns, eighteen and twelve pounders. The others carried from twenty-four to twelve guns each. A body of troops, commanded by general Lovel, em-

barked on this expedition, and on the 25th of July, the fleet, consisting, in all of thirty-seven sail, appeared off Penobscot.

Col. Macleane had received information, four days before, of the intended expedition; and had therefore redoubled his exertions to strengthen the works of the fort, which however, were still far from being completed. The conduct of the Americans on this occasion, does not appear to have been sufficiently vigorous. Three days were employed in landing the troops, when Macleane was summoned to surrender; which being refused, two days more were consumed in erecting a battery, at the distance of 750 yards from the fort. This dilatory proceeding, and an ineffectual cannonading for two weeks, afforded the garrison an opportunity of strengthening their works, which they industriously improved. They were now free from any apprehension, in case of an attempt to reduce the fort by storm; a mode of attack which would probably have been attended with success, had it been adopted by the Americans, immediately upon their arrival. The besiegers finding that their cannonading made little or no impression upon the works of the fort, were preparing for an assault, when sir George Collier appeared full in view, with a squadron from New-York, for the relief of the garrison. This squadron consisted of the Raisonable, of sixty-four guns, and five frigates. The American troops were speedily re-embarked, and the fleet was drawn up, in form of a crescent, across the river; as if they were determined to dispute the passage of the enemy's squadron; but no more was intended, than to gain time for the transports to move up the river, that the troops might be enabled to land, and make their escape. The superior force of the Raisonable was deemed irresistable. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other took place. The whole of the transports and armed vessels were destroyed, two of the latter excepted; and these were captured by the British. Few single towns have experienced such a loss of vessels, at one time, as Boston now suffered. The naval force employed in this expedition, whether considered with respect to ships or guns, was little, if at all inferior to the royal navy of England, at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. After this disaster, the American soldiers and sailors sustained considerable hardship, in returning to their homes. They had to return a great part of their way by land, exploring their route through thick and unfrequented woods.—

Having detailed the most important military operations, which, in the course of the year 1779, occurred in the several states, we shall now proceed to give a sketch of Indian depredations on the frontiers, and of some expeditions which were undertaken against them.

Lieutenant-governour Hamilton, of Detroit, had, for some time, by means of presents, rewards for scalps, &c. encouraged the Indians to distress the Americans, in the back parts of Virginia, and the neighbouring states; and, with a view to more extensive mischief, had projected an expedition up the Ohio, as far as Fort-Pitt, sweeping Kentuckey on the way. He was to have been joined by all the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians, that could be procured; and that all things might be in readiness for prosecuting the intended expedition, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took post

at St. Vincents in the winter. Destruction seemed to await the Virginia back settlers; but they were rescued from danger, by the active and spirited conduct of col. Clarke. This enterprising officer, hearing that Hamilton had weakened his party, by detaching a number of his Indians against the frontier settlements, resolved to attack him, as the best expedient for baffling his expedition. After a troublesome march of sixteen days, in an inclement season, through swamps, and across desart wastes, col. Clarke, with 130 men, arrived unexpectedly at St. Vincents, on the 23d of February, and made an assault upon the town, which was immediately taken. He then besieged the fort, which was surrendered by Hamilton next day. The garrison, consisting of seventy-nine men, became prisoners of war, and the stores, which were considerable, fell into the hands of the Americans. In the mean time, a party of Hamilton's Indians returned, and were unexpectedly attacked, and routed, by a detachment of Clarke's men, who took nine of the Indians, and released two prisoners. Clarke being informed that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on the way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, in armed boats, which met the enemy forty leagues up the river, and made prize of the whole; taking forty prisoners, and about 10,000*l.* worth of goods and provisions. From Hamilton's papers, it appeared, that it had been usual with him to send out Indian and tory scalping parties, under general orders to spare neither man, woman, nor child. This seasonable and well-conducted expedition, frustrated the cruel plans of Hamilton and his savage emissaries, and prevented the frontier settlements from being deluged with the blood of the helpless inhabitants, as had been intended.

About the middle of April, col. Van Schaick, with fifty-five men, marched from Fort-Schuyler, to the Onondaga settlements, on Lake-Ontario, which he entirely laid waste. He burned about fifty houses, and a large quantity of grain; killed the horses, and stock of every kind; and destroyed, or brought off, the whole of the arms and ammunition which fell in his way. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. This expedition was performed without the loss of a single man, and in less than six days, though the distance, going and coming, was upwards of one hundred and eighty miles.

Towards the end of July, a mixed party, of about ninety Indians and white men, were led by Brandt, against the Minisink settlement; where, besides a number of dwelling-houses and barns, they burned a fort and two mills. They took several prisoners, and carried off a considerable quantity of plunder. The militia of Goshen and its vicinity collected, to the number of 150, and pursued them; but with such want of caution, that they were surprised and totally defeated. About the same time, a party of 250 British and Indians, under capt. Mc. Donald, took Freeland's-fort, on the west branch of the Susquehanna; in which were thirty men, besides women and children. The women and children were set at liberty; but the men were made prisoners of war. The party, on their way to this place, had burned several houses and mills, and killed, and made prisoners of a number of the inhabitants.

General Williamson, of South-Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of that state, about the 20th of August. He burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, amounting, by computation, to upwards of 50,000 bushels; and obliged the Indians to remove immediately to more remote settlements. Colonel Broadhead also engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians, in the month of August, with about 600 men. He was absent from Pittsburgh nearly five weeks; in which time he penetrated 200 miles into the Indian country, destroyed a number of forts, and about 500 acres of corn, and brought off a good deal of plunder, consisting chiefly of skins.

But a much more formidable expedition against the Indians, than any that has occurred, in the preceding part of this history, was undertaken by the Americans in 1779. A considerable body of troops was destined for this service, and put under the command of general Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations, or, as they have sometimes been called, the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. These nations, lying in that fertile tract of country, at the back of the New-England and middle states, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage and constancy with which they adhered to the English, in their wars with the French. In the beginning of the present contest, they had entered into an engagement with congress, by which they promised to observe a strict neutrality. But the power of British presents, with the influence of sir William Johnson, and other agents among them, operating upon their own desire of depredation soon led them to depart from this pacific line of conduct; and they became principal agents in those cruel ravages which were carried on against the frontier settlements. They had derived a considerable accession of strength and discipline, from the great number of American refugees settled among them. The Oneidas and a few others, who were friendly to the Americans, were to be exempted from the general destruction; for the object of the expedition was destruction, as far as it might be capable of being carried into execution against an enemy, who can seldom be caught or found, except when he chooses, from motives of advantage, to stay, or to reveal himself. But although the savages should take care to avoid an engagement, and escape the direct vengeance of the Americans; still it was considered as an important advantage, to lay waste their country, and, by depriving them of the means of subsistance, to oblige them to take refuge in settlements more remote. This, it was hoped, would give permanent security and quiet to the numerous infant settlements on the frontier.

When general Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by the American general Clinton, with about 1600 men, batteau-men and other attendants included. This officer made his way down the Susquehannah, by a contrivance no less curious than novel. Finding the stream of water in that river too low to float his batteaux, he had recourse to the ingenious but laborious expedient, of raising a dam across the mouth of the lake Otsego, which is one of

the ſources of the river Suſquehannah. The lake receiving a conſtant ſupply of water from ſprings, ſoon roſe to the deſired height; when Clinton got ready his batteaux, opened a paſſage through the dam, and, taking advantage of the ſtream which paſſed through, embarked all his troops, and floated them down the river, to Tioga. Sullivan's force, thus augmented, conſiſted of nearly four thouſand men, rank and file, beſides waggons, &c. The Indians, againſt whom this army was deſtined, had in the field, about 550 warriors. Theſe, with 250 refugees, were commanded by Butler, Brandt, and col. Guy Johnſon. On hearing of the expedition which was projected againſt them, they acted with firmneſs. They aſſembled all their force; and poſſeſſed themſelves of a difficult paſs in the woods, near Newtown, which they fortified with judgment. Here they waited Sullivan's approach, with a fixed determination to diſpute his paſſage. General Sullivan advanced, and, on the 29th of Auguſt, attacked them in their works. They ſtood a cannonade for upwards of two hours; but, perceiving that general Poor, with a conſiderable detachment, had taken a circuitous route, with a view to fall upon their left flank, and that other movements were made towards them, they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. Of Sullivan's men, ſeven were killed and fourteen wounded, in the courſe of the day. The conſternation to which this defeat gave riſe among the Indians, was ſo great that they gave up all thoughts of further reſiſtance; and retreated as the Americans advanced, without attempting to throw any obſtruction in their way, during the ſubſequent devaſtation of their country.

General Sullivan traverſed the Indian country to a great extent, and in various directions, ſpreading deſolation every where. Their dwellings, whether in the form of towns, or detached habitations, vaſt quantities of corn in the ear, many large and flouriſhing orchards of apple and peach-trees, and a number of gardens which produced a great quantity and variety of uſeful vegetables, were conſigned to total and indiſcriminate ruin. To complete this ſcene of deſolation, and thus to render the expedition deciſive, required that the army ſhould remain in the Indian country ſeveral weeks; a meaſure which both officers and men cheerfully and unanimouſly agreed to, though they were obliged to put up with ſhort rations, a greater part of the time. Such was their keen ſenſe of the injuries ſuſtained by thoſe frontier inhabitants, who were expoſed to the depredations of the Indians, and ſo full of reſentment were they againſt an enemy who had been guilty of the moſt barbarous outrages, that they were deſirous to continue till they had completed the deſtruction of the ſettlement, and taken ample vengeance on their ſavage foe; although they were convinced that they muſt encounter many hardſhips, from a ſcarcity of proviſions, and a total want of moſt of the conveniences and comforts of civilized life. They were relieved, however, in ſome degree, by the ſupplies obtained in the country. So luxuriant was the ſoil, that the ears of corn, in many places, meaſured twenty-two inches in length. Of this they contrived to make a coarſe kind of meal, by perforating a few of their camp-kettles with bayonets; and rubbing the ears of corn on the rough ſurface formed by the protruſions.

The state of improvement among those people was found to be much more advanced than had been expected. The judicious choice of their situation for their towns and habitations; the size, neatness and construction of their houses, many of which were of frame-work; the number and largeness of their corn-fields, together with the high degree of cultivation which they showed; and the size and antiquity of their orchards, were striking objects of admiration. According to general Sullivan's account of the expedition, 1500 fruit-trees were cut down in one orchard. He also mentions that the fruit-trees, in different places, had all the appearances of great age. This circumstance seems to indicate, that cultivation was not of a late date among these people; and tends likewise to overthrow an opinion which has been pretty generally received, that the Indians are incapable of looking to futurity in their conduct, and consequently are totally improvident with respect to posterity. The destruction of the orchards were highly disapproved of by some of the officers, as being a species of desolation which even the Indians had not practised; but Sullivan was determined to carry devastation to its utmost extent. Neither the cruelties of the Indians, nor the justice of the resentment against them, can prevent a feeling mind from lamenting such an unnecessary havock and destruction of the labours and hopes of mankind. It were to be wished, for the sake of humanity, that those who conduct the operations of war, were so much under the influence of reason and philosophy, as to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary devastation; and to avoid engaging in such scenes of havock as cannot be justified, either on principles of policy or necessity, merely to gratify an unworthy spirit of revenge.

By the middle of October, about three months after his setting out, Sullivan had returned as far as Easton, in Pennsylvania. He soon after rejoined the main army. The expedition proved an expensive one. Upwards of one thousand horses perished, or were obliged to be left behind, exhausted by fatigue. It is remarkable, that not more than eleven Indians were killed, during the whole of the expedition.

The Indians were now made to feel, in the most sensible manner, those calamities they had long been accustomed to inflict on others. The sufferings they experienced, and the dread of a repetition of them, damped the ardour of their warriors; and rendered them cautious how they provoked the further resentment of the Americans, by their wonted depredations. The frontier settlements, though not restored to perfect tranquillity, were, for some time, exempted from a considerable proportion of the calamities in which they had been lately involved.

The exertions of the Americans were much more languid and feeble in the campaign of 1779, than in that of any preceding year, since the commencement of the war. They were no longer actuated by that enthusiasm for liberty, which prompted them, for some years after the commencement of the contest, to brave all danger, and to sacrifice both life and property in the common cause. Their ardour was much abated; and numbers, consulting their private interest, resigned the military character, and resumed the more lucrative employments of civil life. Upon the establishment of the alliance with

France, in 1778, the Americans indulged the vain presumption, that the success of the revolution was no longer a matter of doubt. They had withstood the arms of Great-Britain four years, without foreign assistance; and conceived, therefore, that, aided by a powerful ally, they would not only be able to continue the contest, as before, but to drive the armies of Britain entirely out of the united states. But notwithstanding these flattering expectations, the campaign of 1778 terminated, without any direct advantage from the French fleet, which had been sent to their aid. This was a severe disappointment. Nor were their hopes in any degree realised, in the campaign of 1779. The same ill success attended the allied arms; and the Americans, from the dependance which they had placed on foreign assistance, found themselves but indifferently prepared for prosecuting the war, from their own resources. Lulled into a mistaken security, they had ceased to exert themselves in the manner their situation required. Disappointed in the favourable expectations they had indulged, their spirits were depressed in proportion to the former elevation of their hopes. Sundry internal causes combined, at this gloomy period, to relax the exertions, and increase the despondency of the Americans. The principal of these causes, however, was the daily depreciation of those bills of credit, which had been issued for the support of the war, and which had, for several years, been in such good credit, as to answer this important end. It was fortunate for America, that the embarrassed situation of Great-Britain, at this period, prevented her from prosecuting the war with vigour.

(To be continued.)

OBSERVATIONS *on* DR. LOGAN'S ROTATION *of* CROPS.*

ALTHOUGH the general principles of that rotation of crops, recommended by Dr. Logan, are agreeable to the new and most approved mode of English husbandry; yet the particulars of it must always be liable to alteration, according to the situation or soil of the farm. The quantity of flax and potatoes proposed to be raised, will no doubt appear improper to many gentlemen in the southern states, who hitherto have been too commonly supplied with linen from Europe, and who have confined their cultivation of potatoes to the garden, merely for the table. In ground well manured, I have found both crops profitable and highly useful. It may be regarded as a disgrace to this agricultural country, that we do not cultivate a sufficient quantity of flax, to supply the whole consumption of linen within the united states. With regard to potatoes, their introduction on the farm is one of the greatest improvements of modern husbandry. For several years I have made potatoes the principal food for cattle, horses, sheep, hogs and poultry. For the two latter they should be boiled; for the former they should be washed clean, cut small, and mixed with a small quantity of Indian meal and cut straw. Oxen

* See the Asylum for March, 1791, page 162.

and sheep will fatten more in one week on this food, than with turnips in two.

The means of giving and perpetuating a fertility to the soil, without the aid of any manure, except what can be created on the farm, constitutes one great object in a rotation of crops. I have made a variety of experiments on this subject, and have considered it well. I am of opinion,

1st. That no rotation of crops can be pursued, which will not exhaust the soil, without the periodical application of manure, either immediately plowed into the ground, or by the pasturing of cattle.

2dly. To give one impoverished acre a full dressing, will require a quantity of manure nearly equal to the value of the land.

3dly. No rotation of crops can be pursued, that will enable a farmer to procure from the stock and produce of the farm, a greater quantity of manure, than will annually fully dress more than one ninth part of his farm.

4thly, That a nine years' rotation of crops, connected with the best barn-yard management, will forever support a farm within itself, in the highest degree of cultivation.

I have been pointed in my remarks respecting manure, because many are too inattentive to this important article of good husbandry. Some speculative men have ventured an opinion, that manure was not necessary on a farm. Tull and his followers maintain that the complete pulverizing of the earth, by the plough and harrow, is all that is requisite for perfecting the growth and vigour of plants. Tull was himself persuaded, and endeavoured to persuade others, that this alone would suffice, without the aid of manure; which he contended, could only serve to divide the soil and render it friable. Experience, the surest guide in all human affairs, affords us the most convincing demonstrations to the contrary of this opinion. But although we cannot adopt Tull's principles of cultivation, to the extent of his own ideas; yet it must be allowed, that Mr. Tull's exertions to support a favourite system have been of infinite service to agriculture, as they have tended to convince farmers of the prodigious advantages to be derived from deep ploughing, good harrowing, and putting the ground in a good tilth, before sowing.

The Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture have lately started a new idea, respecting the possibility of ground being rendered forever productive, without manure. In the last publication of premiums offered by the society, it is observed that "the rotation of crops has been found in England *constantly to improve the soil instead of exhausting it.*" I wish gentlemen not to be misled by this vague assertion of the society; and whilst they are building large barns to contain their crops, that they would not neglect good stable-yards to collect and preserve manure. The greatest advocates of the rotation system in England *only contend* that a course of crops, in which clover is introduced, may be pursued with greater advantage to the farmer, than to suffer his fields to continue two or three years covered with weeds, which was the plan of conducting their farms previous to the introduction of clover. Agreeably to the new system of agriculture,

it is evident that the best rotation of crops consists of the greatest number of valuable crops procured by one full manuring.

The Philadelphia agricultural society offer a premium of two hundred dollars for the best experiment of a five years course of crops, conducted upon principles which have been practised in England.

A five years rotation of crops may be pursued with advantage, on a few acres, in the neighbourhood of a large city, from whence any quantity of manure could be procured. In this situation, a course of crops could not take place that would be more productive and valuable, than that mentioned in Dr. Logan's 13th experiment: potatoes; barley; clover; clover; wheat. The four first particularly calculated for the vicinity of a populous town; the last, valuable in any situation—but I do know, from a variety of experiments made to ascertain this point, that a five years rotation will not afford the farmer a sufficient variety of crops; and what is of greater importance, on a well conducted farm, that no crops, even connected with the best economy of procuring and employing the manure, will furnish a sufficient quantity to dress one fifth part of the farm annually—It is with the best management that the produce of a farm will annually afford a sufficiency of manure for a ninth part of it. Lord Kaimes, in his valuable publication on agriculture, observes, that no branch of husbandry requires more skill and sagacity, than a proper rotation of crops. He divides plants into culmiferous and leguminous, but does not pretend to say that *either enriches the soil*: the former leaves the soil hard and bound, whilst the latter tends to mellow and open it; therefore it becomes necessary that alternate crops, culmiferous and leguminous, should form the rotation. Nor are there many soils that will stand good, even with this favourable rotation, unless relieved, from time to time, by *pasturing a few years*. A rotation of crops for nine years could not be carried on to advantage without pasture; but on an extensive farm, pasture will be found as necessary in a rotation, as any crop of grain.

A FARMER.

DIRECTIONS *for obtaining a* GOOD STOCK *of* SHEEP.

[By JOHN BEALE BORDLEY, Esq.]

AMONGST the attentions to sheep, it is particularly recommended to farmers, that they let only a few ewes run at large with a ram, for giving a few early lambs; that the rest of the ewes be kept separate from the rams, till the middle of October, and then be allowed a ram to twenty, or at most twenty-five. Their lambs will come from the middle to the end of March. It is also advantageous to keep ewe and ram lambs apart eighteen or twenty months, from January or March till October the ensuing year, before they be suffered to be together. It is best that there be not more than one ram with a division of ewes, at a time, where they can be parcelled off into different fields, or lots, for two or three weeks.

To observe the ages of sheep is important.—Some age ought to be fixed on by the farmer, beyond which nothing should induce him to keep them. At the shearing time, the mouth of every sheep and lamb is to be inspected; and the lambs having blackish gums, or that are not straight, well made and promising, are to be marked for sale; as also the aged rams, ewes, and wethers, whatever be the age fixed on by the farmer for clearing his flock from old sheep, be it four or five years; which seem to be the ages for governing us in this particular, in the climate of America. As many lambs, the best, are to be turned out for breeders and for muttons, proportioned, as there are to be sheep disposed of, as being aged,—and a few more to supply losses, while they are growing up.

The farmer will first determine on the number of grown sheep to be kept by him; then on the age he means to observe for disposing of them: for he is to have none in his flock that are not in full vigour. Dividing the number in the whole flock, by the age at which he means to dispose of them, gives the number of lambs he is to turn out as a supply to the same number of sheep, to be disposed of from the old stock:—and a few more lambs are to be turned out with the stock lambs, for making good any losses. If five years be fixed on, for the full age, and there be one hundred sheep, the fives in a hundred being twenty, direct to the disposing of twenty aged sheep, and to the turning out twenty, more four or five, in all twenty-five lambs for a supply to the flock. After six years of age, sheep decline in figure and in wool. Brambles are charged, by common farmers, with taking off all the wool that sheep appear to have lost: but when sheep decline in vigour and good plight, they decline in the quantity of their wool, and look mean, even in pastures clear of brambles.

CHARACTER *of the* SPANIARDS.

[From SWINBURNE'S TRAVELS through SPAIN, in 1775 and 1776.]

THE listless indolence equally dear to the uncivilized savage, and to the degenerate slave of despotism, is no where more indulged than in Spain; thousands of men in all parts of the realm are seen to pass their whole day, wrapped up in a cloak, standing in rows against a wall, or dosing under a tree. In total want of every excitement to action, the springs of their intellectual faculties forget to play, their views grow confined within the wretched sphere of mere existence, and they scarce see to hope or foresee any thing better than their present state of vegetation; they feel little or no concern for the welfare or glory of a country, where the surface of the earth is engrossed by a few over-grown families, who seldom bestow a thought on the condition of their vassals. The *poor* Spaniard does not work, unless urged by irresistable want, because he perceives no advantage accrue from industry. As his food and raiment are purchased at a small expence, he spends no more time in labour, than is absolutely necessary for procuring the scanty provision his abstemiousness re-

quires. I have heard a peasant refuse to run an errand, because he had that morning earned as much already as would last him the day, without putting himself to any further trouble.

Yet I am convinced that this laziness is not essentially inherent in the Spanish composition; for it is impossible, without seeing them, to conceive with what eagerness they pursue any favourite scheme, with what violence their passions work upon them, and what vigour and exertion of powers they display when awakened by a bull-feast, or the more constant agitation of gaming, a vice to which they are superlatively addicted. Were it again possible, by an intelligent, spirited administration, to set before their eyes, in a clear and forcible manner, proper incitements to activity and industry, the Spaniards might yet be roused from their lethargy, and led to riches and reputation; but I confess the task is so difficult, that I look upon it rather as an Utopian idea, than as a revolution likely ever to take place.

Their soldiers are brave, and patient of hardships: wherever their officers lead them, they will follow without flinching, though it be up to the mouth of a battery of cannon; but unless the example be given them by their commander, not a step will they advance.

Most of the Spaniards are hardy; and, when once engaged, go through difficulties without murmuring, bear the inclemencies of the seasons with firmness, and support fatigue with amazing perseverance. They sleep every night in their cloaks on the ground; are sparing in diet, perhaps more from a sense of habitual indigence, than from any aversion to gluttony; whenever they can riot in the plenty of another man's table, they will gormandize to excess, and, not content with eating their fill, will carry off whatever they can stuff into their pockets. I have more than once been a witness to the pillage of a supper, by the numerous beaux and admirers which the ladies lead after them in triumph, wherever they are invited. They are fond of spices, and scarce eat any thing without saffron, pimento, or garlic; they delight in the wine that tastes strong of the pitched skin, and of oil that has a rank smell and taste; indeed, the same oil feeds their lamp, swims in their pottage, and dresses their sallad: in inns the lighted lamp is frequently handed down to the table, that each man may take the quantity he chooses.—Much tobacco is used by them in smoking and chewing. All these hot, drying kinds of food, co-operating with the parching qualities of the atmosphere, are assigned as causes of the spare make of the common people in Spain, where the priests and the inn-keepers are almost the only well-fed, portly figures to be met with.

The Spanish is by no means naturally a serious, melancholy nation; misery and discontent have cast a gloom over them, increased, no doubt, by the long habit of distrust and terror inspired by the inquisition; yet every village still resounds with the music of voices and guitars; and their fairs, and Sunday wakes are remarkably noisy and riotous. They talk louder, and argue with more vehemence than even the French or Italians, and gesticulate with equal, if not superior eagerness. In Catalonia, the young men are expert at ball; and

every village has its *Pelota*, or ground for playing at fives; but in the south of Spain, I never preceived that the inhabitants used any particular exercise. I am told, that in the island of Majorca, they still wield the sling, for which their ancestors, the Baleares, were so much renowned.

Like most people of southern climates, they are dirty in their persons, and over-run with vermin.

The very mention of horns is an insult, and the sight of them makes their blood boil.* As their constitution may be said to be made up of the most combustible ingredients, and prone to love in a degree that natives of more northern latitudes can have no idea of, the custom of embracing persons of the other sex, which is used on many occasions by foreigners, sets the Spaniards all on fire. They would as soon allow a man to pass the night in bed with their wives or daughters, as suffer him to give them a kiss; and indeed, I believe the ladies themselves would look upon that favour as a certain prelude to others of greater consequence. Next to accusing a Spaniard of wearing horns, nothing can give him such offence as to suspect him of having an issue.

I was surprised to find them so much more lukewarm in their devotion than I expected; but I will not take upon me to assert, though I have great reason to believe it, that there is in Spain as little true moral religion as in any country I ever travelled through, although none abounds more with provincial protectors, local Madonnas, and altars celebrated for particular cures and indulgencies: religion is a topic not to be touched, much less handled with any degree of curiosity, in the dominions of so tremendous a tribunal as the Inquisition. From what little I saw, I am apt to suspect, that the people here trouble themselves with very few serious thoughts on the subject; and that, provided they can bring themselves to believe that their favourite Saint looks upon them with an eye of affection, they take it for granted, that, under his benign influence, they are freed from all apprehensions of damnation in a future state; and indeed, from any great concern about the moral duties of this life. The burning zeal, which distinguished their ancestors above the rest of the catholic world, appears to have lost much of its activity, and really seems nearly extinguished. It is hard to ascribe bounds to the changes a crafty, steady and popular monarch might make in ecclesiastical matters. The unconcern betrayed by the whole nation at the fall of the Jesuits, is a strong proof of their present indifference. Those fathers, the most powerful body politic in the kingdom, the rulers of the palace, and the despots of the cottage, the directors of the conscience, and the dispolers of the fortune of every rank of men, were all seized in one night, by detachments of soldiers, hurried like malefactors to the sea-ports, and banished forever from the realm, without the least resistance to the royal mandate being made, or even threatened. Their very memory seems to be annihilated with their power.

* For this reason the Spaniards turn their hand downwards when they beckon to any one.

We found the common people inoffensive, if not civil; and having never had an opportunity of being witnesses to any of their excesses, can say nothing of their violent jealousy or revenge, which are points most writers on Spain have expatiated upon with great pleasure. I believe in this line, as well as in many others, their bad as well as good qualities have been magnified many degrees above the truth.

The most furious example of passion and cruelty that I heard of, happened a few years ago at San Lucar. A Carmelite friar fell desperately in love with a young woman, to whom he was confessor. He tried every art of seduction his desires could suggest to him; but, to his unspeakable vexation, found her virtue or indifference proof against all his machinations. His despair was heightened to a pitch of madness, upon hearing that she was soon to be married to a person of her own rank in life. The furies of jealousy seized his soul, and worked him up to the most barbarous of all determinations, that of depriving his rival of the prize, by putting an end to her existence. He chose Easter week for the perpetration of his crime. The unsuspecting girl came to the confessional, and poured out her soul at his feet; her innocence served only to inflame his rage the more, and to confirm him in his bloody purpose. He gave her absolution and the sacrament with his own hands, as his love deterred him from murdering her, before he thought she was purified from all stain of sin, and her soul fit to take its flight to the tribunal of its Creator; but his jealousy and revenge urged him to pursue her down the church, and plunge his dagger in her heart, as she turned round to make a genu-flection to the altar. He was immediately seized, and soon condemned to die; but lest his ignominious execution should reflect dishonour on a religious order, which boasts of having an aunt of the king of France among its members, his sentence was changed into perpetual labour among the galley-slaves of Portorico.

The national qualities, good and bad, conspicuous in the lower classes of men, are easily traced, and very discernable in those of higher rank; for their education is too much neglected, their minds too little enlightened by study or communication with other nations, to rub off the general rust, with which the Spanish genius has, for above an age, been, as it were, incrustated. The public schools and universities are in a despicable state of ignorance and irregularity. Some feeble hope of future reformation is indulged by patriots; but time must shew what probabilities they are grounded upon.*

The common education of an English gentleman would constitute a man of learning here; and should he understand Greek, he would be quite a phænomenon. As to the nobility, I wonder how they ever learned to read or write; or having once attained so much, how they contrive not to forget it. It is difficult to say what they pass their time in; or what means, besides inattention to business, they employ in running through their immense incomes. In the great houses one custom may contribute to extravagance; a servant once established is never discharged, unless for some very enormous of-

* Since I left Spain, a reform has taken place in the great colleges.

fence; he and his family remain pensioners as long as they live: the duke of I. pays near ten thousand pounds sterling a year in wages and annuities to servants. The grandees, one or two excepted, are diminished by a series of distempered progenitors to a race of pigmies, which dwindles away for lack of heirs, and tends gradually to an union of all the titles and estates upon the heads of one or two families. I think the Conde de Altamira has no less than nineteen grandeeships centered in his person. Though they all stile themselves *de primera classe*, as it were, by way of distinctive pre-eminence over others of a lower degree; yet I believe no second or third class exists, and it would be a very gross insult to suppose any of them were of an inferior rank to the rest of the *corps*: some difference may perhaps be made in the degrees of popular respect paid to the descendants of the heroes that make a figure in the Spanish annals, and such grandees as have been honoured with the dignity in latter times. A grandee can marry none but his equal. They all *thou* each other, and affect to appear backward in mixing in other company.

The Spanish women are in general little and thin; few are strikingly beautiful, but almost all have sparkling black eyes, full of expression. It is not the fashion here, as in France, to heighten their *eclat* with paint. They are endowed by nature with a great deal of wit and lively repartee, but for want of the polish and succours of education, their wit remains obscured by the rudest ignorance, and the most ridiculous prejudices. Their tempers having never been fashioned by polite intercourse, nor softened by necessary contradiction, are extremely pettish and violent. They are continually pouting for something or other, and put out of humour by the merest trifles. Most of the ladies about court are the reverse of handsome, and do not seem to have any ambition of passing for clever or accomplished; not one talent do they possess; nor do they ever work, read, write, or touch any musical instrument: their *Cortejo*, or gallant, seems their only play-thing. I believe no country exhibits more bare-faced amours, and such an appearance of indelicate debauchery as this. The account given me of their manner of living in their family way, as soon as they come out of the convent, and before they have fixed upon a lover to fill up their time more agreeably, is as follows: they rise late, and loiter away the remains of the morning among their attendants, or wear it out at church in a long bead-roll of habitual unmeaning prayers; they dine sparingly, sleep, and then dress to saunter for a couple of hours on the Prado. They are never without some sort of sugar-plum or high spiced comfit in their mouths. As soon as it is dark, they run to the house of some elderly female relation, where they all huddle together over a pan of coals, and would not for the world approach the company that may occasionally drop in; it would throw them into the greatest confusion, were they to be requested to join in the conversation. The hour of the assembly passed, they hurry home to their maids, and, with their help, set about dressing their own suppers by way of amusement.

CHARACTER *of a late* AMERICAN OFFICER.

HE was born of very reputable and wealthy parents, in the ſtate of Connecticut. After he had finiſhed his Engliſh education in the vicinity of his parents, he was ſent to New-Jerſey college. From his fertile imagination, his vivacious temper, and his boundleſs propenſity for learning, he ſoon became thoroughly acquainted with the claſſicks. In ſo grateful a ſoil as his genius, it was next to impoſſible for education not to have flouriſhed. He left the ſeminary at a very early period; happily uniting the qualities of the unaffected ſcholar, with the refinements of the polite gentleman:—His affability was as pleaſing as his manner was engaging; an equal enemy to ſervile flattery, and to ſupercilious arrogance. His amiable diſpoſition bought him friends without *money or without price*, and the reſpectability of his virtues taught eſteem to follow him, wherever he went. At the age of eighteen, he was promoted to the command of a regiment; and it may appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that at ſo early a period he was capable of blending the vivacity of youthful intrepidity, with all the ſober maturity of experience. After the termination of the Indian and French war againſt the Britiſh, in which he acquired great honour, he ſheathed his ſword in its peaceful ſcabbard, in order to enjoy the fruits of his toils—the ſweets of retirement. But his faculties were of too graſping and aſpiring a nature, to delight in the ſhade of private life—he thought he would carry them to a theatre, on which he might diſplay their uncommon luſtre to more advantage. He embarked for England, and poſſeſſing an affluent fortune, he carried with him recommendations, equivalent to his money. He was introduced to the late earl of Cheſterfield; who, on account of his addreſs as a gentleman, together with the eclat of his military character, preſented him to the king, who received him very graciouſly. After being initiated into the gay and polite circles, and treading a perpetual round of pleaſures, till he became perfectly ſatiated with the enjoyments of a court life, he bid adieu to his patron and friend, lord Cheſterfield, and to England, and arrived in a few weeks in his native place—where he was received with equal joy and ſurprize by his parents and relations: the uncommon brilliancy of his equipage, and other exterior appendages of ſplendour, kept ſome of his former acquaintances for ſome time at an awful diſtance: but though perhaps he might have left ſome of his virtues behind him, and in their ſtead have brought a ſpice of ſome vices, yet he preſerved his good underſtanding unimpaired, which made him on all occaſions acceſſable to former friendſhips. His houſe was a perfect levee of joyous entertainment; his doors turned on the hinges of hoſpitality, and gladneſs ſparkled in the eyes of all his gueſts. But the manners of theſe ſober republicans, viewing with ſome concern the growing evils which might reſult from too great an indulgence in theſe voluptuous ſcenes, perſuaded his parents to throw a gentle check on his eccentrick enjoyments,—and they married him to an amiable woman. The cares of a growing offſpring, in ſome meaſure wore off his inordinate appetite for convivial

ſociety. The American war came on, and he being a friend to the bleeding cauſe of imploring freedom, gallantly eſpouſed her injured rights. He fought a good fight, and completed the glory of his profeſſion. But the ſeeds of debauchery and extravagance, which had been too profuſely ſown in his European pleaſures, ſprang up afreſh with redoubled vigour—his conſtitution waſted away with his fortune, and at length he fell an untimely victim to the chymical proceſs of the bottle. In order to give a finiſhing ſtroke to the features of his character—nature, as if anxious that ſo bright a pattern of her works ſhould be ſet in the faireſt light, had beſtowed on him all bodily accompliſhments; dignity of ſhape and air, with a pleaſant, manly and open countenance; his exteriour comelineſs could only be ſurpaſſed by the intellectual poliſh of his mind! Reader—drop a tear of ſenſibility on his misfortunes, and *weed this nettle from his grave.*

Alas! that ſo fair a flower ſhould be withered by a rude blaſt of DISSIPATION.

CURIOUS ACCOUNT *of a* CHIEF *reſiding near* NOOTKA, *and of a* FEAST *given by him to Mr.* MEARS, *and his* SHIP'S COMPANY.

[From MEARS'S VOYAGES.]

ON entering the houſe, we were abſolutely aſtoniſhed at the vaſt area it encloſed: it contained a large ſquare, boarded up cloſe on all ſides to the height of twenty feet, with planks of uncommon breadth and length. Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were ſupported at the ends and in the middle, by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber. The ſame kind of broad planks covered the whole, to keep out the rain; but they were ſo placed as to be removed at pleaſure, either to receive the air or light, or let out the ſmoke.

In the middle of this ſpacious room were ſeveral fires, and beſide them large wooden veſſels, filled with fiſh ſoup. Large ſlices of whale's fleſh lay in a ſtate of preparation, to be put in ſimilar machines, filled with water, into which the women, with a kind of tongs, conveyed hot ſtones from very fierce fires, in order to make it boil. Heaps of fiſh were ſtrewed about, and in this central part of the place, which might be very properly called the kitchen, ſtood large ſeal-ſkins, filled with oil, from which the gueſts were ſerved with that delicious beverage.

The trees which ſupported the roof were of a ſize which would render the maſt of a firſt-rate man of war diminutive, on a compariſon with them; indeed our curioſity, as well as our aſtoniſhment, was on its utmoſt ſtretch, when we conſidered the ſtrength that muſt be neceſſary to raiſe theſe enormous beams to their preſent elevation; and how ſuch ſtrength could be found, by a people wholly unacquainted with the mechanic powers.

The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous image's visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down to the chin into the house, where we found new matter for astonishment, in the number of men, women, and children, who composed the family of the chief, which consisted of at least *eight hundred* persons: these were divided into groups, according to their respective offices, which had their distinct places assigned them. The whole of the building was surrounded by a bench, about two feet from the ground, on which the various inhabitants sat, eat, and slept. The chief, who was called Wicaninish, appeared at the upper end of the room, surrounded by natives of rank, on a small, raised platform, around which were placed several large chests, over which hung bladders of oil, large slices of whale's flesh, and proportionable goblets of blubber. Festoons of human skulls, arranged with some attention to uniformity, were disposed in almost every part where they could be placed, and were considered as a very splendid decoration of the royal apartment.

When we appeared, the guests had made a considerable advance in their banquet. Before each person was placed a large slice of boiled whale, which, with small, wooden dishes, filled with oil and fish soup, and a large muscle shell, by way of spoon, composed the economy of the table. The servants were busily employed in preparing to replenish the several dishes as they were emptied, and the women in picking and opening the bark of a tree, which served the purpose of towels. If the luxury of this entertainment is to be determined by the voraciousness with which it was eaten, and the quantity that was swallowed, we must consider it as the most luxurious feast we had ever beheld. Even the children, and some of them were not more than three years old, possessed the same rapacious appetite for oil and blubber as their fathers: the women, however, are forbidden from eating at these ceremonials.

Wicaninish, with an air of hospitality which would have graced a more cultivated society, met us half way from the entrance, and conducted us to a seat near his own, on which we placed ourselves, and indulged our curiosity, during the remainder of the banquet, in viewing the perspective of this singular habitation.

The feast being ended, we were desired to shew the presents which were intended for the chief: a great variety of articles, brought for that purpose, were accordingly displayed, among which were several blankets and two copper tea-kettles. The eyes of the whole assembly were rivetted upon these unusual objects, and a guardian was immediately assigned to the two tea-kettles, who, on account of their extraordinary value and beauty, was ordered to place them, with great care, in the royal coffers, which consisted of large chests rudely carved, and fancifully adorned with human teeth.

About fifty men now advanced in the middle of the area, each of them holding up before us a sea-otter's skin, of near six feet in length, and the most jetty blackness. As they remained in this posture, the

chief made a ſpeech, and, giving his hand in token of friendſhip, informed us the ſkins were the return he propoſed to make for our preſent, and accordingly ordered them to be immediately ſent to the ſhip.

Our royal hoſt appeared to be entirely ſatisfied with our homage; and we, who were equally pleaſed with his magnificence, were about to take our leave, when the ladies of his family advanced towards us, from a diſtant part of the building, whither they had retired during the entertainment. Two of them had paſſed the middle age, but the other two were young, and the beauty of their countenances was ſo powerful as to predominate over the oil and red ochre, which, in a great meaſure, covered them: one of the latter, in particular, diſplayed ſo ſweet an air of diffidence and modeſty, that no diſguſt of colour, or deformity of dreſs, could preclude her from awakening an intereſt even in minds cultured to refinement. We had not, very fortunately, diſpoſed of all the treaſure we had brought on ſhore, and a few beads and ear-rings that yet remained, ſerved to give our viſit a concluding grace, by preſenting them to theſe ladies of the court.

EXTRACTS *from* PAINE'S RIGHTS *of* MAN—Part II.

That England has no conſtitution.

IN England, it is not difficult to perceive that every thing has a conſtitution, except the nation. Every ſociety and aſſociation that is eſtabliſhed, firſt agreed upon a number of original articles, digeſted into form, which are its conſtitution. It then appointed its officers, whoſe powers and authorities are deſcribed in that conſtitution, and the government of that ſociety then commenced. Thoſe officers, by whatever name they are called, have no authority to add to, alter, or abridge the original articles. It is only to the conſtituting power that this right belongs.

From the want of underſtanding the difference between a conſtitution and a government, Dr. Johnſon, and all writers of his deſcription, have always bewildered themſelves. They could not but perceive, that there muſt neceſſarily be a *controuling* power exiſting ſomewhere, and they placed this power in the diſcretion of the perſons exerciſing the government, inſtead of placing it in a conſtitution, formed by the nation. When it is in a conſtitution, it has the nation for its ſupport, and the natural and the political controling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by governments, controul men only as individuals, but the nation, through its conſtitution, controuls the whole government, and has a natural ability ſo to do. The final controuling power, therefore, and the original conſtituting power, are one and the ſame power.

Dr. Johnſon could not have advanced ſuch a poſition in any country where there was a conſtitution; and he is himſelf an evidence, that no ſuch thing as a conſtitution exiſts in England. But it may be

put as a question, not improper to be investigated, That if a constitution does not exist, how came the idea of its existence so generally established?

In order to decide this question, it is necessary to consider a constitution in both its cases:—First, as creating a government and giving it powers. Secondly, as regulating and restraining the powers so given.

If we begin with William of Normandy, we find that the government of England was originally a tyranny, founded on an invasion and conquest of the country. This being admitted, it will then appear, that the exertion of the nation, at different periods, to abate that tyranny, and render it less intolerable, has been credited for a constitution.

Magna Charta, as it was called, (it is now like an almanack of the same date,) was no more than compelling the government to renounce a part of its assumptions. It did not create and give powers to government in the manner a constitution does; but was, as far as it went, of the nature of a re-conquest, and not of a constitution; for could the nation have totally expelled the usurpation, as France has done its despotism, it would then have had a constitution to form.

The history of the Edwards and the Henries, and up to the commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many instances of tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation had restricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to pass those limits, and their fate is well known. In all those instances, we see nothing of a constitution, but only of restrictions on assumed power.

After this, another William, descended from the same stock, and claiming from the same origin, gained possession; and of the two evils, *James* and *William*, the nation preferred what it thought the least; since, from circumstances, it must take one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into view. What is it but a bargain which the parts of the government made with each other to divide powers, profits, and privileges? You shall have so much, and I will have the rest; and with respect to the nation, it said, for *your share*, you *shall have the right of petitioning*. This being the case, the bill of rights is more properly a bill of wrongs, and of insult. As to what is called the convention parliament, it was a thing that made itself, and then made the authority by which it acted. A few persons got together, and called themselves by that name. Several of them had never been elected, and none of them for the purpose.

From the time of William, a species of government arose, issuing out of this coalition bill of rights; and more so, since the corruption introduced at the Hanover succession, by the agency of Walpole, that can be described by no other name than a despotic legislation. Though the parts may embarrass each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only right it acknowledges out of itself, is the right of petitioning. Where then is the constitution either that gives or that restrains power?

It is not because a part of the government is elective, that makes it less a despotism, if the persons so elected, possess afterwards, as a parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this case, becomes

separated from representation, and the candidates are candidates for despotism.

Wretchedness of the poor under the old governments.

When, in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the work-house and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government. It would seem, by the exterior appearance of such countries, that all was happiness; but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation, a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance, than to expire in poverty or infamy. Its entrance into life is marked with the presage of its fate; and until this is remedied, it is in vain to punish.

Civil government does not consist in executions; but in making such provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, as to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other. Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, impostors, and prostitutes; and even the poor themselves, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to support the fraud that oppresses them.

Why is it, that scarcely any are executed but the poor? The fact is a proof, among other things, of a wretchedness in their condition. Bred up without morals, and cast upon the world without a prospect, they are the exposed sacrifice of vice and legal barbarity. The millions that are superfluously wasted upon governments, are more than sufficient to reform those evils, and to benefit the condition of every man in a nation, not included within the purlieus of a court.

On variety in religious opinions, and modes of worship.

Throughout this work, various and numerous as the subjects are, which I have taken up and investigated, there is only a single paragraph upon religion, viz. "*That every religion is good, that teaches man "to be good.*"

I have carefully avoided to enlarge upon the subject, because I am inclined to believe, that what is called the present ministry wish to see contentions about religion kept up, to prevent the nation turning its attention to subjects of government. It is, as if they were to say, "*Look that way, or any way, but this.*"

But as religion is very improperly made a political machine, and the reality of it is thereby destroyed, I will conclude this work with stating in what light religion appears to me.

If we suppose a large family of children, who, on any particular day, or particular circumstance, made it a custom to present to their parent some token of their affection and gratitude, each of them would make a different offering, and most probably in a different manner. Some would pay their congratulations in themes of verse or prose, by some little devices, as their genius dictated, or according to what they thought would please; and, perhaps, the least of all, not able to do any of those things, would ramble into the garden, or the field, and gather what it thought the prettiest flower

it could find, though, perhaps, it might be but a ſimple weed. The parent would be more gratified by ſuch a variety, than if the whole of them had acted on a concerted plan, and each had made exactly the ſame offering. This would have the cold appearance of contrivance, or the harſh one of controul. But of all unwelcome things, nothing could more afflict the parent than to know, that the whole of them had afterwards gotten together by the ears, boys and girls, fighting, ſcratching, reviling, and abuſing each other about which was the beſt or worſt preſent.

Why may we not ſuppoſe, that the great Father of all is pleaſed with variety of devotion; and that the greateſt offence we can act, is that by which we ſeek to torment and render each other miſerable.

I do not believe that any two men, on what are called doctrinal points, think alike, who think at all. It is only thoſe who have not thought, that appear to agree.

As to what are called national religions, we may, with as much propriety, talk of national Gods. It is either political craft or the remains of the Pagan ſyſtem, when every nation had its ſeparate and particular deity.

On Intemperance *in* Drinking.

THE arguments againſt drunkenneſs, which the common reaſon of mankind ſuggeſts, are theſe:—

The contemptible figure which it gives us:

The hindrance it is to any confidence being repoſed in us, ſo far as our ſecrecy is concerned:

The dangerous advantage which it affords the crafty and the knaviſh over us:

The bad effects which it hath on our health:

The prejudice which our minds receive from it:

Its *diſpoſing* us to *many crimes*, and *preparing* us for the *greateſt*:

The contemptible figure, which drunkenneſs gives us, is no weak argument for avoiding it.

Every reader has found the *Spartans* mentioned, as inculcating ſobriety on their *children*, by expoſing to their notice the behaviour of their ſlaves in a drunken fit. They thought, that were they to apply wholly to the reaſon of the *youths*, it might be to little purpoſe: as the force of the arguments, which they uſed, might not be ſufficiently apprehended, or the impreſſion thereof might be ſoon effaced: but when they made them frequently eye-witneſſes of all the madneſs and abſurdities, and at length the perfect ſenſeleſſneſs, which the immoderate draught occaſioned: the idea of the *vile change* would be ſo fixed in the minds of its beholders, as to render them utterly averſe from its cauſe.

And may we not juſtly conclude it to be from hence, that the offſpring of the perſons who are accuſtomed thus to diſguiſe themſelves, often prove remarkably ſober? They avoid, in their *riper years*, their parent's crime, from the deteſtation of it, which they contracted in

their *earlier*. As to moſt other vices, their debaſing circumſtances are not fully known to us till we have attained a maturity of age, nor can be then, till they have been duly attended to: but in our very childhood, at our firſt beholding the effects of drunkenneſs, we are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, that a reaſonable being ſhould be thus changed—ſhould be induced to make himſelf ſuch an object of contempt and ſcorn. And, indeed, we muſt have the man in the *utmoſt* contempt, whom we hear and ſee in his progreſs to exceſs; at firſt, teazing you with his contentiouſneſs or impertinence—miſtaking your meaning and hardly knowing his own—then, faultering in his ſpeech—unable to get through an entire ſentence—his hand trembling—his eyes ſwimming—his legs too feeble to ſupport him; till, at length, you only know the human creature by his ſhape.

I cannot but add, that were one of any ſenſe to have a juſt notion of all the ſilly things he ſays or does, of the wretched appearance, which he makes in a *drunken fit*, he could not want a more powerful argument againſt repeating his crime.

A ſecond objection to drunkenneſs is, that it hinders any confidence being repoſed in us, ſo far as our ſecrecy is concerned.

Who can truſt the man who is not maſter of himſelf? Wine, as it leſſens our caution, ſo it prompts us to ſpeak our thoughts without reſerve: when it has ſufficiently inflamed us, all the ſuggeſtions of prudence paſs for the apprehenſions of cowardice; we are regardleſs of conſequences; our foreſight is gone, and our fear with it. Here then the artful perſon properly introducing the ſubject, urging us to enter upon it—and, after that, praiſing, or blaming, or contradicting, or queſtioning us, is ſoon able to draw from us whatever information he deſires to obtain.

The young debauchee ſoon experiences the iſſue of his miſconduct—ſoon finds his food diſreliſhed, his ſtomach weakened, his ſtrength decayed, his body waſted. In the flower of his youth, he often feels all the infirmities of extreme old age; and when not yet in the middle of human life, is got to the end of his own.

If we have attained to manhood, to our full vigour, before we run into the exceſs, from which I am diſſuading; we may, indeed, poſſibly, be many years in breaking a good conſtitution: but then, if a ſudden ſtroke diſpatch us not; if we are not cut off without the leaſt leiſure given us to implore the mercy of heaven; to how much uneaſineſs are we, generally, reſerved—what a variety of painful diſtempers threaten us! All of them there is very little probability we ſhould eſcape; and under which ſoever of them we may labour, we ſhall experience its cure hopeleſs, and its ſeverity the ſaddeſt leſſon, how dear the purchaſe was of our former mirth.

Every time we offend in it, we are firſt madmen, and then idiots; we firſt ſay, and do, a thouſand the moſt ridiculous and extravagant things, and then appear quite void of ſenſe. By annexing theſe conſtant inconveniences to drinking immoderately, it ſeems the deſign of a wiſe Providence to teach us, what we may fear from a habit of it—to give us a foretaſte of the miſeries which it will at length bring upon us, not for a few hours alone, but for the whole remainder of our lives. What numbers have, by hard drinking, fallen into an incur-

able distraction! And who was ever for many years a sot, without destroying the quickness of his apprehension, and the strength of his memory? What mere drivellers have some of the best capacities become, after a long course of excess!

As we drink to raise our spirits, but, by that raising, we weaken them; so whatever fresh vigour our parts may seem to derive from our wine, it is a vigour which wastes them; which, by being often thus called out, destroys its source, our natural fancy and understanding. It is like a man's spending upon his principal: he may, for a season, make a figure much superior to *his*, who supports himself upon the interest of his fortune; but is sure to be undone, when the other is unhurt.

From all the observations which we can make on the human frame, it may be fairly supposed, that it is not reasonable to think we can be, for many years enflaming our brains, without injuring them—be continually disordering the most delicate parts of our machine, without impairing them. A lively imagination, a quick apprehension, a retentive memory, depend upon parts in our structure, which are more easily hurt, than such, whose sound state is necessary for the preservation of mere life: and therefore we perceive those several faculties often entirely lost, long before the body drops. The man is very frequently seen to survive himself—to continue a living creature, after he has, for some years, ceased to be a rational one. And to this deplorable state nothing is more likely to bring us, than a habit of drunkenness; as there is no vice that more immediately affects those organs, by the help of which we apprehend, reason, remember, and perform the like acts.

What, *sixthly*, ought to raise in us the utmost abhorrence of drunkenness is, the consideration of the many crimes to which it disposes us. He through whose veins the inflaming potion has spread itself, must be under a greater temptation to lewdness, than you can think him in any other circumstances: and from the little reasoning, of which he is then capable, as to the difference of the two crimes, would hesitate no more at adultery than fornication.

Thus, also, for immoderate anger, contention, scurrility and abuse, acts of violence, and the most injurious treatment of others; they are all offences, into which drunkenness is most apt to betray us; so apt to do it, that you will scarcely find a company drinking to excess, without many provoking speeches and actions passing in it—without more or less strife, before it separates. We even perceive the most gentle and peaceable, the most humane and civilized, when they are sober, no sooner intoxicated, than they put off all those commendable qualities, and assume, as it were, a new nature—a nature as different from their former, as the most untractable and fiercest of the brute kind are, from the most accomplished and amiable of our own.

TWO PAPERS *Written by* DR. FRANKLIN.

No. I. ENDORSED, in DR. FRANKLIN's Hand, as follows, viz.

Letter to Abbé SOULAVIE, *occasioned by his sending me some notes he had taken of what I had said to him in conversation on the theory of the earth. I wrote it to set him right in some points wherein he had mistaken my meaning.*

PASSY, *September* 22, 1782.

SIR,

I RETURN the papers with some corrections. I did not find coal mines under the calcareous rock in Derbyshire. I only remarked, that at the lowest part of that rocky mountain, which was in sight, there were oyster shells mixed with the stone; and part of the high county of Derby being probably as much above the level of the sea, as the coal mines of Whitehaven were below, it seemed a proof that there had been a great bouleversement in the surface of that island, some part of it having been depressed under the sea, and other parts, which had been under it, being raised above it. Such changes in the superficial parts of the globe, seemed to me unlikely to happen, if the earth were solid to the centre. I therefore imagined that the internal parts might be a fluid more dense, and of greater specific gravity than any of the solids we are acquainted with; which therefore might swim in or upon that fluid. Thus the surface of the globe would be a shell, capable of being broken and disordered by the violent movements of the fluid on which it rested. And, as air has been compressed by art so as to be twice as dense as water, in which case, if such air and water could be contained in a strong glass vessel, the air would be seen to take the lowest place, and the water to float above and upon it; and, as we know not yet the degree of density to which air may be compressed, and M. Amontons calculated, that its density increasing as it approached the centre in the same proportion as above the surface, it would, at the depth of leagues, be heavier than gold, possibly the dense fluid occupying the internal parts of the globe might be air compressed. And as the force of expansion in dense air when heated, is in proportion to its density; this central air might afford another agent to move the surface, as well as be of use in keeping alive the central fires: tho', as you observe, the sudden rarefaction of water, coming into contact, without those fires, may be an agent sufficiently strong for that purpose, when acting between the incumbent earth and the fluid on which it rests.

If one might indulge imagination in supposing how such a globe was formed, I should conceive, that all the elements in separate particles, being originally mixed in confusion, and occupying a great space, they would (as soon as the Almighty fiat ordained gravity, or the mutual attraction of certain parts, and the mutual repulsion of other parts, to exist) all move towards their common centre: That the air being a fluid whose parts repel each other, tho' drawn to the common centre by their gravity, would be densest towards the cen-

tre, and rarer as more remote; consequently, all bodies, lighter than the central parts of that air, and immersed in it, would recede from the centre, and rise till they arrived at that region of the air, which was of the same specific gravity with themselves, where they would rest; while other matter, mixed with the lighter air, would descend, and the two meeting would form the shell of the first earth, leaving the upper atmosphere nearly clear. The original movement of the parts towards their common centre would form a whirl there; which would continue in the turning of the new formed globe upon its axis, and the greatest diameter of the shell would be in its equator. If by any accident afterwards the axis should be changed, the dense internal fluid, by altering its form, must burst the shell and throw all its substance into the confusion in which we find it. I will not trouble you at present with my fancies concerning the manner of forming the rest of our system. Superior beings smile at our theories, and at our presumption in making them. I will just mention that your observation of the ferruginous nature of the lava, which is thrown out from the depths of our volcanoes, gave me great pleasure. It has long been a supposition of mine, that the iron contained in the substance of the globe has made it capable of becoming, as it is, a great magnet; that the fluid of magnetism exists perhaps in all space; so that there is a magnetical North and South of the universe, as well as of this globe, and that if it were possible for a man to fly from star to star, he might govern his course by the compass; that it was by the power of this general magnetism this globe became a particular magnet. In soft or hot iron the fluid of magnetism is naturally diffused equally: when within the influence of a magnet, it is drawn to one end of the iron, made denser there and rarer at the other. While the iron continues soft and hot it is only a temporary magnet: If it cools or grows hard in that situation, it becomes a permanent one, the magnetic fluid not easily resuming its equilibrium. Perhaps it may be owing to the permanent magnetism of this globe, which it had not at first, that its axis is at present kept parrallel to itself, and not liable to the changes it formerly suffered, which occasioned the rupture of its shell, the submersions and emersions of its lands, and the confusion of its seasons. The present polar and equatorial diameters differing from each other near ten leagues, it is easy to conceive in case some power should shift the axis gradually, and place it in the present equator, and make the new equator pass through the present poles, what a sinking of the waters would happen in the present equatorial regions, and what a rising in the present polar regions; so that vast tracts would be discovered that now are under water, and others covered that now are dry, the water rising and sinking in the different extremes near five leagues. Such an operation as this possibly occasioned much of Europe, and among the rest this mountain of Passy on which I live, and which is composed of limestone, rock and sea-shells, to be abandoned by the sea, and to change its ancient climate, which seems to have been a hot one. The globe being now become a perfect magnet, we are perhaps safe from any future change of its axis. But we are still subject to the accidents on the surface, which are occasi-

oned by a wave in the internal ponderous fluid; and such a wave is produced by the sudden violent explosion you mention, happening from the junction of water and fire under the earth, which not only lifts the incumbent earth that is over the explosion, but impressing with the same force the fluid under it, creates a wave that may run a thousand leagues, lifting, and thereby shaking successively, all the countries under which it passes. I know not whether I have expressed myself so clearly, as not to get out of your sight in these reveries. If they occasion any new enquiries, and produce a better hypothesis, they will not be quite useless. You see I have given a loose to imagination, but I approve much more your method of philosophizing, which proceeds upon actual observation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no farther than those facts will warrant. In my present circumstances, that mode of studying the nature of the globe is out of my power, and therefore I have permitted myself to wander a little in the wilds of fancy. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have heard that chemists can by their art decompose stone and wood, extracting a considerable quantity of water from the one, and air from the other. It seems natural to conclude from this, that water and air were ingredients in their original composition: For men cannot make new matter of any kind. In the same manner may we not suppose, that when we consume combustibles of all kinds, and produce heat or light, we do not create that heat or light; we only decompose a substance which received it originally as a part of its composition? Heat may thus be considered as originally in a fluid state; but, attracted by organized bodies in their growth, becomes a part of the solid. Besides this, I can conceive that in the first assemblage of the particles of which this earth is composed, each brought its portion of the loose heat that had been connected with it, and the whole, when pressed together, produced the internal fire which still subsists.

No. II.—Endorsed.

LOOSE THOUGHTS *on an* UNIVERSAL FLUID, *&c.*

Passy, *June* 25, 1784.

UNIVERSAL space, as far as we know of it, seems to be filled with a subtil fluid, whose motion, or vibration, is called light.

This fluid may possibly be the same with that which being attracted by, and entering into other more solid matter, dilates the substance, by separating the constituent particles, and so rendering some solids fluid, and maintaining the fluidity of others: of which fluid when our bodies are totally deprived, they are said to be frozen; when they have a proper quantity, they are in health, and fit to perform all their functions; it is then called natural heat: when too much, it is called fever; and when forced into the body in too great a quantity from without, it gives pain by separating and destroying

the flesh, and is then called burning; and the fluid so entering and acting is called fire.

While organized bodies, animal or vegetable, are augmenting in growth, or are supplying their continual waste, is not this done by attracting and consolidating this fluid called fire, so as to form of it a part of their substance? and is it not a separation of the parts of such substance, which, dissolving its solid state, sets that subtle fluid at liberty, when it again makes its appearance as fire?

For the power of man relative to matter seems limited to the dividing it, or mixing the various kinds of it, or changing its form and appearance by different compositions of it; but does not extend to the making or creating of new matter, or annihilating the old: thus, if fire be an original element, or kind of matter, its quantity is fixed and permanent in the world. We cannot destroy any part of it, or make addition to it; we can only separate it from that which confines it, and so set it at liberty, as when we put wood in a situation to be burnt; or transfer it from one solid to another, as when we make lime by burning stone, a part of the fire dislodged from the wood being left in the stone. May not this fluid, when at liberty, be capable of penetrating and entering into all bodies, organized or not, quitting easily in totality those not organized; and quitting easily in part those which are; the part assumed and fixed remaining till the body is dissolved?

Is it not this fluid which keeps asunder the particles of air, permitting them to approach, or separating them more, in proportion as its quantity is diminished or augmented? Is it not the greater gravity of the particles of air, which forces the particles of this fluid to mount with the matters to which it is attached, as smoke or vapour?

Does it not seem to have a great affinity with water, since it will quit a solid to unite with that fluid, and go off with it in vapour, leaving the solid cold to the touch, and the degree measurable by the thermometer?

The vapour rises attached to this fluid, but at a certain height they separate, and the vapour descends in rain, retaining but little of it, in snow or hail less. What becomes of that fluid? Does it rise above our atmosphere, and mix equally with the universal mass of the same kind? Or does a spherical stratum of it, denser, or less mixed with air, attracted by this globe, and repelled or pushed up only to a certain height from its surface, by the greater weight of air, remain there surrounding the globe, and proceeding with it round the sun?

In such case, as there may be a continuity or communication of this fluid through the air quite down to the earth, is it not by the vibrations given to it by the sun that light appears to us; and may it not be, that every one of the infinitely small vibrations, striking common matter with a certain force, enter its substance, are held there by attraction, and augmented by succeeding vibrations, till the matter has received as much as their force can drive into it?

Is it not thus that the surface of this globe is continually heated by such repeated vibrations in the day, and cooled by the escape of the heat when those vibrations are discontinued in the night, or intercepted and reflected by clouds?

Is it not thus that fire is amassed, and makes the greatest part of the substance of combustible bodies?

Perhaps when this globe was first formed, and its original particles took their place at certain distances from the centre, in proportion to their greater or less gravity, the fluid fire, attracted towards that centre, might in great part be obliged, as lightest, to take place above the rest, and thus form the sphere of fire above supposed, which would afterwards be continually diminishing by the substance it afforded to organized bodies, and the quantity restored to it again by the burning or other separating of the parts of those bodies?

Is not the natural heat of animals thus produced, by separating in digestion the parts of food, and setting their fire at liberty?

Is it not this sphere of fire which kindles the wandering globes that sometimes pass through it in our course round the sun, have their surface kindled by it, and burst when their included air is greatly rarefied by the heat on their burning surfaces?

HINTS *for guarding against the* DESTRUCTION *of* APPLES *by the* CANKER-WORM.

THE destruction of apples by the canker-worm, in various parts of the country, is a serious and alarming calamity; and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite towards restraining and avoiding the evil.

About a year ago, a respectable gentleman, who is more than eighty years of age, remarked to me, "that this species of worm never touch apple-trees which stand on clay." I cast my eye over the orchards in this town, and found the remark verified by facts. In the centre of the town, where the soil is mostly a pure stiff clay, not a tree was affected by this devouring animal, and this gentleman informed me, the fact had been the same ever since his remembrance.

I have lately made a journey to the eastward, and am, by particular observations, convinced of the truth of the fact. I find, that wherever orchards stand on clay, or a cold, moist, springy soil, the trees remain untouched. A gravelly soil is not friendly to these worms; but if the gravel is mixed with a soft light earth, the trees thereon are considerably injured. On the other hand, gravel, mixed with a hard clayed earth, never admits the worm. In short, the lighter the earth where the trees stand, the earlier the worm appears, and the more complete their ravages.

These facts suggest to farmers the propriety of choosing such spots on their farms for orchards, as do not admit the worm; for hard clay and cold moist earth do not furnish this animal with agreeable lodgings.

I would further just hint to farmers, who have not a choice of soils for orchards, the possibility that, by plowing or digging up the earth under the trees, just before winter, and exposing the worm to the action of rain and frost, they may perhaps destroy it, or so lessen the number, as to save the fruit of the succeeding year.

HARTFORD, *June* 1792. VIATOR.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

IMPARTIAL REVIEW

Of American Publications.

The MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS *and* OCCASIONAL WRITINGS *of* FRANCIS HOPKINSON, *Esq.* Philad. 3 vol. 8vo. Price, in boards, 4 dols.

MOST of the essays contained in these volumes were formerly published in detail; and many of them were so generally admired at the time, as to establish the literary reputation of the author, and procure him a large portion of well-earned fame. This collection, therefore, cannot fail to be well received by the citizens of the united states, who will long continue to revere the memory of Mr. H. whose distinguished talents were exerted to promote the best interests of his country, in the most trying emergencies. His writings show him to have been an early, an active, and a persevering whig; and a powerful advocate for the establishment of our present form of federal government. Some of his most valuable performances on political subjects are in the allegorical form, a mode of writing in which he has been equalled by few.

The subjects of these essays being almost as various as the essays themselves are numerous, we shall not so far descend to particulars, as to attempt to give an account of the several pieces. Nor does such minuteness appear necessary, when we consider that the writings and literary character of the author are very generally known. Suffice it to observe, generally, that the leading characteristics of Mr. Hopkinson's writings are, extraordinary versatility of genius, combined with extensive science; brilliancy of imagination, connected with a sound judgment and good taste; and genuine humour, uncontaminated by that low and trifling species of wit, which can yield pleasure to none but vulgar and frivolous minds.

We are informed, in a note prefixed to the first volume, that the several pieces were prepared for the press by the author, before his death; and that they are now published from his manuscripts, in the dress in which he left them. But had he lived to superintend the publication of them himself, we think it probable that he would either have revised or expunged some of them, which were written to answer purposes of a temporary nature; and others, in which particular characters are severely satirized. In our opinion, these cast a shade over the splendour of his works. In justice to the memory of Mr. H. we shall state one fact, which supports our opinion, that sundry alterations would have been made, had he lived to revise his literary productions. The editor of a daily paper, which was established in this city some time after the publication of Mr. Hopkinson's celebrated allegory of "The New-Roof," applied to him for a correct copy of that performance, which he proposed to insert in his gazette. Mr. H. complied with his request; but was particularly careful to

strike out the concluding observations, in which he had burlesqued the ravings of a declamatory writer, in the public papers. This was certainly a judicious and laudable omission. For, besides that the name of the declamatory writer alluded to had become publicly known, the force and beauty of the allegory were diminished, by a conclusion which was beneath the dignity of that inimitable performance, and which had no immediate connection with it. And yet the allegory is now published in its original form; and accompanied with the essay which is the subject of the burlesque.

Of these volumes, the first and second consist of miscellaneous prose; the third commences with judgments given by Mr. Hopkinson, in the admiralty of Pennsylvania, and concludes with his poetical writings.

Should any of our readers be unacquainted with Mr. H's manner of writing, the following extract will afford them a tolerable specimen of that elegant humour, for which he was so much and so justly admired by all who knew him.

☞ CONGRESS had, from some disgust, suddenly removed from Philadelphia to Princeton in New-Jersey: but, finding themselves but ill accommodated there, they took into consideration the fixing upon some suitable place for their permanent residence. In canvassing this question, the eastern and southern delegates could not agree on a situation equally convenient for both. On motion of Mr. G—, it was at length determined, that congress should have two places of alternate residence: one on the banks of the Potowmack, and the other on the banks of the Delaware: and it was resolved, that congress should not remain less than six months, nor more than two years at either of these places at one time. But as there was no town on the Potowmack fit for their reception, they, for the present, adjourned to Annapolis. This circumstance gave occasion for the following publication.

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

THE great revolution that hath taken place in America, will undoubtedly involve many circumstances of considerable importance and curious speculation. None, perhaps, more remarkable than this, that the philosophical world may expect to be entertained with a phenomenon in mechanics, altogether new, and which cannot fail to engage universal attention.

The Americans having observed the great irregularities to which the political systems of Europe are liable, have invented a method of regulating the affairs of their empire by *actual mechanism*. For this purpose an immense pendulum hath been constructed, of which the point of suspension is fixed somewhere in the orbit of the planet *Mars*, and the *Bob* is composed of certain heterogeneous matter, of great specific gravity, called the *American congress*.

This miraculous pendulum is to vibrate between Annapolis, on the Chesapeak, and Trenton, on the Delaware; a range of about 180 miles.

It will require the most subtle mathematical investigations to ascertain the true path of this political bob: for it is pretty certain that it will not move in a *straight line*, nor in a cycloid, nor in a parabola, nor in an hyperbola, nor in any other known curve; but will have a motion peculiar to itself, forming a *crooked line*, the properties of which cannot be reduced to any of the rules within the present system of mathematics.

Although the oscillations of this pendulum will not be performed in, yet they will average equal times. Two vibrations must be made in two years: but these vibrations may bear no determinate proportion to each other; for their relative proportions will depend entirely upon the specific gravity of the bob: which being, from the nature of its composition, very variable, will render the oscillations equally variable with respect to each other: and, which is very extraordinary, although in all other instances, the more ponderous a body is, the more it is disposed to rest, and the shorter and slower will its vibrations be when suspended, it will be the reverse in the present

case; for the bob will be inclined to motion more or less, in proportion as the matter of which it may be composed shall happen to be more or less dull and heavy.

By the oscillations of this pendulum and its *heavy* bob, are thirteen wheels of the American machine to be regulated. And, it is expected, that the different combinations of motions, the actings and counter-actings, the checks and counter-checks of the moving parts, will so correct and balance each other, as to produce, in the final result, a movement so perfectly equable, that the great *desiderata*, viz. the perpetual motion, and the discovery of longitude, will no longer puzzle the brains and drain the purses of seekers in science.

But the most entertaining consequence of this improvement in politics will be, that it will render visible the locomotive faculties of the several nations in Europe; so far at least as the same may be ascertained by their respective ambassadors and envoys. For, as they must all follow the movements of the American bob, they will do this according to the genius of the countries to which they respectively belong. The volatile and active will always keep within reach of the object of pursuit; the careless and indolent will loiter by the way; and the dull and phlegmatic be so distanced, that by the time they shall have arrived at one of the limits of oscillation, they will find it necessary to tack about and follow the pendulum in its return to the other.

In order to render this alternate peregrination as convenient as may be to their ministers, the several governments of Europe are to raise by contribution the sum of four hundred thousand guineas, for the purpose of levelling the roads between Annapolis and Trenton, building bridges, and erecting houses of residence in each of those towns, if those can properly be called houses of residence wherein the inhabitants are to have no rest.

Some have thought that when this *monstrous* pendulum shall be once set in motion, it will not be possible to confine it within the proposed limits; but that it will, by its great weight (contrary to the usual laws of gravitation,) enlarge its field of action, and acquire a velocity which will cause it to swing from New-Hampshire to Georgia.

A further improvement hath also been suggested; which is this—Many philosophers have been of opinion, that the most regular and proper motion of a pendulum would be to cause it to swing in a horizontal circle, and not in a vertical plane, as the common practice is, so that the string or rod may describe a cone, of which the apex will be in the point of suspension, and the base formed by the circumference of the circular plane in which the bob moves.

Should this idea prove just (which Mr. Rittenhouse has been directed to ascertain) the revolutions of America will be performed in a circle, whose diameter, north and south, will be from a point in St. John's river, Nova-Scotia, to the mouth of the great river Mississippi, and west and east, from the Lake in the Woods, to an unknown distance in the Atlantic ocean. The only inconvenience will be the cutting circular road through mountains and forests, for the accommodation of foreign ministers and the officers of congress; and the providing sufficient ships at the point where the said line of circumvolution shall leave the continent, and enter on the waters of the Atlantic, in order that their excellencies, and their honours, may be attendant on this sublunary planet in every part of its orbit.

A. B.

Oct. 1783.

In a commencement oration, written by our author, we find the following strictures on the modern system of education.

After the youngster hath been taught to spell, read, and write, in his mother tongue, he ascends the first step of learned education.—The *Latin language* is the object, to attain which, a Latin grammar is put into the poor boy's hands. This grammar is called the rudiments or foundation of that language: by which one might suppose, that the grammar had been given by inspiration, and the Romans derived their language from it. But the fact is just the reverse; for in every language, the grammar is, and must necessarily be, the result, and not the origin of that language: but notwithstanding this undeniable truth, the Latin must be inculcated according to the method and discipline of the schools, *a posteriori*, in more senses than one.—Well! through this grammar, at all events, the bewildered pupil must wade, groping for a year or two in utter darkness, and learning by rote a complicated system of rules, the propriety or application of which it is impossible for him to see in any instance.

These rules are framed partly in elegant prose, and partly in much more elegant verse, in order, I suppose, to insinuate to the student some taste for Latin poetry, whilst he is learning the rudiments of the language. If I had not, ladies, a respectful regard for your ears, and no small tenderness for my own teeth, I would give you a sample of our grammar versification.

After these rules have been got by rote, as I said before, it may be thought that there is nothing more necessary to the knowledge of the Latin tongue—But alas! this is only the beginning of troubles—The rules must not only be got by memory, but the exceptions also to those rules—Now, good people, you must know that these exceptions are so very numerous, that, in many cases, it is immaterial which you choose for a standard, the rule itself, or the exception.

The excellency of this method of teaching a language, by means of its grammar, may be illustrated by a familiar parallel. You must know, ladies, that when a man stands, or walks, or performs any motions of the body, such positions and motions are all reducible to mathematical principles. In all cases, it is necessary that what is called the centre of gravity should be supported; were it otherwise, the person must unavoidably fall to the ground: and thus are all our movements reducible to system. Now, if the present mode of education is right, (and who dares assert it is not?) you should not suffer your children to walk, or even attempt to walk, before they have learned these rules, for which purpose you must necessarily provide mathematical nurses, and geomatrical dancing masters. Oh the excellence of learning! What delight must it afford the fond parent, to see young master standing like the rafters of a house, and miss dancing in triangles, rhomboides, and trapeziums!

But to proceed. We will suppose the young student hath made some advances in the knowledge of the Latin language, according to the method proposed. The first observable consequence is, that he loses, or at least gains no ground in, a taste for the elegancies of his native tongue. His diction becomes stiff and aukward, and his handwriting intolerable. So that whilst he is studying the anatomy of a dead language, he remains a stranger to the beauties of the living.

It is probable that there are many amongst the ladies, whom I have now the honour to address, who have never studied grammar, or know any thing of its rules; and yet I venture to affirm, that a few lines, written by your fair hands, and dictated by gentle nature, shall convey more lively sensibilities, and shall find a shorter way to the heart, than a whole page—aye, or forty of them—composed by the most learned grammarian, with *Dilworth* on his right hand, and *Entick* on his left.

In the mean time, the assiduous youth reads *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, for the improvement of his morals; and learns from *Horace* to be chaste and temperate. *That* time which might be usefully employed in studying the histories of those nations with whom we are, or may be connected, is consumed in reading the delectable and lamentable story of *Æneas* and queen *Dido*. The one, a hero of so insignificant a cast, that all the laudable ingredients of his character may be comprised in the words *Pius Æneas*; and the other, to speak delicately, not the most shining example of female virtue and moderation. The one, a discourteous knight, and the other a furious enamorata.

It just occurs to me, that Dido's greatest misfortune was, that she lived in a barbarous age, when lawyers were not to be had for love or money. Had her famous amour happened in our day, she might have recovered at least, £.700 damages;* which, all things considered, would have been much better than cutting her throat upon a wood-pile—as desperate Dido did—This by the bye.

The young student is at length fitted for the higher classes of science. He learns mathematicks, geography, natural philosophy, logic, ethics, and metaphysics.

With respect to the three first, I would only say—That if they were divested of some scientific pedantry (I mean as they are taught in the schools), they are worthy the attention of a rational mind, inasmuch as they advance the knowledge of truth; for of all valuable things, *truth* is the most valuable.

But of all the systems of complicated nonsense, that ever puzzled the busy brains of mortal man, *logic* is surely the most insignificant. An art which no ingenuity can apply to any one useful purpose of life. Imagine to yourselves, gentle hearers, a society of *logicians*, whose conversation in the common occurrences of life should be conducted in *syllogistic* mode and form. The learned house-keeper goes to market, and

* This alludes to a circumstance of the time, something like the case of queen *Dido*.

endeavours to persuade the butcher to lower the price of his mutton in *celarent*; the butcher enforces his demand in *barbara*. The logical lover also attacks his mistress in *form*. He assures her, in *particular affirmatives*, that he is enamoured of her charms; and from these *premises*, draws an artful *conclusion*, that she ought to encourage his passion, and return his love. The lady replies, in *universal negatives*. The gallant then plays off his whole battery in a compacted *sorites*. The lady answers only in the *simple form*—a weakness is discovered in her *middle term*—she is reduced to a *dilemma*, and surrenders at discretion.

In such a process, what is to become of Cupid and his darts! What is to become of the logic of the eyes, and a thousand nameless expressions of the feeling of the heart, which nature alone can dictate! What is to become of them! Why they are entirely out of the question. Syllogisms—invincible syllogisms, must supply their place. What is learning good for, unless it makes us wiser than nature!

But I may be told that logic never was designed for such purposes; and that its use is the discovery of truth, and the detection of error—Here I join issue—and am bold to assert, that from the days of Aristotle to the present moment, mankind are not indebted to *logic* for the discovery of any one useful truth, or the detection of any one dangerous error—and further—that no man ever was *convinced* by a syllogism—But I observe their reverences begin to frown—I shall, therefore, not urge this subject any further.

Ethics and *metaphysics* bring up the rear of a learned education. It would tire your patience, my indulgent hearers, should I enter upon a detail of all the whimsical absurdities with which these sciences abound. If a man should conduct himself through life, according to the strict rules of *ethics*, he would be just as ridiculous as the knight of *La Mancha*, governing himself in the most common occurrences by the solemn formalities of chivalry.

As to *metaphysics*, it is a visionary system, wherein uncertain conclusions are drawn from uncertain premises, and in which the very terms used have no determinate meaning. The whole is an ingenious fabric built in air; having no real, known foundation, whereon to rest: not unlike the Pagan creed, that the world stands upon the horns of a bull; the bull on the back of an elephant; the elephant on a great tortoise; and the great tortoise upon nothing.

It must be owned, however, that we are indebted to metaphysics for some very curious and entertaining riddles: such as—that *infinite* carried beyond *infinity* becomes *finite*—that one *infinity* may be twice as long as another *infinity*—that *soul* is not *matter*, and that *matter* is not *soul*; and in short, that it is no matter whether there be any soul or not—Oh! the heights and the depths of learning!

——✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣——

MODERN CHIVALRY: *containing the* ADVENTURES *of* CAPTAIN JOHN FARRAGO, *and* TEAGUE O'REGAN, *his servant. Vol. II. By H. H. Brackenridge.* Philadelphia, 1792.—Price, half a dollar.

MR. B. pursuing the plan of his first volume*, continues, in this, his satires upon various descriptions of men. His remarks are occasionally whimsical and ludicrous, but have seldom the appearance of ill nature. He seems to have been, for the most part, in a laughing humour, when he wrote; and we believe few persons will peruse the work, without also experiencing risible emotions.

We are sorry to observe, that the captain's travels are not very remarkable for variety. Some favourite scenes, which were exhibited in the first volume, are again brought forward, with little variation, in this. Peter Pindar is not more desirous of ridiculing, again and again, kings and royal academicians, than our author appears disposed to satirize popular elections, the American Philosophical

* For an account of the first volume, see the Asylum for February 1792, page 123.

Society, ignorance in the clergy, and Indian treaties, &c. Not satisfied with the ſtrictures upon theſe ſeveral ſubjects, in his firſt volume, he has again attacked them in this. Several new characters, however, are brought into view; and amidſt much light reading, new and valuable obſervations frequently occur. Mr. B. affects to write merely for the ſake of ſtyle, but no perſon, who has peruſed the work, can, for a moment, look upon this pretenſion in a ſerious light.

The *firſt book* contains remarks on popular elections; particularly on a diſpoſition, which is ſaid to be prevalent among the people, to raiſe low and ignorant characters to the higheſt public ſtations. This book alſo contains obſervations on the vanity and ſelf importance of the Engliſh nation, who are ſaid to undervalue all the world beſide.

The adventures of the captain and Teague at the houſe of an elderly lady, where they had put up for the night, occupy the *ſecond book*. As a ſpecimen of our author's deſcriptive talent, we ſhall extract his account of this lady's perſon.

She was a good looking woman, being about fifty-ſeven years of age, with gray hairs, but a green fillet on her left eye-brow, as it ſeems the eye on that ſide was ſubject to a defluction of rheum, which made it expedient to cover it. It could not be ſaid that her teeth were bad, becauſe ſhe had none. If ſhe wanted the roſe on her cheek, ſhe had it on her noſe; ſo that it all came to the ſame thing. Nothing could be ſaid againſt her chin, but it uſed her mouth ill in getting above it. She was not very tall, but what ſhe wanted in height, ſhe made up in breadth; ſo that multiplying one dimenſion by the other, ſhe might be conſidered as a very ſizeable woman.

This handſome perſonage became paſſionately enamoured of Teague, who felt an equal flame, (for ſhe was very wealthy) and they were to have been united in wedlock next morning; but the captain, unwilling to loſe his ſervant, found means to diſſuade him from the match.

The man (ſaid the captain) who ſurrenders himſelf to the arms of a ſuperannuated female, for the ſake of fortune, acts a part not leſs unworthy and diſgraceful, than the proſtitute who does the ſame for half a crown. While a man has the uſe of his limbs and arms, he ought to be above ſuch mercenary motives; and true happineſs can be found only in congruity, and what is natural.

The *third book* is an admirable ſatire upon thoſe ignorant preachers, who bellow forth to their ſtill more ignorant hearers, an incoherent and unintelligible jargon, which kind of rant paſſes frequently for good *practical* preaching.

The *fourth book* opens with ſome ſtrictures on city elections; in which wealth, particularly in the funds, is ſaid to be the candidates' chief recommendation.—The remaining part of this book is occupied by the truly pathetic ſtory of a lovely, but unfortunate female.

In the *fifth book*, a negro member of the philoſophical ſociety is introduced, delivering an annual oration to the ſociety, in which he endeavours to ſhow that the original complexion of the human ſpecies was black.—In order to reconcile the various theories on this ſubject, Mr. B. wittily conjectures, that Adam was a white man and Eve a black woman; and that ſome of their children took after the father, and others after the mother.—This book alſo contains obſervations on the doctrine of univerſal ſalvation; a curious ſpecimen of debates in congreſs; remarks on the decay of learning, particularly of the Greek language, in our ſeminaries of education; and a burleſque on Indian treaties.

The *sixth book* commences with an ironical defence of slavery, in which the cruelty and injustice of the traffic in human flesh are exhibited, in several striking points of view. One argument used in defence of negro slavery is, its being practised by the most devout persons of every religious persuasion, except the quaker; no other religious society having made it a term of communion, not to hold a slave. The plan of a *gradual* abolition is thus pointedly ridiculed.

In the phrenzy of the day, some weak minded powers, in Europe, begin to consider what is called the African trade as a moral wrong, and to provide for a *gradual* abolition of it. If they will abolish it, I approve of its being done gradually; because, numbers being embarked in this trade, it must ruin them, all at once to desist from it. On this principle, I have always thought it a defect in the criminal codes of most nations, not giving licence to the perpetrators of offences, to proceed, for a limited time, in larcenies, burglaries, &c. until they get their hands out of use to these pursuits, and in use to others. For it must be greatly inconvenient to thieves and cut-throats, who have engaged in this way of life, and spent time, and expended money, and run great risks in acquiring skill in their employment, to be obliged all at once to withdraw their hands, and lay aside picking locks, and apply themselves to industry in other ways, for a livelihood.

We have next some strictures on the quibbles and technical formality, which too generally characterize the practitioners of law. We shall conclude this article with the following report of a law-case, which seems well calculated to ridicule the trivial distinctions and uncertainty of the law.

What came before the court was a motion in arrest of judgment. A Jonathan Mun had been indicted, and found guilty of "feloniously taking and carrying away water out of the well of Andrew Mab." It was moved in arrest of judgment, that larceny could not be committed of water in a well, it being real property; for it was a distinction of the common law, that larceny could not be committed of things real, or favouring of the reality, Black. 232. 2 Ray. 470. Hawkins, &c. So that taking away the soil was merely a *trespass*; and taking away the water could be no more.

It was answered, that water being *fluitans et mobilis*, could not be considered as real property; that an ejectment would not lie for water, but for so many acres of land covered with water, Yelv. 143. 1 Burr. 142. Because it was impossible to give execution of a thing which is always transient and running, Run. 36 quotes Cro. Jac. 150. Lev. 114. Sid. 151. Thence it is that in a grant of the soil it is necessary, as we see from old forms, to add the right of ways, woods, and water-courses, Lilly. Con. 132. and 179. Bridg. Con. 321. That whatever might be said of water in its natural bed on the soil, as water in a running stream; yet a well being dug by the labour of hands, the water thus acquired, must be counted as personal, not real property. Barbcray, Titius, and Locke. That at a well, the water, being drawn up by the bucket, and thus by one act separated from the freehold, and by another taken from the bucket, it becomes a subject of larceny; as in the law of corn, trees, or grass growing. For if these be severed at one time, and at another time taken way, it is larceny. Hawk. Pl. Cr. 93.

It was replied, that an ejectment would lie of water in a well; for here the water is fixed in a certain place, within the bounds and compass of the well; and is considered as part of the soil. Run. 37. That, *ex vi termini*, in the indictment, "out of the well," it must be considered as water *ex*, out of or from the well; that is, water severed by the very act of taking; for otherwise it would have been expressed, by "water out of the bucket" of Andrew Mab; not out of the well; and so the taking could not be larceny, but trespass; as in the case of a tree that is cut down at one time, and taken away at another; or apples growing on a tree, or shaken down and gathered from the soil; the first being a trespass, the second larceny. *Curia advisari vult.*

The captain whispering to lawyer Grab, enquired what difference it made in the punishment, whether it was larceny or trespass? He was answered, that in the one case it was hanging by the common law, and in the other to pay the value of the property. A very material difference indeed, said the Captain, to depend on so nice a distinction.

THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ADDRESS *to the* DEITY.

By CHARLES CRAWFORD, *Esq.*

O THOU, most worthy to be praised, adored!
Eternal, boundless, and almighty Lord!
Who the vast heav'n drew as a curtain forth,
Who took and upon nothing hung the earth;
While all the morning stars together sung,
And from thy sons loud Hallelujahs rung;
And said to the tumultuous ocean wide,
Here shalt thou come, here thy proud waves abide!
At thy rebuke which instant fled along,
Scared at the potent thunder of thy tongue.
At thy command the sun dispensed his ray,
Flamed in th' etherial vault, and gave the day;
In highest heaven who keep thy chief abode,
From ever, unto endless ever, God;
As with a garment cloathed around with light,
In dazzling Majesty severely bright;
The awful splendors of whose throne display,
To eyes of Seraphim resistless day.
Thou sendest rapid lightnings through the air,
They go, and say unto thee, Here we are!
Who can hold back thy all-commanding hand?
And who the thunder of thy force withstand?
Heaven's pillars tremble at thy stern reproof,
Waked and surprized at thy dread power aloof;
Thou overturn'st the mountains in thine ire;
Thou art a jealous God, and a consuming fire.
Clouds are thy chariot; and thy charioteer
A mighty Cherub, riding through the air.
Where can I go from thy all-searching eye?
And whither, whither, from thy spirit fly?
If I should take th' excursive wings of morn,
And to the sea's remotest bounds be borne,
There I should meet thy unconfined command,
Urged by thy power, and guided by thy hand.
If up to highest heaven I could ascend,
Or down to lowest hell my footsteps bend;
In highest heaven, or lowest hell, where-e'er
I bent my footsteps, I should find thee there.
No darkness is impervious to thy sight,
But shows me to thee like the broadest light.
Thy eyes run to and fro the earth to find,
And shelter him who bears a virtuous mind.
I'll cleanse my heart to win thee to abide,
As a gigantic champion at my side.
'Gainst vice with terror though thou art endued,
Yet thou art full of mercy to the good.
Can the meek mother, whom affection filled,
Be with relentless enmity instilled,
Against the little darling whom she bred,
Reared in her arms, and with her bosom fed?
Yes, the meek mother, whom affection filled,
Can be with ruthless enmity instilled,
Against the little darling whom she bred,
Reared in her arms, and with her bosom fed.
But thou wilt never thy own sons neglect,
But thou wilt never cease the righteous to protect.

O Lord, how various are thy works and great!
In wisdom were they all produced complete.
With riches hast thou filled th' extensive earth,
Which brings luxuriantly her blessings forth.
The sea, as well as the delightful land,
Declares the work of an Almighty hand.
There bulky vessels make their tracklefs way,
And there Leviathan is wont to play.
In all the glorious works which thou hast made,
Various and countlefs living creatures tread.
They call upon thee for their daily food,
Thy hand thou openest, they are filled with good.
While I have being I will speak thy praise,
In that my voice triumphantly I'll raise.

DESCRIPTION *of a* CHURCH.

(By the late Francis Hopkinson, Esq.)

As late beneath the hallowed roof I trod,
Where saints in holy rapture seek their God;
Where heart-stung sinners, suing heaven for grace,
With tears repentant consecrate the place.
Oh! how my soul was struck with what I saw,
And shrunk within me in religious awe!

The massy walls, which seem'd to scorn the rage
Of battering tempest and of mouldering age;
In long perspective stretched, till breadth and height
Were almost lost in distance from the sight;
With monumental decorations hung,
They spoke mortality with silent tongue.
There, sorrowing seraphs heav'nward lift their eyes,
And little cherubs weep soft elegies.
I trod—and started at the mighty noise;
The hollow pavement lifted up its voice;
Responsive to the stroke, the walls around,
Through lengthened aisles, prolonged the solemn sound.

Far in the west, and noble to the sight,
The gilded *organ* rears its towering height:
And hark! methinks I from its bosom hear,
Soft issuing sounds that steal upon the ear
And float serenely on the liquid air.
Now by degrees more bold and broad they grow,
And riot loosely thro' the aisles below;
'Till the full organ lifts its utmost voice,
And my heart shudders at the powerful noise:
Like the last trump, one note is heard to sound
That all the massy pillars tremble round;
The firm fixt building shivers on its base,
And vast vibration fills th' astonished place:
The marble pavements seem to feel their doom,
And the bones rattle in each hollow tomb.

But now the blast harmonious dies away,
And tapers gently in a fine decay:
The melting sounds on higher pinions fly,
And seem to fall soft oozing from on high;
Like evening dew they gently spread around,
And shed the sweetness of heart-thrilling sound;
'Till grown too soft, too fine for mortal ear,
The dying strains dissolve in distant air.
Methought I heard a flight of angels rise,
Most sweetly chaunting as they gained the skies:
Methought I heard their lessening sound decay
And fade, and melt, and vanish quite away.

Hail, heaven-born music! by thy power we raise
Th' uplifted soul to acts of highest praise:
Oh! I would die with music melting round,
And float to bliss upon a sea of sound!

DISAPPOINTED LOVE

(By the same.)

RECITATIVE.

HIGH raised in æther, from her silver throne,
The moon in melancholy mildness shone;
Nor voice, nor sound disturbed the midnight hour,
Save the sad southwind murm'ring in the bower;
When, sable clad, with slow and pensive mien,
Narcissa, lonely, passed the dusky green;
All wan with wasting grief, forsook her bed,
And sought the silent mansions of the dead.
Her bosom heaved with many a deep-drawn sigh,
And the big tear stood trembling in her eye;
Then from her lips thus broke the voice of woe—
Then planets listened, and the moon moved slow.

AIR.

Farewell to all that promised joy;
No flattering hopes my thoughts employ;
A wounded heart bleeds in my breast,
And death alone can give me rest.

And thou, lamented youth, farewell!
With thee the smiling prospect fell;
Sad o'er thy grave broods black despair,
For all my hopes lie buried there.

But now thy form moved in my sight,
I glowed with love and dear delight;
Thy bosom burned with equal fire,
With equal pangs of soft desire.

But now I deck'd me for thy bride;
Elate in youth and beauty's pride,
My throbbing heart beat quick alarms,
Whilst bliss approached in *Damon's* arms.

A voice soon strikes my startled ear,
Whose dismal accents yet I hear;
Forbear, fond maid, forbear it cries,
For *Damon*, thy loved *Damon*, dies.

All strength forsakes my tottering frame;
My tongue scarce utters Damon's name;
Prostrate I fall; my eye-balls roll,
And anguish rings my tortured soul.

Yet, yet, I hear the deep-toned bell,
With minute strokes tell out his knell;
My swelling heart grows big with grief,
And not one tear vouchsafes relief.

Oh! if beneath yon pale moon's sphere,
Thy lambent spirit floats in air,
Witness my sighs, hear me complain,
And pity my unequaled pain.

Whilst bitter grief, and pining woe,
And welcome death at last will show,
How hard their fate who ever prove
The pangs of *disappointed love*.

To DELIA.

WROTE ON A LEAF IN HER POCKET-BOOK.

(By the same.)

GO, little leaf, and to the fair,
The mistress of my heart,
My truth and constancy declare,
My ardent love impart.

But how shall thy small page contain
That which no bounds control?
Or how shall feeble words explain
The transports of the soul?

Go, tell her then that nothing less
Than a whole life of love,
Can all my joy in her express,
Can my fixed passion prove.

That nought but death can from my mind,
Her dear idea part,
And lovely *Delia* ne'er shall find
A rival in my heart.

Go, tell her all our peaceful years
In mutual bliss we'll spend;
And hope to meet beyond the spheres,
When this frail life shall end.

May, 1768.

EPIGRAM.

MORS JANUA VITÆ.

DEATH is the gate of life, they say;
The way to bliss, all sects agree:
Then, surely, none can grudge to pay
So small a toll—*the doctor's fee*.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

(*Continued from page* 64.)

ON the 18th of November, the committee, appointed for that purpose, brought in "A bill, apportioning the representation of the people of the united states, according to the first enumeration;" agreeably to which, the ratio was to be that of one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants. The bill was taken up in committee of the whole; and on sundry motions for increasing the ratio to thirty-five, to thirty-four, and to thirty-three thousand, lengthy debates took place; which, however, were of nearly similar import with those which we have already given. We shall, however, state the substance of the debate on a motion of Mr. Macon, for increasing the ratio to thirty-*five* thousand.

Mr. *Dayton* said that he should be in favour of the amendment, not because it was a number the most agreeable to him, for he confessed that even this would produce a more numerous representation than he could have wished, but because a greater number would be less likely to meet the approbation of the committee. There was one point of view, Mr. Dayton observed, in which the subject had not yet been exhibited by any gentleman in the course of debate, but in which, on account of its magnitude and importance, it ought to be critically examined. The senate, he said, were considered as the representatives of the states, or of the state governments. The house of representatives were supposed to contain, under certain qualifications, a pure representation of the people: such was the apportionment of its members, with respect to the unequal districts or states into which this country was divided, as to give the three great states a very predominant influence upon that floor. They had only to combine their strength, and to associate almost any one of the other eleven states with them, in order to ensure success to any favourite project that they might have in view. He was aware, that it would be answered by gentlemen, that such a combination was not likely to take place between states so distant in point of situation, and differing in local interests and circumstances. He had been ever slow, he said, in the prediction of evil—but reasoning from the temper and disposition of man, and judging from past observation and experience, he would venture to pronounce, without any pretension to the spirit of prophecy, that the great states would thus combine their influence, whenever they should deem it for their advantage, and that the interests of the other states would of consequence become the sacrifice. Those states then that are thus exposed, of which number he considered at least two thirds of those which now formed the union, would find their only security and protection against the effects of such combination in the senate. Would it, he asked, be consistent with prudence or with safety, for those very states to assent to a measure directly tending to weaken, if not destroy that security? Even now, he said, the senate would have need of all its firmness in continuing to oppose any act, in the carrying of which the house should be determined to persevere. But what, he enquired, would be the consequence, when the increase so ardently wished for by many gentlemen should have taken place? Would the senate have fortitude enough, even where they thought they had just cause, stedfastly to counteract the will and determined purpose of a body consisting of two hundred members, boasting to derive their appointments from a purer, and from the purest source, calling themselves the representatives of the great body of the people, and professing to speak the sense of their constituents?

Let 30,000 be adopted as the ratio of representation, and he hesitated not, he said, to declare, that whenever the representatives should think proper to resolve any important point of dispute into a question of firmness between the two houses, the senate must yield to their superior weight, and shrink from the unequal contest. In the event of their defeat, in a single instance, the independence of that branch would be materially affected, and the legislative balance shaken in its centre.

These dangers, Mr. Dayton further observed, were by no means imaginary, but would too soon be realized, if the house continued to increase by fifties, in the manner they were beginning.

If the motion under consideration, for increasing the ratio, and lessening the number of representatives, should prove unsuccessful, their reliance, he said, would then be upon the senate. That body, he was sure, was too mindful of their own privileges and importance, to make a voluntary and deliberate surrender of their independence—they were too regardful of the interest of their constituents, to assent to an act giving an undue weight to that branch of the legislature in which the great states had such unreasonable influence. If, however, in this, his last reliance, he should be disappointed, and the bill be likely to pass both houses, he hoped the yeas and nays would be entered upon the journals, that it might be known hereafter, when the events he had predicted should have taken place, who it was that had thus given up the union to the control of three or four of its members; who were the men that had voted for the extraordinary increase of one branch, at the expense of the independence of the other, and thereby destroyed that equilibrium of the government, upon the preservation of which, the fairest hopes of its well-wishers were founded.

Mr. *Gerry*, in reply to the gentleman from New-Jersey, said he was surprised to hear the remarks which he made, when he recollected his being a member of the convention; in which it must be remembered by that gentleman, that the larger states consented to placing the small states on a par with them in the senate, to obviate the difficulty which the smaller states objected against the large representations from the larger states. He said the independence of the senate was secured by the constitution—and he was not apprehensive that the increase proposed would overwhelm that branch of the government, or lessen their importance, or shake their firmness. The gentleman had talked of combinations in the larger states—but he presumed no facts could be produced to support such an apprehension.

The proposed increase in the representation was founded on the principles of justice and equity, it was strictly agreeable to the spirit and design of the constitution, which contemplated an increase, in some degree proportionate to the increased population of the states—he hoped, therefore, that the constitution would be fairly and honourably carried into effect.

Mr. *Boudinot* was not yet convinced, from all the arguments he had heard, that by increasing the number of representatives to 113, as proposed by the bill, the wants, wishes, and interests of their constituents, would be more fully embraced, than by adopting the amendment then under consideration. It had not yet been taken into the account, that a certain species of property in three or four of the states (slaves) would be represented in the next congress, if the bill passed, by at least 12 members, above the proportion of other states, whose property (though of superior value) was not entitled by the constitution to any representation at all. That he did not mean to find fault with the constitution in this respect, but to make it the rule of his conduct, although in the construction of it, he would not increase the evil, when two extremes were given, and the intermediate number was optional. He had said, and he rested on the constitution for the proof, that it contemplated one member for each state as the lowest, and the ratio of one for 30,000 persons as the highest numbers. That the convention in settling the house of representatives, without a precise knowledge of the amount of the citizens of the union, had done it in a certain proportion to the number of senators, which he had thought a good rule to go by, till the proposed amendment to the constitution was ratified by three-fourths of the states; but as gentlemen seemed to think that this would soon take place, he had consented to agree to the ratio of 34,000, which would give 100 members. This would accord with the spirit of the amendment to the constitution, and prevent the necessity of passing any other act when the amendment should be completed. He was therefore in favour of inserting *four* after *thirty*, or any ratio that would confine the number of representatives to 100, or under.

Mr. *Lawrance* remarked, in answer to Mr. Dayton's objections, that the states were disproportionate respecting territory, and consequently were so as to the number of people. That an equality would take place amongst the people of the several states by the ratio proposed, although more members would come from some states than from others. He mentioned that every member of the house of representatives

stood in relation to the people of America, and ought to consult the interest of the whole, and not the particular interest of the state in which he was elected. Should this general principle operate, and which, he supposed, ought to actuate each member, no danger was to be apprehended from a combination, as the general good was the object of consideration. If this should not be the prevailing principle, it might be the interest of the states to have as great a number of representatives as could be obtained; yet, he supposed, unless a division of territory took place, the people in each state would be entitled to be represented in proportion to the numbers in each; and the danger that it was supposed would exist, could not be readily remedied. He also observed, that he imagined the senate would not be subject to the influence suggested. The senate was an independent part of the legislature, and would decide all questions that came before them, as the judgments of the members should dictate. So long as a reciprocal negative existed, as to the acts of either branch of the legislature, he hoped we should find firmness in each to decide properly. The senate had frequently rejected the bills of the house, and had amended others—some very important ones: and the influence of the members of the house of representatives did not operate on their decisions. The objection to the proposition, as not being agreeable to the amendment proposed to the constitution, he observed, was not well founded. He explained his ideas respecting the nature of the amendment, and concluded that the proportion was conformable to it; and observed, that the nature of the amendment was contemplated, when the proposition respecting the ratio was made.

Some amendments to the bill were reported to the house, by the committee, and agreed to; but every attempt to increase the ratio of representation proved ineffectual. On motion that the bill should pass, it was, on the 23d of November, resolved in the affirmative—*yeas* 43; *nays* 12. It was then transmitted to the senate for their concurrence.

The senate passed the bill with amendments; the principal of which was, that the ratio of representation should be, one representative for *thirty-three* thousand inhabitants. This amendment was the subject of a very lengthy debate, in the house of representatives. On motion to agree to this amendment—

Mr. *Gerry* observed, that the bill had passed both the committee of the whole, and the house, by a large majority. The principle, as he was informed, on which the amendment had taken place in the senate, was to reduce the fractions which would result from the ratio proposed by the house; but he said this difficulty had been fully considered in the house. The representation, every body knows, is now unequal; and it must be submitted to for two years longer—and now it is proposed, at that period, to deprive the people of that representation to which they are entitled by the constitution!

He thought it was extraordinary, that, after the ratio proposed in the bill had been agreed to by the house, by so large a majority, a proposition to alter it should have been agitated and carried in the senate. Till some better reason than he had heard assigned should be offered, he should be against concurring with the senate. He moved, therefore, that the house disagree to the amendment of the senate. The motion was seconded by Mr White.

Mr. *Livermore* was in favour of agreeing to the amendment: he enlarged on the inequality in the representation, from the great fractional numbers which would result from the ratio of 30,000. He was fully of opinion that the public business could be full as well transacted by 105 members, the number which would be produced by a ratio of 33,000, as by 112 or 113, the number arising from the ratio of 30,000.

Mr. *Benson* said there was one idea, which, if it had been considered in time, might have been adopted, and would perhaps have given very general satisfaction; and that was, that the representatives of the united states should amount to a certain number, according to the whole number of the people, say one to 30,000: this would have given a surplus number, which might have been assigned to those states that have the largest fractional numbers. He had formerly, he said, voted for 30,000; but as the principle of equality was more particularly attended to in the amendment, he should now vote for the ratio proposed by the senate. He observed, that some states were stationary; and the increased representation of the larger states, when once established, never would be receded from—this ought to be taken into serious consideration.

Mr. *Madison* observed, that the idea of diminishing the fractional parts appeared to be the only reason for the alteration proposed by the senate. The aggregate of these fractions only had been taken into consideration; but, if the fractions of any particular states should be augmented by the amendment, he conceived that the argument amounted to no good reason for agreeing to it—and this, he said, would evidently be the case.

Mr. *Williamson* was opposed to a concurrence. He observed, in general, that the operation of the amendment was to diminish the fractions to the eastward, and increase those to the southward. The southern states, he said, had suffered so much under the harrow of speculation, that he hoped no measures would be adopted to lessen the means of information, to the people of those states, by denying them that proportion in the representation to which they were entitled. He regretted that some of the southern states were not fully represented at this time in the senate—he thought it probable, that a different decision, in that case, would have taken place.

Mr. *White* observed, that the amendment would operate generally against the larger states.

Mr. *Sedgwick* differed from those opposed to the amendment; in his statements respecting the fractional parts to be produced by 33,000. He said they were fewer on the whole than would result from any other number between 30 and 40 thousand, and those numbers both included; and this, he said, figures would demonstrate. Hence he deduced a greater degree of equality, and relative justice between the several parts of the union. He disclaimed all local motives, and suggested the propriety of gentlemen forbearing any imputations of that kind, as totally alien from the subject.

Mr. *Boudinot* defended the amendment, and observed that the senate were in the legal exercise of their office when they passed it, and had most undoubtedly a right so to do.

He read several calculations, to shew that the aggregate of the fractions would be reduced upwards of 90 thousand, by a ratio of 33 thousand, and that the fractions in every state, except one, would be diminished also by it.

Mr. *Findley* said he had expected to hear something new on the subject, to induce an alteration in the opinion of the house, but had heard nothing. Fractions, said he, were fully considered before, both in the house and in the committee. This he considered as one of the lesser matters pertaining to the subject. He said the best way would have been to have settled the ratio, without knowing the numbers of the people in the several states; though that could not be done, as the numbers were known; yet, he said, he had made it the rule of his conduct in voting. The principle being established, there would be no room for combinations, nor any ground for complaints and reproaches, respecting either southern or northern interests. He was for adhering to the principle, as that contemplated in the constitution—and this he conceived the house had done, and he hoped they would not depart from it; and as to fractions, in competition with that principle, he considered them of very little consequence. He did not deny but a smaller number of representatives would be competent to doing the public business; but dispatch of public business, and a republican representation of the people, he conceived were distinct things. He, therefore, should have been in favour of a larger representation.

He controverted the right of the senate to decide for the house, in regard to this question. It was not, he said, a question of right and privilege. It appertained principally to the representative body.

He then considered the question, as it respected the senate; and, he thought, that a large representation was necessary, as a barrier to the influence of that body. Nor do I, said he, think this an unreasonable jealousy, when the constitution of human nature is considered. The constitution of the united states is express on the subject; and now is the time when the people ought to enjoy the advantages of the representation of one to thirty thousand.

Another consideration to induce a large representation, he deduced from the accumulation of money capitals in the united states, which, said he, have been increased beyond all parallel. The influence of these capitals will find its way into the house. He hoped no alteration would be made in the determination of the majority of the members.

Mr. *Goodhue* said, the difference between the result of the two ratios was so small, that he did not conceive it would constitute a sufficient reason for disagreeing to the amendment; he stated that the difference between the southern and northern states, on the ratio of 30,000, was beyond all reason in favour of the southern states; whereas the difference on that of 33,000 was very small indeed, in favour of the northern states, which evidently demonstrated that the principle of equality was involved in agreeing to the amendment of the senate.

Mr. *Hillhouse* stated various particulars to shew the inequality of the representation by 30,000, particularly as it respects the smaller states. He said he rejoiced that the senate had given their opinion on the subject; they had a right to do it; they are, said he, the representatives of the people; and, on this question, are probably more impartial judges than this house.

Mr. *Gerry* still supported his motion for a disagreement. He stated a case to shew, that, in the ordinary course of population, a state at the next enumeration, which now contains 330,000, will then have a much larger fraction, by a ratio of 33,000, than any now contemplated.

He supposed the senate had a different interest in this business from that of the house. The larger states not being represented in the senate, and the representation of those states which are stationary, or nearly so, being full, is the reason of this proposed amendment.

Mr. *Williamson* still contended, that the deduction from the bill was two members from the eastern, and four from the southern states, which plainly shewed that the amendment was in favour of the eastern states; and added, that if the southern states had been represented in the senate, the bill would not have been sent back.

Mr. *Niles* suggested an amendment to the amendment of the senate, which was to strike out *one* after the word Delaware, and to insert *two*. This, he observed, he was instrumental to move, from the consideration of the manifest inequality of the representation of that state, compared with that of other states, particularly Virginia. He had no doubt, from the justice of the house, that if the amendment he proposed was not directly contrary to the constitution, it would be agreed to. He then adverted to the constitution, and read the passage respecting representation and taxation, which are to be apportioned according to numbers. He observed, that there were evidently wanting to complete the sentence, these words, *as nearly as may be*. With this explanation added, he went on to shew, that the principle of equality would be more strictly adhered to, by admitting his amendment, than by rejecting it: for if Delaware contains 58,000 inhabitants, 28,000 were certainly nearer to 33,000 than 33,000 were to 58,000. He recited other passages of the constitution, to shew that his idea was compatible with it.

Mr. *Benson* again suggested his proposition, of apportioning the representation according to the whole population. He was in favour of a large representation. The principle advanced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Findley) he said, was undoubtedly just, that a large representation was necessary in a free government, for information and security: this principle was not to be disputed. And with respect to the danger from corruption, he said, undoubtedly patronage and influence would creep in; but he conceived that danger of a more serious nature was to be apprehended from another quarter. Gentlemen had mentioned the funding system. In questions of that kind, where one part of the union thought themselves the only sufferers, the liberties of this country would be but a secondary consideration. For in a republican government the majority must rule, and the minority must submit, except they are oppressed, and then they have an undoubted right to resist.

Mr. *Giles* defended the bill. He observed that the apparent inequality in the representation of the smaller states, was rendered equal by their representation in the senate. He enlarged on the idea of adhering to the amendment proposed to the constitution. The inequality spoken of, he said, was in fact in favour of smaller states. He adverted to the restive spirit in some of the states. Some of the measures of congress, he said, were so disliked, that the people in those states wished themselves separated from the government. The people of the state from which he came, were so impressed with the idea of the ratio being settled agreeably to the bill, that he really feared, the discontents of the people there would be increased to an alarming degree, should the amendment of the senate be agreed to.

The motion for agreeing to the amendment was negatived—*yeas* 29; *nays* 31. The senate refused to recede from this amendment; and the house to concur therein: so the bill was lost.

On a motion made in the house of representatives, that they should recede from their disagreement to the amendment proposed by the senate, the debate was renewed, and the tendency of the amendment fully investigated.

Mr. *Ames* said, the amendment proposed by the senate, though a single proposition, involved two questions, which it would be proper, on this occasion, to discuss distinctly.

Is the bill wrong, as the house passed it? and is the proposed amendment of the senate fit and proper?

The original bill gives the ratio of one member to 30,000 persons, and proceeds to state the number of representatives which the respective states shall have in the next congress. If in this distribution of members, it shall appear that we have not pursued the constitution, the bill is a bad one, and it is our duty to concur with the senate, at least in striking out the exceptionable part.

The constitution directs that representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers. The whole number of representatives being first fixed, they shall be apportioned to any state according to its census. The rule of three will shew what part of the representation any state shall have. The wisdom and caution of the constitution have left very little to congress in this affair. Though congress is to apportion the members, the rule of apportionment is fixed; the number of representatives will be 112. These are to be apportioned to each state according to its numbers. What part of the 112 members will Virginia have according to its people? The answer is easily found. Virginia, having 630,000 persons (which is her federal number, after deducting two fifths for the slaves according to the constitution) is entitled to 29 members? The bill gives her 21. Is that right? Who will say that the words or meaning of the constitution are pursued? Are the representatives, then, apportioned or disproportioned?

We may believe the result of figures. The sum is short and easy to reckon. Let us not then persist in a measure which palpably violates the constitution. The argument might stop here; but, to shew how other states will be wronged by the bill, it may be well to proceed. If the constitution had been silent, as we are men, common sense would have told us, and as we are freemen, we should have learned from our habits of acting, that an unequal representation is wrong. But the constitution is not silent, and yet the bill gives Virginia 21 members.

The states of Vermont, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-Jersey, and Delaware, have 766,428 persons, and they will have by the bill, only 21 members. With upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand persons more than Virginia, they will have no more members than that single state.

Thus Virginia has by the bill two members more than her due number compared with the whole union, and not less than four as it respects the six states before mentioned.

From this view of the operation of the bill, I draw this conclusion, which I presume is anticipated, that the proposed distribution of representatives is neither just and equal in itself, nor warranted by the constitution.

If further evidence of this injustice should be demanded, it can be furnished. Representatives and direct taxes are to be apportioned by the same rule; and there is a manifest propriety in the rule. In the distribution of benefits and burdens, the constitution has wisely excluded this means and temptation to partiality.

It is an additional security to our property that those who hold the power are made to feel it when they exercise it; and that exactly in the degree that they hold it; taxes are to be apportioned according to the numbers in the respective states. It would not be allowed by the constitution to use one rule for apportioning taxes and another for the members. If two things are to be compared with a third and made equal to it, it follows that they must be equal to each other. Let us suppose this bill to have become a law; and for the more plainly shewing its tendency, let us suppose Virginia to have 630,000 persons, her true number, and 21 members, and the 13 states to have, as Delaware actually has, 59,000 persons each, and one member to each state; in the whole, 1,397,000 persons. Let us suppose a tax to be laid equal

to a dollar for each person in the 14 states, that is, a tax of 1,397,000 dollars. Virginia, in point of justice, and by the constitution, should pay only according to her numbers, or 630,000 dollars; yet she would pay 21 parts in 34, or 1,007,000 dollars, being 377,000 more than her proportion. Whether with 21 members in 34, this wrong would be imposed or submitted to, is not my question. This may be called an extreme case; yet, in fact, Delaware, New-Jersey, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, and Vermont, on a tax equal to a dollar a head, would avoid more than 150,000 dollars of their just proportion; the justice and the constitutionality of such an apportionment of taxes are upon an equal footing.

Extraordinary as this statement may seem, it is not easy to shew an authority in congress to apportion a tax on any other principle. It would not do to deprive a state of its proportion of members, and yet to saddle it with taxes, according to numbers: The departure from the rule of the constitution in the case of representatives, would be rendered both more flagrant and more galling, by an adherence to it in the imposition of taxes. Such a comment upon this law would silence its advocates; such an execution of it would disfranchise the sufferers.

But this is not the country, and I trust this is not the government to do a violence of this sort; therefore, no tax would be laid. And yet, unless a new census should be taken, or a new law, at least, for apportioning representatives, should be passed, congress might be found destitute of one of its constitutional faculties.

The gentlemen who vote for this law have been importuned to defend it; anxious as we are under the fear of seeing the constitution and our primary civil rights violated, we have listened to hear reasons which would shew some respect for the one and the other. It is needless to decide whether men's passions will be soothed or their understandings convinced by an argument of this kind, that, as the small states are equally with the large ones represented in the senate, the advantage which the bill will secure to Virginia in the representative branch is fit and proper, and that it was so intended by the constitution. Is one in equality, if it really existed, to be balanced by another? Because the constitution has secured to each state an equal vote in the senate, are we at liberty to make a new constitution as often as we make a representation law, to counterpoise it; and under a form of government contrived to secure equal liberty, and to fix right above opinion, are the measure and the nature of this retribution to the great states to depend on our arbitrary discretion? This answer is perhaps more serious than the argument. Let it be refuted by itself.

Because the great states suffer wrong in the constitutional compact, will this bill do them right? Is Massachusetts or North-Carolina benefited by giving Virginia two extra members? By this bill the great states are injured as well as the small ones. The small ones are injured as it respects each other. Delaware will have one member; Rhode-Island two; yet the latter has only nine thousand more people than the former. But the doctrine tears up the foundation of compact on which we stand, and under the appearance of vindicating the bill from a charge of violating the constitution, establishes a claim to violate it at pleasure.

It has been said that the representatives are to be apportioned among the several states; that congress is not to regard the number of the whole nation: it is not easy to see how the bill can be defended on any principle of distribution among the states. The representatives are to be apportioned according to numbers. The number of members alloted to a state must correspond either with the number of persons in any other state, or the number in all the states; compare Virginia with either of the six states beforementioned, or with the whole six; it appears that 130,000 persons in the latter will go unrepresented; compare Virginia with the nation, she has two members more than her proportion. Why then is it so zealously contended that the apportionment is not to be made upon the entire number of the union, but upon the census of each state? The bill is as naked of defence on the one comparison as the other. It departs as widely from the principles of its advocates as from those of its adversaries.

It is indeed intimated, that you are to take the ratio of 30,000, and to apply it to each state, without regarding its operation. To justify this interpretation, the text of the constitution ought to read, *each state shall have as many members as the ratio of 30,000 applied to the number of persons will give it*: But that instrument is very differently expressed, and much better; *representatives and direct taxes are to be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers.* Will any gentleman who

votes for the bill say that it is such an apportionment? Will it accord with the constitution to take, instead of such an apportionment, an arbitrary ratio, which, instead of apportioning, disproportions representatives to numbers? The ratio mentioned in the constitution, and in the proposed amendment to it, evidently relates to the whole number of representatives, which according to it may be had from the whole nation, and not from the number of people in a state; any other sense, besides being unnatural, would disagree with the clause which directs how representatives shall be apportioned.

By the ratio of one to 30,000 may be known the greatest number of representatives which shall form this branch of the government. Having determined the number, it remains to apportion the members according to the census in the respective states. Nothing is more natural, or corresponds more perfectly with the constitution, than to find first the whole number of representatives, and then to apportion them as the constitution directs. But this method would not suit the present emergency; for that would give Virginia 19 members, and no more. Instead of beginning with the whole number, the bill says, let us begin at the other end; give Virginia her 21 first, and, if the number should hold out, give to all the states at that rate. It seems on trial the number will not hold out to apportion in that manner, still, however, says the bill, give Virginia her 21.

Let the constitution become what the bill makes it, a dead letter. Still, however, men, and freemen, will remain, who will preserve the departed spirit; for, before the constitution was formed our rights were equal; and can it be believed that compact has made them less? Men, equal in rights, assented to a government which preserves them equal in power: 30,000 citizens residing where they may, must possess civil rights and powers equal to 30,000 in any other part of the union; yet, though a compact, which ought to be inviolable, has ordained that representation, that is to say, power, shall be apportioned according to numbers, this bill, contradicting the language of nature and compact, directs, that 30,000 in Virginia shall have as much power as near 60,000 in Delaware and several other states.

It would ill suit the seriousness of my present emotions, to say how little the supposed expediency of a numerous assembly, and many other favourite topics, have to do with the debate; constitutional questions are so frequent they have almost lost their power to impress us. But this touches the first organization of the body politick; it goes to stifle liberty in her cradle; it establishes the power of a part over the whole; it is a disfranchisement of some of the states. If the rights of Virginia were invaded, I trust I should be equally zealous to maintain them. For the common right is the common security; but this bill tears the title deed in pieces.

Having compared the bill with the constitution, and seen the result of the comparison, it remains to enquire what amendment will be proper and constitutional. In this part of the enquiry, I will not pretend to say that I have arrived at equal certainty. I have no doubt that the bill is bad, but I am not equally satisfied of the best mode of amending it.

To determine what is right, some principle must be ascertained. That first principle is equality; it is another name for justice: That which is the right of the people, therefore, is the duty of the government. But as it is not practicable to apportion representatives exactly among the several states according to their numbers, it is our duty to approach as nearly to that equality as may be. If an apportionment is proposed, and it can be shewn that a more equal one can be made, it becomes our duty so to make it. For if we have an arbitrary discretion to reject the most equal apportionment, and to adopt a less equal, what is to restrain us from chusing the least equal of all, that is to say, having no apportionment at all. If this principle is not to govern us, then we are to act without any rule at all, and the constitution was made in vain. We cannot have more representatives than one to 30,000; but in apportioning them, let us follow the constitution, and do it according to numbers; and when we stop, as we must, short of a perfect equality, it will be the constitution that restrains us. In doing this, we shall assume no arbitrary control over the equal and sacred rights of the people. We shall have done all that we can to give them energy. It has appeared on discussion, that the rule of 30,000, proposed by the bill, is so far from being the most equal, that no more capricious and unjust disproportionment of representatives has yet been suggested. The ratio of 33,000, though not free from exception, is less unequal, and leaves less unrepresented fractions.

Having made ſome further obſervations, he concluded by exhibiting a table, the object of which was, to prove that the amendment would ſecure a greater equality of repreſentation, than the bill, in its original ſtate.

Mr. *Dayton* ſaid, that if the vote which was about to be taken, were merely to determine what ſhould be the ratio of repreſentation, he ſhould have been contented to remain in his ſeat, and give a ſilent vote upon the occaſion; but to him it appeared to involve in it a queſtion and a principle of infinitely higher moment.

Two of the members from Virginia, Mr. Dayton obſerved, had candidly admitted the inequalities complained of in the apportionment preſcribed by the bill ſent up to the ſenate, and had acknowledged the advantages to be given to their ſtate over every other: they did not, he ſaid, contradict the calculations, nor combat the arguments which had been offered againſt it, but they boldly claimed and exacted thoſe advantages as a right. This being the caſe, the queſtion was in reality no longer, whether 30 or 33,000 ſhould be the rule of apportionment, but whether the legiſlature of the union were in future to frame their acts with a view to the particular and almoſt excluſive advantage of Virginia, and to bend and accommodate their laws to the intereſts and will of the people or repreſentatives of that ſtate.

It was now alſo to be determined, Mr. Dayton further obſerved, whether Pennſylvania was hereafter deſtined to hold in her hands, as ſhe had been in ſome meaſure uſed to do, the political balance of the ſtates, to be the umpire in our diſputes, and the centre of our union. Judging, he ſaid, from the votes upon record, relating to this buſineſs, and from ſome other circumſtances, ſhe was no longer intended or qualified to hold that important ſtation. The ancient prophecy, he ſaid, ſeemed to be verifying among a people for whom he had never conſidered it as intended. The ſaviour of this country, the political Shiloh, was now among us, and univerſally known and acknowledged, and the ſceptre was about to depart from Judah. Theſe, he added, were the well known preparatives to the ſummons which was ſoon to follow, for their aſſembling at the New-Jeruſalem. He concluded, with ſaying, that not Pennſylvania alone, but far the greateſt part of the union would have reaſon to repent the determination againſt the amendment of the ſenate, and the adherence to the original bill. He, for his own part, believed that ſuch a determination not only ſtruck at the exiſtence of the ſtate ſovereignties, but reached to the very vitals of the general government, and that it muſt eventually produce either a general conſolidation of the union into one national maſs, or an abſolute ſeparation of its members.

Mr. *Venable* ſuppoſed that a Virginian was poſſeſſed of equal rights with other men; if this be a government of compact, he has equal rights with other men; but is it a reaſon, that becauſe Virginia has relinquiſhed a part of her rights when this compact was forming, that ſhe ſhould not now hold what ſhe has not reſigned? The diſpute on the ratio of repreſentation does not affect Virginia; for whatever ratio may be adopted, her repreſentation muſt always be complete: whether this be a conſolidated or federal government, Virginia will have her full proportion in every caſe except one, that is, in caſe ſhe ſhould be reduced to a leſs number than one member; ſo that, upon whatever grounds we take it, whether fractional or conſtitutional, the reſult will be nearly the ſame. Calculations therefore, are out of the queſtion, and after all the arguments of northern and ſouthern intereſts, of the differences between ſmall ſtates and large ſtates, the compariſon is brought to Virginia and Delaware, and the queſtion is to ſtrike off ſeven members from the five large ſtates, and add to the ſeven ſmaller ones. Thus is one ſixteenth of the whole repreſentation of the union to be deducted unconſtitutionally from one part and given away to another, which has already more than a juſt proportion in the government: for although it is contended, that we ſhould not argue from the proportion the ſmall ſtates bear in the ſenate, yet, I hold it fair, in ſpeaking of a government of repreſentation, to take the whole into view, and not be governed by ſuch partial compariſons. Under this conſideration, I ſay, that every man in Virginia, as repreſented in the two branches of the legiſlature, is to a man in Delaware only as *one* to *eleven and one half*, and in the election of a preſident only as *one* to *one and an half*. This is an advantage enjoyed by individuals in the ſmaller ſtates more than by thoſe in the larger, and this advantage would be ſtill increaſed by an adoption of the amendment of the ſenate: is it, therefore, juſt to increaſe this inequality? Is it fair that a man living in the neighbourhood of another, with only the boundary line of a ſtate between them, ſhould be repreſented only in the proportion of *one* to *eleven and an half*?

I contend that the principle which comes the nearest to hold out equal rights to every man, is the most proper one, and one that I will always contend for, as a citizen of the united states, and as a citizen of Virginia. I shall never wish to encroach upon the constitution, but I will be equally against destroying the balance between the rights which the people have delegated, and those they have retained.

Take the subject in any point of view, the five large states will send, suppose 81 members, to the house of representatives, and 10 to the senate, whilst the nine smaller states will have 31 members in this house, and 18 in the senate; so that the majority of the representation in the one is overpowered in the other, and taking the whole aggregate of the inhabitants of the united states, if divided into the majority contained in those five large states, and the minority in the nine smaller ones, it appears that the minority of the people can dictate to the majority in elections, &c.

Government is formed by an association of the people upon principles of equality, and whilst we admit the argument of sovereignty retained to the states in the senate, let us not lose sight of justice, right, and equity. He concluded, by declaring himself of the same opinion as formerly, in favour of the bill; and as there were no reasons offered by the senate, or for them, that could induce him to change, consequently he could not recede from his opinion.

Mr. *Madison*, after making a few prefatory observations, said he felt himself impelled to take some notice of the arguments that had been used this day, on the subject before the house: he would not, however, attempt any reply to the gentleman from New-Jersey, nor pretend to follow him in his flights of imagination respecting the New-Jerusalem or the umpirage of Pennsylvania, but leave it to those to whom such observations might have been addressed to draw their own conclusions. He was sorry that it almost always happened, whenever any question of general policy and advantage to the union was before the house, and gentlemen found themselves at a loss for general arguments, they commonly resorted to local views; and at all times, as well as the present, when there was most occasion for members to act with the utmost coolness, when their judgments ought to be the least biassed, it was to be regretted, that at those times they suffered their feelings, passions, and prejudices to govern their reason. Thus it is, that the most important points are embarrassed, the northern and southern interests are held up, every local circumstance comes into view, and every idea of liberality and candour is banished.

The gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Lawrance,) when he introduced this subject at the commencement of the present session, did it on the most generous plan, and disavowed every principle of calculation so much, that he then declared he had not so much as made a single calculation of the different fractions which have since been introduced into the debate. His only object was to fix a rule on general principles, agreeably to the constitution, and to the preservation of the rights of the people; and this idea was approved by two of the gentlemen from New-Jersey, who have since altered their opinions, although they then had no objections, but as to the exclusive idea of fractions was not then contended for, but has since become the very essence of the opposition: and we are called on to violate the constitution, by adopting a measure that will give representatives for those separate and distinct fractions in the respective states; and afterwards are told it is not to the fractional numbers in the states that they refer, but to the aggregate of the fractions in the united states. If this reasoning is good, why do the gentlemen stop at this boundary of a representation by states? why not proceed to erect the whole of the united states into one district, without any division, in order to prevent the inequality they conceive to exist in respect to individual states?

He would not encroach upon the time of the house by protracting the debate, which had already swelled to an immoderate extent. Upon the whole, he said, this was a great question, wherein attention should be paid to the people, and a strict eye kept towards the public good, divested of prejudice; but he had heard, with pain, how much had been said to divert the house, by an attention to fractions, from the true object of general welfare. Yet, he hoped, that the government would be equally administered; that none of those predictions or threats, thrown out in the course of the debate, that no mutilation of the union, would take place; but, on the contrary, that harmony would guide the decision of this question, free from every local consideration.

Mr. *Hillhouse.* It has often been said this government is a government of confidence, and taking this for granted, can it ever be supposed that a plan of representation, which is unequal and unjust, can excite this confidence? This ratio of 30,000, throws an additional weight of seven representatives into the scale of the large states. If this principle can be established on this occasion, it may be also extended to taxation. Northern and southern interests had been mentioned? He was sorry the idea had ever been suggested; but as it had, there was no impropriety in adverting to it. Let a line then be drawn at any given place, and a ratio established which will do equal justice to the members on both sides of that line; a representation that will deviate from such a principle, it cannot be expected, will give satisfaction, or be cheerfully submitted to by the people. The ratio of 33,000, figures will shew it, will give a more equal representation than that of 30,000. There had not, and, in his opinion, could not, be any good reason assigned why it should not be adopted.

Mr. *Boudinot* said he was pleased when gentlemen were desirous of appealing to candid and fair argument, in determining important questions. In the present case, he thought there was a propriety in examining the principles of the bill and amendment, by the terms of the constitution. It had been said by gentlemen, that the ratio, when adopted, must be applied to the number of citizens in the individual states, and that no regard was to be paid to the fractions occasioned thereby, because not regarded by the constitution. This, he thought, was by no means conclusive. The house of representatives was to consist of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states; these members not to exceed the proportion of one to 30,000. It appeared to him that the whole number of representatives, to be chosen by the people of the union, was the subject contemplated by the constitution, as constituting this branch of the legislature; while by another part of the constitution, it becomes the duty of congress, *to apportion* them when so ascertained, among the several states, in proportion to their respective numbers. As an instance, suppose for argument's sake, the aggregate number of the citizens of the united states to be exactly three millions, by applying the ratio of 30,000, the constitutional number of this house would be found 100; congress should then proceed to *apportion* (for he could apply no other meaning to the word) the 100 members among the states, as their respective numbers bore a proportion to the whole number of three millions. Thus the representatives from every state would bear an exact proportion to each other, according to the number of inhabitants in the state; and the whole representation would stand on principles of perfect equality. An equal representation appears to have been the desirable object of the framers of the constitution. It is the very spirit of our government. He insisted that this was the only mode of applying the ratio, and making the apportionment that would hold good at all times, and under all circumstances. It cannot be said with propriety, that the constitution does not proceed on principles of perfect equality in this house, yet if the ratio will be applied to the numbers in the individual states, it will always produce (as has been fully shewn by several gentlemen) very great inequality, by large fractions being unavoidable. In one state we now find one upwards of 29,000. He acknowledged the amendment did not proceed on this principle any more than the bill, for which reason he fully approved of neither, but as the ratio of 33,000 in the amendment produced a much greater equality, and came in effect nearer to his principle, (by reducing the fractions made by the bill nearly two thirds) he should prefer it, as he must vote for the one or the other.

It had been said that they were making distinctions between the north and the south—between the large and small states. He observed, in answer, that if gentlemen would introduce principles of inequality, that bore unconstitutionally hard on individual states, they ought not to take it amiss, that the suffering states would complain of the injustice. The injured must complain, and the fault, if any, lies with the first framers of the principle.

If gentlemen wished for equality, let them adhere to the principles of the constitution. Apply the ratio to the whole number of citizens, by which you find the number of representatives to constitute this house, and then apportion those representatives among the individual states, according to their respective numbers.

When gentlemen advert to the senate, and say that the equal representation of the small states there should be taken into the account, they do not consider the relative situation of the states as represented in that house. There the sovereignty of each

state is represented, and not the individual citizen. Sovereignty is perfectly equal in every state. As sovereigns there are none great or small, and if his information had been right, it was on that principle that the senate was originally constituted, but that house was a representative of every individual citizen. On the whole, he was of opinion, that by agreeing to the amendment of the senate, they would secure the great principles of equality better than by the bill.

Mr. Boudinot thought the construction he had given the constitution was a true one. It supported the spirit of the confederation between the states, which was on the footing of perfect equality in proportion to numbers. It coincided with the spirit of our government, which was equality; and, although by it, the number of members constituting the house was first ascertained from the whole people aggregately considered, without respect to the division of states, in their political capacity, yet by the after *apportionment* among the respective states in that capacity, the wisdom of the constitution appeared, in thus providing a general government for general purposes, and at the same time making each individual state, as a state, essential to the existence of that government, thereby preventing, in the most effectual manner, an unnecessary entire consolidation of the union. Mr. B. said he had originally objected to the bill, on account of a too numerous and expensive representation, as well as of an unequal one, but chiefly relied on the last, as being unconstitutional, and therefore should still prefer a concurrence with the senate.

Mr. *Gerry* observed, that it had been fashionable to speak of the ratio of 30,000 as a federal number; he did not know what name to give to the amendment of the senate, unless it were called the fractional number. He then took notice of an argument which had been used to create suspicion, that there was danger to be apprehended from a combination of the larger states; but this would appear a weak argument, when it was considered that the power and influence of the smaller states are equal, in the senate, to those of the greater states. The thing is impossible, and if attempted, could not succeed.

He wished to know whether it was the opinion of gentlemen, that there was less judgment and less firmness in the house of representatives than in the senate? He hoped an equipoise would be preserved in the two branches, and that the balance would not be destroyed by constantly giving up the judgment of the house to every whim of the senate. If a latitude be now admitted, that we may increase the ratio before the expiration of the first ten years, the gentlemen in favour of the senate's amendment may insist on a ratio of 50 or 60,000; but this is ground they know they cannot yet touch upon; and the same reason that should prevent us from adopting this extreme, operates against the amendment. The whole expense of congress, from adopting the ratio in the bill, will not amount to two cents upon each citizen of the united states annually, and as population increases it will be lessened. Surely, the gentlemen in favour of the amendment cannot object to this trifling expense. They speak of a liberal policy; I wish they would shew us an example, by agreeing to the bill with a better grace than they seem to have exhibited hitherto.

Mr. *Murray*. The subject has gone through a very ample discussion. When the question of representation first came on, the theory of the government was ably resorted to by those who urged a large representation. Sir, I most heartily agreed in the principle, on which a large majority of this house made 30,000 the ratio. As I still am of that opinion, I shall be indulged by this house, while I give my reasons for adhering, with a firmness which may be deemed by some tenaciousness, to a rejection of the amendment of the senate.

I voted for 30,000, because I saw in that ratio the constitutional wishes and expectations of the people. I deemed the largest possible ratio allowed by the constitution to be the source of national government, and its best security. Nothing, sir, which I have yet heard, has convinced me to the contrary. It is unnecessary to recapitulate whatever has been said on this point. I must remark, however, that during the discussion, the members of this house, who suggested that principle, appeared to me to be convinced. They seemed to be masters of their own opinions, and to agree in this idea, without adverting to the doctrine of fractions, that the sole question was a point of theory rather than a measure of expedience; and they decided, by a large majority, that in this house, immediately warm from the very bosom of the people, the ratio of 30,000 was theoretically correct and practically useful. The bill was sent up to the senate, who returned it with an amendment of 33,000 as the ratio. I

voted against that amendment, because it was an attack upon the principle of an enlarged representation; and because the idea of fractional representation aimed at by the amendment, was but a commutation of the evil of fractions from one state to another, from the eastern to the southern; and contained a surrender of the principle, without an attainment of convenience.

Sir, it has been in the course of debate foretold, that that honourable body would be averse to an enlarged representation here. Whatever has been argued, has been verified by experience; nor can any man be at a loss to see that the temper against large representation, though not openly avowed, for that would have been impolitic, has been covertly and successfully exerted, under the semblance of *equality* of representation, by this doctrine of fractions. It was sent down into this house in the form of jealousy and suspicion, and it has produced its effects. It has roused the latent and local interests from their plans, and we have had debates entirely constructed on the tenets of northern and southern interests and influence.

A proposition was made by a member from New-York, Mr. Benson, and reiterated by the gentleman from Delaware. The object of this proposition was to sum up the fractions, and from the aggregate take seven members. Sir, if I was surprised, I confess I was delighted to see men who had a few days before opposed in theory the idea of a large representation, come down with moderation, and suggest this great principle, even in a bad form. I imagined they were converted. I voted against this proposition, because I thought it, first, unconstitutional, inasmuch as it could have been contemplated but in the consolidation of states; and because I thought it contained a solecism in politics. I deemed it unconstitutional, as the constitution calls for a representation of the people of the *respective* STATES in a ratio of 30,000; and if this had been obtained, it was to be done by collecting the fragments of constituents from states widely separate, and giving a representation of their fractions thus divided to that state which had the largest fraction. Thus, sir, the two from Delaware would be chosen by less than the constitution contemplates, as there are not 60,000; and it is in vain to say, that the member chosen by 25,000 is elected by the addition of 5,000 in any other state, in order to complete his proper number of constituents, for they do not *elect* him: and if it be said that he nevertheless does represent them as his constituents, it can only be by the idea of a consolidation having pre-existed, which no man has yet openly averred to be the doctrine on this subject. The very first and most intelligible principle of representation in government is, that the representative is responsible to his constituents; but, sir, this, though an abstract truth, must be shewn to the people not in a fiction, but in a solid and practical mode, congenial with their habits, and palpable to their understandings.

In the adoption of this extraordinary proposition, the idea of *virtual* representation is the only one which at all protects it. No man, however, who knows the country, will tamper and trifle with so solid a part of government, as that of actual representation and actual responsibility. I never, sir, could consent to commute a known and practical measure of good, for a flimsy speculation, which could only have been invented to serve particular views, and was never thought of till it was discovered in what manner the fractions would affect particular states.

For these reasons, sir, I voted against that proposition. I shall now vote against the amendment of the senate, because I find no cure, but a partial one, for the inconvenience of fractions; and even this is to be obtained at the expense of principle. Though this amendment may gratify some states, as New-Jersey, that may have large fractions, it throws off the evil from them on other states. The fraction of Massachusetts may be smaller, but the state of Maryland loses a member, and will have a large fraction. Sir, I can find nothing in this amendment, but the design to accomplish what I humbly conceive an unwholesome end by improper means, and shall therefore vote against the proposed amendment.

Mr. *Findley*, From the various observations which had been made on the subject, said it had become necessary that a vote should be given with due deliberation—such a vote as constitutional justice should require: for as to general justice, it was entirely out of the question; and indeed, he said, that general justice could not be done, on the principles of any government under heaven. He adverted to the particular situation of the respective states, and said, that this general justice was not attainable in any one of them. We are not to be moved by any threats; we act on principle, and we will entrench ourselves in principle; and this principle of constitutional

equality is all that we can pretend to. But it is objected that the ratio will produce fractions—and to get rid of this difficulty of fractions, we are to reduce the representation of the people from the constitutional number of one to every 30,000; that is, we are to strike off one sixteenth part of the whole representation of the union. He urged, that the representation on the ratio of 30,000 would not be too great. He instanced the representation of Geneva, and other foreign states. If there should arise any inconvenience from the present ratio of 30,000, government were not obliged to wait for the expiration of ten years to remedy the defect; it was always in the power of congress to order another census to be taken at any time. For his own part, he had not considered fractions as an obstacle to the bill; on the contrary, he was rejoiced that the population of the country increased so rapidly, as to make those fractions always quickly increase to an whole number. To conclude, he was for going on general principles, which would certainly reflect the most honour on the proceedings of the legislature.

Mr. *W. Smith* said he had hitherto voted uniformly in favour of a smaller representation than that which was contemplated in the bill, and in doing so he had acted from principle, without any reference to the doctrine of fractions. As the enumeration of his state was not yet known, it must be evident to every gentleman in the house that this was the case; but he now saw the necessity of changing his vote, since the bill had been returned from the senate, where it seemed there was a disposition to modify every bill, and every proceeding of this house, just as they pleased. He thought it would have a very awkward appearance to the world, if the house should give way in all cases whatever, and more especially in the present instance, where the senate had been equally divided, and the question was decided by the vote of a single member of that body, the vice-president. For these reasons, and the locality and fractions that had been introduced into the debate, he would vote for an adherence to the former decision of the house, in order to support that balance which should be preserved between the two branches of the legislature.

Mr. *Sedgwick* said, that it was impossible for him to understand on what principle the gentleman from South-Carolina, and his colleague, were to give their votes, contrary to their former expressed opinion, excepting that they had discovered that the senate concurred with them, which would not, he hoped, be generally considered as a good ground for changing; as it seemed to be embracing contradiction for the purpose of contradiction; or unless, as the gentleman had declared, that, at the time he formed his opinion, he did it on principle, by the abandonment of which, he could acquire an undue weight to the district of country from which he came, by departing from a just equality in representation.

Gentlemen had seemed to wish to obscure the merits of the present controversy, by considering it as a contest between the larger and smaller states, and by supposing that the latter would be compensated for their loss of weight and influence in this house, which would result from an unequal apportionment of the representation, by the undue influence which they possessed in the senate. He himself came from a very large and important state. Justice, however, obliged him to declare that this mode of conducting the argument, only tended to divert the judgment from the true merits of the question. What had the distribution of the powers of the government, which, by the constitution, was adjusted to the interests and sovereignty of the states, to do with the apportionment of representation, as it respected either its numbers or the various interests which were to be secured by equality of influence? Was it possible that any mind should be so weak as not to discover that the constitutional organization of the senate was wholly irrelative to those considerations, which should influence in the decision of the present question?

In contemplating the subject before the house, he observed, that a vast variety of circumstances were entitled to deliberate consideration. Among others, the number of representatives compared with the number of inhabitants of the united states. In determining which, the nature and objects of the government we were administering, its machinery, the distribution of its parts, the construction of the other branch of the legislature, and many other objects, were to be considered. That we had not on any of these subjects the aid of experience, and that the government itself was a novel experiment. He need not therefore add, that there were no data from which any certain conclusion could be drawn. All was uncertainty and conjecture. Was an apportionment of a ratio of 30,000 eligible? As an abstract proposition, he was disposed to

give it a preference to any other. But if he was asked wherefore, he could only answer, that it was rather an inclination of sentiment, than the result of rational reflection. He would not therefore, because justice would not permit it, sacrifice to the effect of conjecture, which might be only the result of whim, the important and indispensable duty he owed to respect the claims of states to equality.

If an apportionment was made by a ratio of 30,000, the members would be seven more than if the amendment of the senate were adopted. Whichever proposition was agreed to, would any one venture to affirm that the liberties of the people would be more or less secure, the house aggregately more or less wise, or the due balance between the two houses better or worse adjusted? Considering thus the subject, does not the earnestness with which gentlemen contend for the proposition of the house, appear perfectly unaccountable? But in the progress of this business, it is discovered that an application of the principle of the house, gives a balance of weight and influence to one part of the united states, to which it is not entitled by the equal apportionment contemplated by the constitution. This is agreed by all, it is demonstrated by figures. Nor can it be denied that equality is among the most essential principles of representation, and expressly provided for by the constitution, as far as would consist with the state of our society, having a due regard to our particular circumstances. Yet all-important as this consideration is, it is to be sacrificed, with all the interests involved in it, to a fanciful idea of theory; of theory unsanctioned by experience.

For his own part, he believed that wise policy would be found perfectly to coincide with, and reconcile the various interests of this extensive country. It could not, however, have escaped the observation of every gentleman, that there existed an opinion of opposition of interests between the northern and southern states. The influence of this opinion had been felt in the discussion of every important question which had come under the consideration of the legislature. The extreme anxiety of gentlemen on the present occasion, would render all other evidence superfluous on this subject. Such a belief, he said, however ill-founded, would, as long as it continued, have the same effect as if it existed in fact. Feeling the weight of this observation, and the influence it ought to have to give to every part of the united states as nearly as might be, a due proportion of constitutional weight in the public councils, he was incapable of reconciling the conduct of members who were disposed to sacrifice the most important interests of their immediate constituents, to their strange ideas of conjectural perfection. It seemed to him that the gentlemen who came from the north, and on this occasion dissented from their neighbours, were disposed blindly to surrender all the important interests of their immediate constituents, to the arbitration of those, the whole course of whose conduct had demonstrated that they thought those interests adverse to their own.

He concluded, by warning those who had hitherto composed a majority on this subject, to reflect on the danger that would result from a pertinacious adherence to a measure so productive of the sources of jealousy. And he called on their generosity, magnanimity and justice, to respect the claims of the minority to an equal weight in the government, on the principles of the constitution.

Mr. *Gerry* made some reply to Mr. Sedgwick, respecting locality of interests, and declared that he would never agree to a reduction of the people's representation.

Mr. *Lawrance* said he had always advocated a large representation, without any reference to the part of the union from which the members were to come. 30,000 would give the largest number we could get. He could have wished it had been larger; but as it could not, he should vote against 33,000, which would diminish the number. And this was the principle he acted upon. If an equality is the object, is there not a number which will produce a still greater equality than that proposed by the senate? If there is, there is no principle in the ratio of 33,000; for it ought to be carried to the full extent, to make it perfectly equal. He was sorry that the discussion of the question had excited those disagreeable reflections which had been made, and that the discussion of general principles was dwindled into a debate on fractions, and on the interests of northern and southern parts of the union. He was persuaded this would not be the proper mode of obtaining the end, which ought to be in view, but would only tend to disturb the tranquillity and harmony that ought to exist in investigating and determining this subject.

Mr. *Kittera* having firſt voted for 30,000, he thought it proper to offer a few reaſons for altering his opinion. He had voted for 30,000, becauſe it would give the largeſt repreſentation; but finding its unjuſt and unequal operation, in reſpect to a majority of the ſtates, he had determined to vote for the ratio of 33,000. He then noticed the remark of Mr. Findley, that the injuſtice might be corrected, by an enumeration at an earlier period than that propoſed in the conſtitution. He obſerved, that this was in effect ſaying, let us do injuſtice, and wait a number of years, and then juſtice ſhall be done. Why not do juſtice now, as far as in our power? Mr. Lawrance had ſaid, why not adopt a ratio that would leave leſs fractions than 33,000? He ſaid this was in effect ſaying, that becauſe we could not do complete juſtice, we ſhould not do it to any degree whatever. The ſuperior degree of equality which would reſult from the amendment of the ſenate, had been ſo fully demonſtrated, that he ſhould now vote to recede from the diſagreement of the houſe to it.

The motion to recede was negatived, as has already been mentioned.

The bill being thus loſt, it became neceſſary to take up the buſineſs *de novo*. A new bill was accordingly reported to the houſe of repreſentatives, on the 7th of February, by a committee which had been appointed for that purpoſe. This bill, in addition to the apportionment of repreſentatives among the ſeveral ſtates, according to the firſt enumeration, made proviſion for another enumeration, and an apportionment of repreſentatives thereon, to compoſe the houſe of repreſentatives after the 3d of March 1797.—An amendment was propoſed by Mr. Benſon, to eſtabliſh the number of members at one for every thirty thouſand perſons, in the aggregate of the popolation of the united ſtates; and to apportion theſe in ſuch manner, that the additional members ſhould be aſſigned to thoſe ſtates which had the largeſt fractions. This gave riſe to a long debate; in which many of the arguments which had been previouſly uſed, in the diſcuſſion of the repreſentation bill, were repeated. That clauſe in the conſtitution, which reſpects the apportionment of repreſentatives and of direct taxes, was quoted, both by the advocates and the oppoſers, of Mr. Benſon's propoſed amendment, as authority for their oppoſite principles. The motion for amending, however, was finally negatived—Yeas, 24; nays, 33.

The bill having paſſed the houſe was ſent to the ſenate, who paſſed it with ſundry amendments.—The principal of theſe were, that the number of repreſentatives ſhould be increaſed to 120; that additional members ſhould be aſſigned to thoſe ſtates which had the largeſt fractions, on the apportionment of one repreſentative to every thirty thouſand perſons, and that the ſection which provided for a ſecond enumeration ſhould be expunged. After a tedious debate, the queſtion was put for agreeing to the amendment which propoſed an increaſe of the members to 120, and negatived—Yeas, 30; nays, 31.

The other amendments were alſo diſagreed to, by the houſe. A conference, on the ſubject of thoſe amendments, was held by managers on behalf of each houſe; but theſe ſeparated, without being able to bring about an accommodation.—The ſenate continuing to inſiſt upon their amendments, the ſubject was reconſidered in the houſe of repreſentatives; and a motion, for receding from their diſagreement to all the ſaid amendments was carried—Yeas, 31; nays, 29.

Thoſe who voted in the affirmative, were, Fiſher Ames, Egbert Benſon, Elias Boudinot, Sbearjaſhub Bourne, Benjamin Bourne, Abraham Clarke, Thomas Fitzſimons, Elbridge Gerry, Nicholas Gilman, Benjamin Goodhue, James Gordon, Thomas Hartley, Iſrael Jacobs, Aaron Kitchell, John W. Kittera, John Laurance, Amaſa Learned, Samuel Livermore, Frederick Auguſtus Muhlenberg, Nathaniel Niles, Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, Theodore Sedgwick, Jeremiah Smith, Iſrael Smith, John Steele, Peter Silveſter, George Thatcher, Thomas Tredwel, John Vining, Jeremiah Wadſworth, and Artemas Ward.

Thoſe who voted in the negative, were, John Baptiſt Aſhe, Abraham Baldwin, Robert Barnwell, John Brown, William Findley, William B. Giles, Andrew Gregg, William Barry Grove, Daniel Heiſter, James Hillhouſe, Daniel Huger, Philip Key, Richard Bland Lee, Nathaniel Macon, James Madiſon, John Francis Mercer, Andrew Moore, John Page, Joſiah Parker, Joſhua Seney, William Smith, Samuel Sterrett, Jonathan Sturges, Thomas Sumpter, Thomas Tuder Tucker, Abraham Venable, Alexander White, Hugh Williamſon, and Francis Willis.

The bill thus paſſed was as follows—

An ACT *for an apportionment of Representatives among the several States, according to the first Enumeration.*

BE it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the united states of America in congress assembled, That from and after the third day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, the house of representatives shall be composed of one hundred and twenty members, elected in the several states according to the following apportionment; that is to say: Within the state of New-Hampshire, five; within the state of Massachusetts, sixteen; within the state of Vermont, three; within the state of Rhode-Island, two; within the state of Connecticut, eight; within the state of New-York, eleven; within the state of New-Jersey, six; within the state of Pennsylvania, fourteen; within the state of Delaware, two; within the state of Maryland, nine; within the state of Virginia, twenty-one; within the state of Kentucky, two; within the state of North-Carolina, twelve; within the state of South-Carolina, seven; and within the state of Georgia, two.

On the 26th of March, this bill was presented to the president of the united states, for his approbation; and, on the 5th of April, he returned it, with the following objections, to the house of representatives, in which it originated:

United States, April 5th, 1792.

Gentlemen of the house of Representatives,

I HAVE maturely considered the act passed by the two houses, intituled, "An act for an apportionment of representatives among the several states, according to the first enumeration;" and I return it to your house, wherein it originated, with the following objections.

First. The constitution has prescribed, that representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers: and there is no one proportion or divisor, which, applied to the respective numbers of the states, will yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the bill.

Second. The constitution has also provided, that the number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction is, by the context, and by fair and obvious construction, to be applied to the separate and respective numbers of the states: And the bill has allotted to eight of the states more than one for every thirty thousand.

G. WASHINGTON.

This was the first instance of a bill's being returned with the president's objections. It must afford pleasure to our fellow-citizens to see this precedent established, and to reflect that we have a chief magistrate sufficiently firm and independent, to exercise the powers vested in him by the constitution, in opposition to a majority in both houses of the legislature, when their measures appear to him to be either unconstitutional, or injurious to the public.

The bill was reconsidered, and the question for passing the same was negatived—Yeas, 28; nays, 33. So that it fell to the ground; the constitution having made the votes of two thirds of both houses necessary to pass a bill returned with objections by the president.

On the 9th of April, a new bill was reported to the house, for apportioning representatives among the respective states, according to the first enumeration. A motion to fix the ratio at *thirty-three* thousand was carried——*Yeas*, 34; *nays*, 30.

YEAS. Messrs. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Gregg, Hartley, Heister, Hillhouse, Huger, Jacobs, Kitchell, Kittera, Learned, Livermore, Niles, Sedgwick, J. Smith, I. Smith, W. Smith, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward.

NAYS. Messrs. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Findley, Giles, Griffin, Grove, Key, Lawrence, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Muhlenberg, Murray, Page, Parker, Schoonmaker, Seney, Sheredine, Steele, Sterett, Sumpter, Tredwell, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, Willis.

The ratio being thus fixed, the bill, without further amendment, was enacted into a law.

(To be continued.)

The CHRONICLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 1.

A VERMONT paper, printed at Windsor, in that state relates, that "the wife of Mr. Ashbel Webb, of the town of Bradford was, on the 12th of July, delivered of a child the most singular and extraordinary of any, perhaps, ever known in this part of the world. It had two distinct heads, four arms, one body, and four legs. The child was still-born, and the mother is in a favourable situation as to her health."

The Rev. Samson Occum, a noted Indian preacher at Stockbridge, near Oneida in the state of New-York, died on or about the 14th of July in the woods, while searching for timber, in company with a friend. He had been previously ill, but was tempted to make this excursion upon a supposition that he was getting better. He was buried on the 15th. His funeral sermon was preached by the Indian missionary, Kirkland, from Matt. 24, verse 44. Upwards of three hundred Indians, from different tribes, attended his funeral.

August 4. In consequence of notice given in the newspapers, and the adjournment that took place on the Mondy evening before, a number of citizens assembled in the state-house yard on Tuesday the 31st ult. at 3 P. M on the subject of appointing conferrees, &c. At half after three, an attempt was made to proceed to business, and Mr. M'Kean and Mr. Powel both named for chairman. After a noisy contest of *Yes* and *No*, those two gentlemen declined serving on the present occasion. Other names were brought forward, and among them Messrs. Morris and Barclay. Mr. Wilson endeavoured to decide which name commanded a majority, and a division for this purpose was three times effected; but the meeting was so numerous that it was found impossible to determine which was the largest mass, or to decide the question by enumeration.—A last endeavour was made by the friends to conferrees to place Mr. Morris in the chair; some confusion ensued, and the meeting was dissolved in a tumultuous and unbecoming manner.

A few days ago the powder-mill at Springfield, in Massachusetts, was blown up, by which unfortunate accident, Mr. Kennedy, the only workman then in the mill, lost his life.

At the late commencement at the university of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, thirty two gentlemen were admitted to the degree of master of arts; three to the degree of bachelor of physic; five to doctor of laws; six doctors of divinity; and six to the degree of doctor of physic. Previously to these, thirty-seven were admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts.

On the 4th of July, the anniversary of American Independence was celebrated at Dartmouth college, in New-Hampshire. In the forenoon there were various exhibitions by the students, in public speaking, music, &c. all which were highly applauded. In the afternoon the exercises were of a military kind, with a mock-battle, and other manœuvres.

A few days since, arrived in this river from Hamburgh, the brig Catharine, with upwards of one hundred and thirty passengers. They are intended to form a settlement in the Genesee country, and are to be joined by upwards of 500 more of their countrymen in a short time.

On the 24th of July ult. came into Boston harbour in distress, a large raft-ship, that had been built at Knnebeck some time before, for the purpose of carrying timber to London. She is said to be built entirely of timber, in one solid mass, without plank or sheathing, and has upwards of one thousand tons on board Although caulked between the timbers, it seems she did not prove sufficiently tight for sea, and therefore put back for a refit.

On Sunday (July 22) the following melancholy accident happened at the camp near Alexandria, in Virginia. Serjeant Keech, of capt. Hannah's company, going through the manual exercise with a corporal, the latter had chanced to take up a musket, which, for a particular purpose, had been left loaded. When they came to the fatal words—"Present---Fire"---the corporal did so, and lodged the contents in the serjeant's body, which instantly put a period to his existence!

Capt Anderſon, in the brig Sally, arrived on Thurſday, in 15 days from St Euſtatius, brings accounts, that, on Saturday the 14th ult. a gale of wind happened at the windward iſlands, that was ſomewhat alarming. It blew from S. to S. S. E and continued about 8 hours with violence. That at St. Euſtatius moſt of the veſſels put to ſea, ſeveral loſt their anchors, and had not returned on Tueſday the 17th.—At Old Road, St. Kitts, a large ſhip, being unable to put ſea, was driven on ſhore, having on board 500 hhds. of ſugar, which with the ſhip, was entirely loſt.—At Guadaloupe and Martinico they had not heard of any damage, but ſuppoſe, at Baſſeterre and St. Pierre they muſt have been much expoſed.—He alſo relates, that at theſe iſlands there are great apprehenſions of a hurricane theſe months—that the ſages among them obſerve, with concern, the ſymptoms that almoſt conſtantly prevail previous to thoſe calamitous phenomena.

On Wedneſday arrived here the ſhip Pennſylvania, capt. Harding, from Havre de Grace, which place he left the 6th of June American produce at that time was low, and there were pleaſing accounts of plentiful crops all over France.

On Thurſday morning was witneſſed a very melancholy event at Mr. Henry Kizer's powder-mill, in lower Merion-townſhip, Montgomery county, between the hours of nine and ten. There was a large quantity of power in the mill, which by accident took fire, and blew up with a great exploſion, which was heard at Schuylkill ferry, and was there ſuppoſed to be an earthquake. Mr. Kizer and three others, who were in the mill, were blown to pieces; and Mr. Henry Fraily, a copartner of Mr. Kizer, was ſo wounded that his life is deſpaired of. A young woman, who happened to be near the mill at the time it blew up, had both her legs broken, and was otherwiſe very much injured, by one of the rafters, which was carried from the building by the violence of the exploſion.

The Pittſburg gazette of July 28, ſays, "The Cornplanter has got home from the council at Buffaloe-creek, and informs that it was determined in that council that a number of chiefs of the ſix nations ſhould go on an embaſſy to the hoſtile Indians, to perſuade them to peace with the united ſtates.—Capt. Brady had been out a thirty days tour into the Indian country, but could not approach the Sanduſki town nearer than five miles, as he was diſcovered and followed a conſiderable diſtance by parties of the hoſtile Indians. From this it appears, that Sanduſki has not been deſerted, as reported ſome time ſince."

Auguſt 8. A new ſyſtem of military regulations for his army has been publiſhed by M. Fayette---ſeveral of the articles are ſevere. Whoever within reach of the army breaks ſilence is to be put in irons for ſix years---marauding is to be ſeverely puniſhed, alſo harſh treatment of priſoners. Death is the puniſhment of any ſoldier who cries out, *we are cut off*, *we are betrayed*, or any thing ſimilar. No man in command is to be queſtioned for acts of ſeverity which are neceſſary in an engagment. Officers are ſubject to double puniſhment for any fault they neglect to repreſs, or any act of diſobedience to which they give way. The camp of M. de la Fayette, it is ſaid, favours very little of the priſtine *delicateſſe* of the French armies---every officer being obliged to follow the example of the general, by being night and day in the camp.

Auguſt 11. By a perſon from Fort-Waſhington, arrived at Pittſburg, information was received that Col. Hardin, Major Trueman and two others were killed by the Indians, a ſhort diſtance from Fort-Jefferſon, on their way to the Indian towns, to invite them to a treaty.

Mr. Paine being informed that the Britiſh miniſtry intend to bring a proſecution againſt him, in a letter to the "Society for conſtitutional information," obſerves, a nation (as well the poor as the rich) has a right to know what any works are which are made the ſubject of proſecution. The getting out a cheap edition is, I conceive, ſays he, rendered more neceſſary---and he is accordingly proceeding with the work.---

The ſociety took into conſideration the contents of ſaid letter---and voted their thanks to Mr. Paine, for his diſintereſted patriotiſm---the ſociety paſſed ſundry reſolutions expreſſive of their determination to ſupport the author of the Rights of Man ---and to perſevere in the proſecution of the work for which they aſſociated.

There appear ſeveral intimations in foreign papers, that the combination againſt France will be conſiderably weakened by a great part of the ſtrength of the Pruſſian army being diverted towards Poland, to counter-act the pretenſions of the empreſs of Ruſſia to re-eſtabliſh the old form of government in that country. It ſeems certain however, that part of the Pruſſian army has marched with that of Auſtria, againſt

France. "They will amount together, to near 140,000 men, who are to move in five divisions. From the length of their march it was deemed impossible for them to begin the campaign effectually till towards the end of July."---The same papers mention the Prussian and Russian ambassadors at Paris being on the eve of their departure.

The military policy of General Fayete seems in every respect to be copied from the conduct of the American FABIUS at the beginning of the war with Great-Britain. By skirmishes with the enemy on the frontiers he will teach his soldiers the absolute necessity of discipline, and will give them the *habitude* of war, without venturing a decisive action with troops, who have been taught from their infancy to look upon themselves as mere machines, and are as absolutely such, in the military line, as the cannon and mortars that attend them.

In England there apppears to be a contest between the court party and the people, whether a reform in their governmont, shall or shall not take place. The immense influence of the crown, tho' unable so far to blind the people as to make a union with the continental powers against France a popular measure, yet it is feared, can so far operate upon certain springs, as in a great degree to defeat the purposes of the reforming societies throughout the kingdom.

Two brigantines are on their way from Old Spain to South-America; their object is said to be a complete survey of the whole extensive coast of South-America, more particularly those parts subject to the jurisdiction of Spain.

The strict enforcement of the decree of the national assembly, confirming the mulattoes of the islands in their privileges, seems to be the only practicable method of restoring peace and good order to those islands. By the latest information the adoption and enforcing of the decree in Hispaniola has nearly destroyed the confederacy between the mulattoes and the insurgent negroes. In Martinico it has produced the happiest effects, and as soon as it arrived the free men of colour gave themselves up to the colonial assembly, and swore to remain inviolably attached.

The American funds had fluctuated in a very uncommon degree in London, within the last six months. Those who speculated in them in the first instance had made immense sums, and so high was the public opinion in their favour, that the 6 per cents were run up to 150; this fictitious value, however, did not last long, and the sudden fall is said to have been one cause of the failures in New-York.

August 15. Reports from the westward say, that the Indians were assembled to the number of four or five thousand, about the middle of July, at or near the Miamee towns. It is added, that they appear inclined for war, and mean to strike some important blow towards or during autumn.

Patriotic collections are making in most of the towns through England and Ireland to assist the French in their war against the combination of tyrants.

At a meeting of the president and managers of the Schuylkill and Susquehannah navigation, August 13th, 1792---It was resolved, That the work of the canal be immediately commenced on the Crown Level.

Extract of a letter from Bermuda, July 28.

"The ship Sovereign, capt. Welch, which arrived at Barbadoes the 13th inst. from London, on her passage out spoke the Lord Camden East-Indiaman, bound home with government dispatches from Lord Cornwallis, containing the particulars of the taking Seringapatam, after a severe conflict, but that Tippoo escaped. After the capture Tippo entered into treaty with the combined powers in the most humiliating manner, in which he gave up half his kingdom, was to pay three millions sterling in money, one half of which was to be immediately paid down in camp, and the other half in twelve months; his two eldest sons were given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty." ☞ *The above intelligence has since been confirmed.*

August 16. Accounts are received in London from the new colony of blacks at Sierra Leona, dated March 26; they are proceeding with the utmost diligence in clearing the land, and building houses—some have been sick, and some have died—Mr. Clarkson, the superintendent, had been sick, but was recovering.—The climate is described as being more salubrious than had been expected. The united consent of all the neighbouring chiefs has been obtained to establish the settlement—and the dispositions of King Naimbanna have appeared throughout to be extremely friendly. A warrant has received the signature of the king of Great-Britain for a grant of

£13,592, for the transporta tion of blacks from Nova-Scotia to the above settlement.

August 18. A soldier, by the name of Henry Hamilton, was condemned for mutiny, in attempting to take the life of ensign Devin, by sticking him with a bayonet in the breast. He was carried to the gallows and every preparation made for his execution, when a reprieve arrived fro m the commander in chief.

An agricultural society was inc orporated in Massachusetts in March last; this society is now organized, its officers chosen, and committees appointed in various parts of the states to solicit subscriptions, to promote the purposes of the institution. There is no country in the world in which there is a greater field for agricultural improvement than America. In several of the states agricultural societies are established. A mutual intercourse and communications of observations, experiments, and discoveries, will be highly conducive to the promoting of this one of the first of all human concerns.

It is the most generally received opinion, that Russia would have joined in the cause of the princes against France, but for her intentions on Poland. And her views against this regenerated kingdom were not disclosed until Prussia began to engage in the conflict against France. Prussia, however, jealous of Russia's intention, appears desirous of preventing her aggrandizement; or, perhaps, wishes to assert her claim to part of the territory of Poland, should the ruin of that monarchical republic be effected. Be their intentions what they may, the Poles have tasted of the fountain of liberty—the invigorating draught will give them courage, and the justice of their cause strength to repel, it is hoped, their oppressors. The manifesto of Catharine, against the renovated empire, is marked with tyranny in every line—slightly veiled by an appearance of candour, founded on pretences scarcely plausible in a despot's eye, covering motives of the basest kind; perhaps, upon the whole, forming the darkest trait in this woman's character, and it is to be hoped the last attempt of her boundless ambition.

Austria with her whole force presses on France, who, with the energy of freedom will resist the blow, and if fortunate enough to make an impression upon the Austrian arms or territory, will carry, not death and destruction, but liberty and prosperity to the centre of the tyrant's dominions. Since the beginning of the French revolution, the nation has shewn marks of unexampled patriotism, and an ardent love of liberty; they begin to be distinguished for order and system, which united to the first will produce energy. Upon the whole, though the Austrian troops may boast of superior discipline; yet this is their only advantage. The loss of soldiers with them will be irreparable; but does a French citizen fall in the ranks, two will step forward to fill his place.

Spain will probably take no part in the contest. England has declared her neutrality; Sardinia may assist with her good will, her means in men and money are not great.

A spirit of reformation has gone abroad. Englishmen call for a more equal representation in the popular branch of their legislature, but wealth seems to outweigh numbers.

Irishmen complain, and the West-India colonies pretend that it is absurd to be governed by laws made three thousand miles from them, by men they don't know, and conceit they have a right to sell the produce of their industry to whom they please, and at the highest prices they can get. They begin to entertain an opinion that it is hard to starve when plenty is at their door. In short, they act the part of undutiful children, dislike the commands of their mother country, and are ungrateful and unnatural enough to prefer their prosperity to that of their common parent. Casting an eye to the happiness enjoyed by their elder brothers, they appear desirous of being considered as of age, and wish to be permitted to shift for themselves.

By several late arrivals from the English windward islands, we have learnt that there is the greatest uneasiness between the merchants and planters of those islands, respecting the regulations which have lately taken place in England on sugars. A deputation from all the windward and leeward islands were to meet on the 24th of July, at Dominica, for the purpose of taking into consideration the above, as well as the slave-trade business, and to petition parliament on the subject. In St. Kitts they had already come to a determination not to pay the king's duty of 4 1-2 per cent on rum, in consequence of which actions are entered into against the defaulters.

—In Jamaica, it is said, this four and an half per cent. duty is the occasion of clamour equally violent against government.

The subsequent resolutions have been agreed to by the council and assembly of the island of St. Vincents:

"First, They feel it particularly incumbent upon them, in the present critical state of affairs, to insist upon their right of internal legislation in all matters relating to the internal government of the colony.

"Secondly, They consider these islands intitled to a full recompense from Great-Britain for whatever losses they may sustain in consequence of either a gradual, or total abolition of the slave-trade.

"Thirdly, They feel themselves at all times entitled to effectual protection from the mother country, and they conceive it essentially necessary, that the protection now afforded to them should be encreased, inasmuch as the internal security of the colonies are greatly endangered by the questions agitated in the parliament of Great-Britain.

"Fourthly, They consider themselves justified in expressing, in the most unequivocal terms, their astonishment and indignation at the unconstitutional and oppressive measures adopted by the British parliament, for reducing the price of British sugars at the British market, far below the price the sugars of the foreign islands are likely to obtain at all the other European markets: and for the further purposes of clogging and restricting a trade hitherto supported and encouraged by repeated acts of parliament."

The proposed canal between the Delaware and the Schuylkill is ordered to be staked out, and the work commenced without delay. The water is to be taken from the Schuylkill at the mouth of Stoney-Creek, to lead from thence to the northern bounds of this city. The fall, when it reaches the Delaware, will be about fifty feet.

On monday, the 6th of this instant, the supreme court of the united states met, when all the judges were present. The attorney-general of the united states gave notice, that he should move the court on Wednesday following, for a mandamus to the circuit-court of Pennsylvania, commanding them to proceed on the petition of William Hogburne, a claimant of a pension, in which they had refused to proceed, from a supposed nullity of the pension-law. The motion was accordingly begun on wednesday; when, after some prefatory remarks, the attorney-general was asked from the bench, whether he conceived it to be an official right to offer such a motion, as he had intimated it to be? He answered, that he did conceive it to be an official right. Upon which several observations were made, and the debate continued from day to day, until saturday last. The opinions of the judges being then taken, they were equally divided. In consequence of this division, it was improper for the attorney-general to move the subject officially. He then appeared as counsel for the invalids; and the motion, after being accompanied with the reasons, which influenced him to believe that the inferior court had erred, was postponed for a final decision until the next court. The important question "whether a state can be sued," is also set for the first day of the next term.

August, 22. There has been another change in the French ministry——The ministers of war, of contributions, and of the interior departments, were displaced. M. Dumourier, late minister of foreign affairs, has been placed at the head of the war department; M. Jaillac is made minister of foreign affairs, and M. Maulde is placed at the head of the interior.

The directors of the western inland lock-navigation in the state of New-York, having formed a board, and chosen general Schuyler president, the work is to be commenced immediately.

A canal has been proposed, down the waters of the Brandywine in the state of Delaware—Commissioners were appointed by the government to view the ground through which the canal should pass—a committee was lately chosen by a large number of the inhabitants met at Chester, to attend the commissioners on this business.

From the various circumstances which are related as attendant on the death of Elizabeth Reeves, we believe that the following particulars respecting that atrocious murder, may be relied on as facts.——Miss Reeves had on wednesday evening been on a short visit to a relation in Coombs's alley, which she left about eight o'clock, to go home, alone, and without any thing uncommon having occurred: from that time

ſhe was not ſeen or heard of until early on thurſday morning, when her body was diſcovered lying on the mud with the face down, in the dock near Warder's wharf. On examining, it was found that the moſt brutal violence had been found on her perſon, and a large wound on the left ſide of her mouth, and bruiſes on other parts, ſhewed ſhe muſt have ſuffered much from the moſt ſhameful abuſe; ſeveral of her teeth were looſe.—It appeared, from marks of her feet in the mud, that ſhe had moved ſeveral ſteps from the place ſhe was firſt thrown, where her comb and a ribband were found. Nothing has yet appeared to detect the villainous perpetrators of this infernal deed, but a boy declared that he ſaw two men in a batteau very early in the morning at the particular ſpot where the body was found, who made off upon his approach, and went on board a ſhallop down the river. Miſs Reeves was about 17 years old, and apprenticed to a mantua-maker; and when it is conſidered that ſhe bore a very good character, and was remarkable for her amiable deportment and pleaſing manners, the loſs to ſociety muſt be the greater, and excite in the breaſts of every friend to humanity a deteſtation of the diabolical actors of this horrid tragedy.

There was a conſiderable ſkirmiſh between the van guard of M. la Fayettes' army, and a part of the Auſtrian army, on the 12th of June. It appears the latter gained ſome advantage in the beginning of the action—but M. la Fayette coming up with a reinforcement, he retook all the ground loſt, and the enemy retired—the French followed them upwards of a league,—every ſtation was retaken, and the French army diſplayed on a height to offer battle; but the deſign of the Auſtrians appears to have been only to ſurpriſe and cut off the van-guard of the French; not having ſucceeded, they retired. Of the French the lieut. colonel of the volunteers of Cote d'Or, and M. Gouvion, were killed. The Auſtrians carried off part of their dead, and left a conſiderable number on the field.

The above appears to be the buſineſs, on which the ſtory is founded of M. la Fayette's taking Namur, and killing 2 or 3000 Auſtrians.

The Ruſſians have entered the Poliſh Ukraine, but have been beaten in all the ſkirmiſhes which have hitherto taken place. The king of Poland is to command the army in perſon.

A proclamation againſt ſeditious writings has been iſſued in Ireland.

Conſiderable riots have taken place at Edinburgh, in conſequence of the magiſtrates' interpoſing to prevent the populace from burning Mr. Dundas in effigy.

Extract of a letter from Charleſton, S. C. Aug. 14.

"The devaſtations in French Hiſpaniola, which now ſeem to be drawing to a concluſion, the hurricane in the windward iſlands, which has done an immenſity of damage to their buildings, &c. and a variety of other circumſtances, ſeem to point out an increaſing demand in the Weſt-Indies for American lumber. It is well known that the lumber of this country and Georgia is preferable (particularly the pine) to any in the united ſtates, for its firmneſs and durability, yet ſo miſerably thin is our ſtate of the neceſſary hands at preſent, that ſcarcely more ſawed lumber is brought down the river than is ſufficient for our own conſumption, not to mention a conſiderable and conſtant importation from Georgia. It may even be aſſerted, with ample truth and juſtice, that the increaſe of Charleſton is greatly retarded for want of ſufficient ſupplies of this article. With every advantage from nature, this ſtate ſeems to ſuffer not a little from an ill founded prejudice among foreigners of the inſalubrity of its air. In the neighbourhood of the rice ſwamps it is indeed ſickly towards autumn, but as theſe parts are generally inhabited by negroes, who have the entire care of cultivating the rice, it ought not to deter hardy and induſtrious men from the northward from coming and making their fortunes on the immenſe waſte of our interior timber lands. Carolina as yet generally lies in a ſtate of uncultivated nature; no country has more excellent mill-ſeats; our rivers and their branches are innumerable; and the aid of art is ſoon to be called in to form junctions between them by means of canals. Though our rivers are generally ſuppoſed ſhallow, yet there is water enough in moſt of them, at certain ſeaſons, to carry down ſhips of three hundred tons, that might be built ſeveral hundred miles from the ſea coaſt. With all theſe advantages, induſtrious and monied ſtrangers will find no place in which their expectations are likely to be better gratified than in South-Carolina, a ſtate that is riſing into the moſt rapid importance, and only wants the nerves of freemen, and a more improved back country to render her capital the firſt, or only next to the firſt, in the united ſtates."

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of JULY, 1792.

Days.	Barometer. Eng. foot. In	Thermometer of Farenh. D.	Reaum. D.	Anemometer Prevail Wind	rain	thunder		WEATHER.
1	29 10 5	72 5	18 0	W				Fair
	29 9 12	93 9	27 5	WSW	1	1	1	Overcast, storm
2	29 9 11	72 5	18 0	WSW				Cloudy
	29 10 4	95 0	28 0	W				Fair
3	30 0 5	73 6	18 5	ESE				Overcast
	30 0 2	72 5	18 0	ESE	1			Rainy
4	29 10 11	72 5	18 0	E				Idem
	29 10 11	63 5	14 0	NE	1			Idem
5	30 0 12	54 5	10 0	NE				Cloudy
	30 1 3	70 2	17 0	N				Fair
6	30 2 13	59 0	12 0	N				Idem
	30 2 6	79 2	21 0	N				Cloudy
7	30 2 6	63 5	14 0	WSW				Idem
	30 1 0	80 0	21 4	Variab.				Idem
8	30 0 2	64 2	14 3	S				Overcast
	29 10 7	81 5	22 0	SW				Cloudy
9	29 9 4	70 2	17 0	SW				Idem
	29 9 0	88 2	25 0	SSW		1		Fair, thunder
10	29 9 14	71 4	17 5	WSW				Idem
	29 11 7	91 6	26 5	WNW				Idem
11	30 1 2	70 2	17 0	W				Idem
	30 1 0	88 2	25 0	ENE				Cloudy
12	30 0 14	68 0	16 0	NE				Idem
	29 11 6	87 0	24 5	SW				Idem
13	29 11 6	69 0	16 5	SW				Idem
	29 11 3	85 0	23 6	SW				Overcast,
14	30 0 1	65 3	14 8	SSE				Idem
	30 0 1	89 0	25 4	NNE				Cloudy
15	30 1 0	64 8	14 6	NNE				Fair
	30 0 6	88 7	25 2	W				Idem
16	29 11 12	72 5	18 0	SW	1			Rainy
	29 10 7	91 6	26 5	SW				Fair
17	29 9 13	70 2	17 0	SW				Rainy
	29 10 0	82 6	22 5	SW	11	1		Overcast

Days.	Barometer. Eng. foot. In	Thermometer of Farenh. D.	Reaum. D.	Anemometer Prevail. Wind	rain	thunder		WEATHER
18	29 11 7	63 5	14 0	NNW				Fair
	29 11 7	83 7	23 0	NE				Idem
19	29 10 12	65 7	15 0	NE				Foggy, fair
	29 9 5	87 3	24 6	E				Fair
20	29 8 11	68 0	16 0	WSW				Idem
	29 9 3	87 0	24 5	NW				Idem
21	29 10 3	68 0	16 0	NE	1			Rainy
	29 10 12	73 6	18 5	NW				Cloudy.
22	29 11 9	63 5	14 0	NE				Idem
	30 0 10	80 4	21 5	SSW				Idem
23	30 0 7	65 7	15 0	SSE	1			Overcast, rain
	30 0 [illegible]	67 0	15 5	NE				Rainy,
24	29 11 3	61 2	13 0	NE	1			Idem
	29 11 3	63 5	14 0	NNE				Overcast
25	30 0 0	60 0	12 5	NW				Cloudy
	30 0 11	72 5	18 0	NW				Idem
26	30 2 2	59 0	12 0	WNW				Fair
	30 2 3	81 5	22 0	NW				Idem
27	30 1 14	63 5	14 0	WSW				Idem
	30 1 0	82 6	22 5	WSW				Overcast
28	30 0 10	65 7	15 0	E	1			Idem, rainy
	30 0 6	82 6	22 5	E				Rainy
29	30 0 0	61 2	13 0	E	1			Rainy
	29 11 15	65 7	15 0	ENE				Idem
30	29 11 10	62 4	13 5	NE				Overcast
	29 10 14	70 2	17 0	NE				Fair
31	29 11 0	61 2	13 0	SW				Foggy, fair
	29 10 4	82 6	22 5	SW				Fair, cloudy.
RESULT.	Greatest elev. 30 2 13	Greatest degree of heat 95 0 28 0		SW	10	2	1	Fair and variable.
	20th least el. 29 8 11	5th least degree of heat 54 5 10 0		&				
	Variation 6 2	Variation 40 5 18 0		NE				
	Mean eleva. 29 11 9	Mean degree 73 4 18 4						

THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

CONTENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

To CORRESPONDENTS.

IF the author of *Reflections on the state of the union* meant to burlesque a recent publication bearing that title, he ought to have communicated his performance to some of the printers who inserted the subject of his sneering laughter.—We cannot admit any thing that has the complexion of political party.

The essay enclosed by D. E. is inadmissible, as it has already appeared in the newspapers, and does not possess sufficient merit to induce us to take it at *second-hand*. In selecting from newspapers, or other publications, we wish to exercise our own judgment.

Philo's candid and judicious "Criticisms on the Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine, for 1791," have been received. The learned author is entitled to our sincere thanks, for this his first communication. A continuance of his "Criticisms," and his correspondence on other subjects are solicited.

To "shoot folly as it flies" requires a more expert marksman than *Philalethes*. We fear our correspondent has not been accustomed to shoot flying. To continue the metaphor, he has loaded with *buck-shot*, although *tom-tits* are his game.

Strictures on the fashion of the femoral garment, vulgarly called breeches, might not be ill-suited to those whom they more immediately concern; but would be altogether improper for the perusal of our *fair readers*.

Lucinda, a novel, contains some good sentiments, but the stile is incorrect; and the characters are by far too romantic, for the age and country in which we live.

Verses inscribed to Miss K. would be *too warm* even for our love-sick readers, if such we have; and could not fail to suffuse with a crimson hue the cheek of the "angelic being" to whom they are addressed.

We shall comply with the request of *A country correspondent*, next month; when the piece transmitted by Z. Y. will also appear.

Want of sufficient leisure has obliged us to postpone, till next month, our review of some late publications.

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 29, 1792.

Current Prices of Public Securities.

Six per cents, per £.	22s.	*Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance*	49
Deferred six per cents,	13s7.	*Bank of N. America do. do.*	30
Three per cents,	13s.		

Course *of* Exchange.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	70.	*Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,*	3s
Ditto. 60 days,	71.	*Ditto. 90 days,*	2s11
Ditto. 30 days,	73		

THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

Columbian Magazine,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1792.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SIR,

I HAVE great pleasure in enclosing you an account of a private academy at Bordentown, in the state of New-Jersey, conducted in every respect, upon the principles of reason and humanity. It is communicated to you for publication, with the consent of the worthy and ingenious principal of the academy.

From, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

September, 13th, 1792.

Bordentown, July 2d, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

IN looking over the Universal Asylum for May 1792, I observed an extract of an original letter from the rev. Mr. Winchester, dated from London; the perusal of which turned my attention toward your address to Mr. Clymer, upon the amusements and punishments proper for schools, published in the Universal Asylum for August 1790, and which I had read at that time with great pleasure, as it so well accorded with my sentiments on that subject. I had some thoughts at that time of transmitting to you, my ideas upon your plan, and of assuring you how consonant they were both with my theory and practice, but some intervening circumstances then preventing, I have since omitted it from time to time, until the subject of your address was brought forcibly into my mind by the letter alluded to above—I have frequently, since I first read your sentiments, had occasion to vindicate them when I heard them opposed, and considered as Utopian, especially by some teachers who have been noted for their brutality, a term which I think applicable to all those, who, by their cruelty to children under their care, prove themselves devoid of those feelings which distinguish us from the brutes!

This, sir, I have it in my power to do, not theoretically only, but from the actual experience of near fourteen years, during which time I have presided over the academy in this place. When I first opened school here, I commenced upon this plan, or nearly the one laid down by you, and have never had reason to alter it. I was both pleased and surprized, upon perusing your sentiments, to find them so nearly to accord with my practice.

With regard to amusements, certainly much may be done to unite the *utile* with the *dulce*, and it must be evident to every person of the least reflection, that if we can contrive to amuse whilst we instruct, the progress will be more rapid, and the impression much deeper. But to connect instruction with the very amusements, during relaxation from the discipline of school-hours, is surely of the utmost consequence, and therefore worth attempting. With an eye to those things, I have gone to some expense, to furnish myself with a variety of materials calculated thereto, such as geographical, historical, teknographical and natural history cards, geometrical blocks, dissected maps, tour of Europe, &c. amusements in optics, magnetism, electricity, &c. some entirely new, and some in use heretofore; which have never failed to afford entertainment and information at the same time; and I have had sufficient proof, that rendering the exercises of oratory more agreeable, by mixing something of the dramatic kind with their orations, gives them a relish for the study, a desire of excelling and an animation in the pursuit, with which I could never inspire them when engaged in nothing but plain speaking; or when nothing of *play* was connected with their business, or amusement with their study. I know there are some who treat this method as chimerical, and the advantages derived from it as imaginary, but experience has evinced the contrary to me. If no other benefit is derived, this certainly is, that the pupil is convinced his preceptor is desirous of contributing to his pleasure as well as profit, at the same time. Convince a lad that you are desirous of promoting his happiness and real interest, and you may mould him almost as you please. Certain it is, that there is nothing more essential in the education of boys, than first to gain their esteem and affection, which is never to be done by severity, or the modes of corporeal punishments used in most schools.

The amusements referred to above, which are a part of those we make use of, so far as relate to the sedentary kind, have naturally led me to participate in them, as perhaps some explanations are sometimes necessary, and in a degree to make companions of the lads themselves. In consequence of this, they feel no embarrassment, but the greatest freedom, in asking any question for information. I have ever endeavoured to make them consider me rather in the light of a parent than a master, and I trust I have so far succeeded, as generally to have had their affections. And I now declare to you, that I would not wish to retain a scholar a minute longer than I can feel an attachment for him, and perceive a reciprocal one in return, or longer than while he would wish to remain with me. Of this, a teacher can have no stronger evidence, than, after having been absent, to see joy gladden the countenances of all his pupils upon his return, and to

receive a hearty ſalutation, and unfeigned welcome from each of them.

Such, ſir, are the effects which the plan long ſince adopted by me, has uniformly produced in my ſchool, and in my family, where all my pupils board. It has produced friends in different parts of the world, amongſt thoſe whom I have educated, and who fail not occaſionally to addreſs me with expreſſions of gratitude and friendſhip. Hence then it is the intereſt of the teacher, as well as comfort of the ſcholars, to treat them in ſuch a way, as their calm reaſon ſhall approve, not only at the preſent time, but alſo in future life, when their underſtandings ſhall be matured. In this way only he will be remembered as a friend, and not execrated as a tyrant.

A conſiderable degree of ſociability may be uſed with boys in the hours of relaxation, without leſſening the maſter's authority, or derogating from the rules of the ſchool in the leaſt, in the hours of ſtudy; and a proper ſeverity may be kept up there, without uſing ſeverity or corporeal puniſhment. It is true, I have in ſome few and particular inſtances, deviated from this rule, ſo far as to try chaſtiſement, when other means have failed; but never found in ſuch caſes, that *this ſovereign remedy*, (as it is deemed by ſome) ever had the deſired effect; and I candidly own, that I think it high time to diſmiſs ſuch characters from the ſchool, previous to the degrading application of the birch; for I have ever found boys more afraid of expulſion than any other puniſhment whatever, even ſo as to petition for the privilege of continuing, with a voluntary ſubmiſſion to any puniſhment I ſhould chuſe to inflict.

The kinds of puniſhment I make uſe of, are 1ſt. a ſerious remonſtrance in private, which, when given with an evident concern for the boy's miſconduct, and as the reaſoning and remonſtrance of a friend, ſeldom fails of affecting the mind of the offender; in which caſe, if you can bring him to tears, it is far better than *whipping tears* from him, for in this caſe they are tears of anger and reſentment, whereas in the former caſe they are tears of contrition.

2nd. Preventing the one in fault from partaking in ſome favourite amuſement, as being unworthy of ſome uſual indulgence while guilty of a miſdemeanour. Such prohibition is extremely mortifying, and produces a good effect.

3d. During the hours of ſchool, we mark them for each offence, and make priſoners of them for a term, the duration of which is to be meaſured by the number of the marks, or frequency of the offence. I find it neceſſary, however, to vary the nature of the confinement, as to *ſtrictneſs* or *boundaries*, according to circumſtances. Viz.

1ſt. To give certain limits without doors, which are extended or contracted, as the caſe may require, or the miſconduct merit.

2nd. To limit them only to the houſe, or to a certain room, where they may ſee and converſe with ſuch as paſs and repaſs, without having any particular taſk aſſigned them.

3d. For inattention to, or default of having their leſſons, a confinement to the ſchool-room, and all the diſcipline and decorum of the ſame exacted, until the leſſon is learned.

4th. A ſtrict and ſolitary confinement in a dark room for higher miſdemeanours, until a returning ſenſe of duty, and ſuitable acknowledgements reſtore them to their liberty, and to the favour of their tutor.

Laſtly. After all thoſe means have been tried, if any ſhould prove incorrigible, they are diſmiſſed from the ſchool and family, and ſent home in diſgrace, with letters to their friends confirming the ſame; this is in reality more dreaded, as I hinted above, than all the dreadful inſignia of *birch*, *block*, or *ferula*; and I have ever found this ſyſtem to have the deſired effect, except in one or two boys, where vice had been too deeply rooted prior to my receiving them. I confeſs the circumſtance of having them all under my own roof, conſequently the whole government of them, as to their morals as well as manners, gives me an advantage over thoſe who merely undertake to teach children ſent to them from their parents at certain hours, and enables me more effectually to put my plan in practice. It is but too commonly the caſe, that teachers profeſs not to have any thing to do with the *morals* of their ſcholars; but I ſuppoſe *moral inſtruction* to be one very eſſential branch of education, and ſo nearly connected with their literary purſuits, that when the mind is impreſſed with a ſenſe of duty and obligation to their parents, to their tutors, to ſociety, and even to themſelves, much more is to be expected from them, as to their application, and conſequently to their improvement. But whatever diſadvantages an ordinary ſchool may labour under, I am convinced this mode may be adopted with conſiderable ſucceſs, if both maſters and parents would heartily concur therein. I cannot help lamenting with Rouſſeau, that that part of our lives prior to the cares and anxieties to which all, who are acting on the great theatre of the world, are incident, ſhould be made wretched by the tyranny of our ſeniors! Surely our lives are ſufficiently ſhort, without abridging that happineſs which we are capable of enjoying, and which nature ſeems to have pointed out to us as our right, about the age to which we have reference. From an impreſſion of this kind, I have always endeavoured to promote the happineſs of my pupils as far I could, without allowing them ſuch indulgencies, as would infringe upon their improvement, health, or morals; and every ſtep which can be taken toward making their learning a pleaſure, largely contributes to this deſireable end. In conſequence of which, I hear my former ſcholars, who are now men in buſineſs, ſay the time they ſpent at ſchool was the happieſt part of their lives. And I can teſtify in return, that ſuch is the pleaſure I take in the profeſſion (agreeably to this ſyſtem) of forming the tender mind, and "teaching the young idea how to ſhoot," that were I poſſeſſed of ever ſo capital an independency, I ſhould not leave the employment without the greateſt regret.

I am convinced, my dear ſir, that I need make no apology for the liberty I have taken in writing to you upon the ſubject of an addreſs, which you had made to another perſon; nor fear my having ſo often mentioned myſelf in the courſe of this epiſtle being conſtrued into arrogance or egotiſm, ſince my profeſſed deſign in addreſſing you, was to aſſure you of the *practicability* and *efficacy* of a mode of education recommended by you, and which has been confirmed by ſeveral years

practice in my seminary. That you may more fully have it in your power, to answer the objections which may be made to your system of discipline and amusements, by adducing facts to refute them; and that this instance might be quoted as one, in addition to others of which you may be in possession, is the sincere wish of, dear sir,

With every sentiment of respect,
your humble servant,
BURGISS ALLISON.

Doctor Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia.

On the CULTURE *of* FLAX.

To the Philadelphia County Society for the promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING cultivated FLAX with considerable profit and advantage, I wish to recommend it as an object meriting greater attention from our farmers.

The use of flax is as necessary in our clothing, as wheat in our nourishment—our soil and climate are as well adapted to raise the one as the other. Why then should we remain under obligations to distant foreign nations, for this valuable article? It is suggested that it is cheaper to purchase imported linen, than to raise flax and manufacture for ourselves. I always entertained doubts of the truth of this opinion, and am now convinced, from the experience of several years, that it is totally without foundation. Some good husbandmen object to flax, because they say it exhausts the soil more than any other crop: I have not found this to be the case. During the last summer, I cultivated flax and potatoes in the same field; each crop had an equal quantity of manure; on gathering an excellent crop of flax in July, the ground was immediately plowed, and sowed with turnips; produce one hundred bushels of good turnips per acre: on removing the crops of potatoes and turnips, about the middle of October, the ground was put into wheat: the wheat on the flax and turnip ground this harvest was fully equal, if not superior, to the wheat on the potatoe ground—Another objection to flax is, that it is a very uncertain crop: on good ground, under proper cultivation, no crop will better answer the expectation of the farmer. Flax will grow and flower on any soil, but it requires a rich loam or clay to bring it to perfection for the use of the farmer. The Irish, who for many years have had great experience in the cultivation of this valuable plant, generally raise it on ground manured and planted with potatoes the preceding year. They sow on such ground three and four bushels of the best Riga or American seed to the acre. May not the fineness of the Irish flax be owing to this thick sowing, rather than to their flax being pulled before it is ripe? It is said the Flemings never pull the flax intended for their fine cambricks and linen until

the seed is ripe.—The quality of the flax may also depend very much on the future operations of rotting, breaking and hackling. In America, flax is for the most part rotted, by being laid thin on a grass field.—The time required in that operation depends on the dryness or wetness, heat or cold of the season.—Flax is judged to be sufficiently grassed, when its bark is a little blistered, towards the extremity of the plant, and when it parts easily from the reed, which at this time becomes very brittle; but no written description can possibly convey a knowledge of this point, at all equal to that which is acquired by experience. I have exposed flax in the months of August, September, and October, and have always found that it rotted in August, the best; and am informed, by farmers of experience, that the injury which the flax is said to receive by the heat of the midsummer sun, is by no means equal to the benefit it receives by being quickly maturated. When the flax is exposed in a variety of weather, in a cold season, the putrefaction necessary to loosen and destroy the cohesion of the fibres of the flax from the reed is so tedious, as frequently to injure the small fibres themselves. Mills have been erected for breaking of flax, but the success attending them has never warranted their general use; recourse is still had to the Dutch hand-brake. I have seen a foot machine for swingling or scutching, by which one man can scutch fifty weight per day: this is double the quantity that can be performed by one person by hand in the same time. The labour and expense of dressing flax is, without doubt, the greatest objection to its cultivation; but in these points Europeans have no advantage over us, as they, in every instance, are subject to the same difficulties.

Flax is certainly one of those necessary articles, which we should cultivate in sufficient quantity, to enable us to supply ourselves with every kind of linen, because our country is as well calculated for it as any other. Whatever other nations, on account of climate or situation, can raise and sell cheaper than we can do, and are willing to exchange for the produce of our farms, or industry, let us import from abroad. This is the basis of *just policy*, *true economy*, and *genuine liberty*.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,
yours, &c.
GEO. LOGAN.

An approved method of WASHING OLD PAINTINGS, *and giving them a* GOOD GLOSS.

TAKE an ounce of tartar, and as much glass-wort; boil them in a pint of water till it is half wasted, and then strain it. When it has stood till it becomes only lukewarm, dip a sponge therein, and rub the prints with it. Then immediately wash it with warm clear water, and wipe it over gently till dry. To varnish them, take whites of eggs, beat them to a froth, and lay them on the pictures with a feather.

A LETTER *to the Rev.* DOCTOR WHITE, *on* CHURCH MUSIC.

[*From the Works of the late* F. HOPKINSON, *Esq.*]

I AM one of those who take great delight in sacred music, and think, with royal David, that heart, voice, and instrument should unite in adoration of the great Supreme.

A soul truly touched with love and gratitude, or under the influence of penitential sorrow, will unavoidably break forth in expressions suited to its feelings. In order that these emanations of the mind may be conducted with uniformity, and a becoming propriety, our church hath adopted into her liturgy, the book of psalms, commonly called *David's Psalms*, which contain a great variety of addresses to the Deity, adapted to almost every state and temperature of a devout heart, and expressed in terms always proper, and often sublime.

To give wings, as it were, to this holy zeal, and heighten the harmony of the soul, *organs* have been introduced into the churches. The application of instrumental music to the purposes of piety is well known to be of very ancient date. Indeed, originally, it was thought that music ought not to be applied to any other purpose. Modern improvements, however, have discovered, that it may be made expressive of every passion of the mind, and become an incitement to levity as well as sanctity.

Unless the real design for which an organ is placed in a church be constantly kept in view, nothing is more likely to happen than an abuse of this noble instrument, so as to render it rather an obstruction to, than an assistant in, the good purpose for which the hearers have assembled.

Give me leave, sir, to suggest a few rules for the conduct of an organ in a place of worship, according to my ideas of propriety.

1st. The organist should always keep in mind, that neither the time nor place is suitable for exhibiting all his powers of execution; and that the congregation have not assembled to be entertained with his performance. The excellence of an organist consists in his making the instrument subservient and conducive to the purposes of devotion. None but a master can do this. An ordinary performer may play surprising tricks, and shew great dexterity in running through difficult passages, which he hath subdued by dint of previous labour and practice. But *he* must have judgment and taste who can call forth the powers of the instrument, and apply them with propriety and effect to the seriousness of the occasion.

2nd. The voluntary, previous to reading the lessons, was probably designed to fill up a solemn pause in the service; during which, the clergyman takes a few minutes respite, in a duty too lengthy, perhaps, to be continued without fatigue, unless some intermission be allowed: there, the organ hath its part alone, and the organist an opportunity of shewing his power over the instrument. This, however,

ſhould be done with great diſcretion and dignity, avoiding every thing light and trivial; but rather endeavouring to compoſe the minds of the audience, and ſtrengthen the tendency of the heart in thoſe devout exerciſes, in which, it ſhould be preſumed, the congregation are now engaged. All ſudden jerks, ſtrong contraſts of *piano* and *forte*, rapid execution, and expreſſions of tumult, ſhould be avoided. The voluntary ſhould proceed with great chaſtity and decorum; the organiſt keeping in mind, that his hearers are now in the midſt of divine ſervice. The full organ ſhould ſeldom be uſed on this occaſion, nor ſhould the voluntary laſt more than *five minutes* of time. Some relaxation, however, of this rule may be allowed, on feſtivals and grand occaſions.

3d. The *chants* form a pleaſing and animating part of the ſervice; but it ſhould be conſidered, that they are not ſongs or tunes, but a ſpecies of *recitative*, which is no more than ſpeaking muſically. Therefore, as melody or ſong is out of the queſtion, it is neceſſary that the harmony ſhould be complete, otherwiſe *chanting*, with all the voices in uniſon, is too light and thin for the ſolemnity of the occaſion. There ſhould at leaſt be half a dozen voices in the organ gallery, to fill the harmony with baſs and treble parts, and give a dignity to the performance. Melody may be frivolous; harmony, never.

4th. The prelude which the organ plays immediately after the pſalm is given out, was intended to advertiſe the congregation of the pſalm tune which is going to be ſung; but ſome famous organiſt, in order to ſhew how much he could make of a little, has introduced the cuſtom of running ſo many diviſions upon the ſimple melody of a pſalm tune, that the original purpoſe of this prelude is now totally defeated, and the tune ſo diſguiſed by the fantaſtical flouriſhes of the dextrous performer, that not an individual in the congregation can poſſibly gueſs the tune intended, until the clerk has ſung through the firſt line of the pſalm. And it is conſtantly obſervable, that the full congregation never join in the pſalm before the ſecond or third line, for want of that information which the organ ſhould have given. The tune ſhould be diſtinctly given out, by the inſtrument, with only a few chaſte and expreſſive decorations, ſuch as none but a maſter can give.

5th. The interludes between the verſes of the pſalm were deſigned to give the ſingers a little pauſe, not only to take breath, but alſo an opportunity for a ſhort retroſpect of the words they have ſung, in which the organ ought to aſſiſt their reflections. For this purpoſe the organiſt ſhould be previouſly informed by the clerk of the verſes to be ſung, that he may modulate his interludes according to the ſubject.

To place this in a ſtrong point of view, no ſtronger, however, than what I have too frequently obſerved to happen; ſuppoſe the congregation to have ſung the firſt verſe of the 33d pſalm.

> "Let all the juſt to God with joy
> Their cheerful voices raiſe;
> For well the righteous it becomes
> To ſing glad ſongs of praiſe."

How diſſonant would it be for the organiſt to play a pathetic interlude in a flat third, with the ſlender and diſtant tones of the echo organ, or the deep and ſmothered ſounds of a ſingle diapaſon ſtop?

Or ſuppoſe again, that the words ſung have been the 6th verſe of the vi. pſalm.

"Quite tired with pain, with groaning faint,
No hope of eaſe I ſee,
The night, that quiets common griefs,
Is ſpent in tears by me."—

How monſtrouſly abſurd would it be to hear theſe words of diſtreſs ſucceeded by an interlude ſelected from the fag end of ſome thundering figure on a full organ, and ſpun out to a moſt unreaſonable length? Or, what is ſtill worſe, by ſome trivial melody with a rythm ſo ſtrongly marked, as to ſet all the congregation to beating time with their feet or heads? even thoſe who may be impreſſed with the feelings ſuch words ſhould occaſion, or in the leaſt diſpoſed for melancholy, muſt be ſhocked at ſo groſs an impropriety.

The interludes ſhould not be continued above ſixteen bars in *triple*, or ten or twelve bars in *common* time, and ſhould always be adapted to the verſe ſung: and herein the organiſt hath a fine opportunity of ſhewing his ſenſibility, and diſplaying his taſte and ſkill.

6th. The voluntary after ſervice was never intended to eradicate every ſerious idea which the ſermon may have inculcated. It ſhould rather be expreſſive of that cheerful ſatisfaction which a good heart feels under the ſenſe of a duty performed. It ſhould bear, if poſſible, ſome analogy with the diſcourſe delivered from the pulpit; at leaſt, it ſhould not be totally diſſonant from it. If the preacher has had for his ſubject, penitence for ſin, the frailty and uncertainty of human life, or the evils incident to mortality, the voluntary may be ſomewhat more cheerful than the tenor of ſuch a ſermon might in ſtrictneſs ſuggeſt; but by no means ſo full and free as a diſcourſe on praiſe, thankſgiving, and joy, would authorize.

In general, the organ ſhould ever preſerve its dignity, and upon no account iſſue light and pointed movements, which may draw the attention of the congregation, and induce them to carry home, not the ſerious ſentiments which the ſervice ſhould impreſs, but ſome very pretty air with which the organiſt hath been ſo good as to entertain them. It is as offenſive to hear lilts and jiggs from a church organ, as it would be to ſee a venerable matron friſking through the public ſtreet with all the fantaſtic airs of a *Columbine*.

ACCOUNT *of Mr.* JOHN S. HUTTON, *of Philadelphia, aged* 108 *years.*

AFTER having a few days ſince taken Mr. Hutton's portrait, from the life, which is to be preſerved in my Muſeum, the following particulars, reſpecting the old gentleman, were collected from his children, and others of his acquaintance.

That he was born in the city of New-York, in 1684; and was bound an apprentice to a sea-faring man, who put him to school, in New-York, to learn navigation; at which time he became intimate with a boy who worked at the white-smith's trade, with whom he amused himself, in acquiring the use of the hammer, from whence he obtained a facility in working at plate-work, in the silver-smith's business. He followed a sea-faring life for thirty years, and then commenced the silver-smith's trade, without having served any apprenticeship to it; yet, in Philadelphia, he has been esteemed one of the best workmen, at hollow work, in that line of business, and there are still pieces of his work in this city much esteemed. He made a tumbler in silver when he was ninety-four years old.

Through the course of a long and hazardous life, in various climes, he was always plain and temperate in his eating and drinking; and avoided spiritous liquors, excepting once, when he was a lieutenant in a privateer, which sailed from Barbadoes in Queen Anne's wars; being on a cruise on the Spanish main, he, with 50 or 60 men, made a descent on a village, in pillaging of which, himself, with most of the men, became intoxicated. The Spaniards took advantage of their situation, and got between them and the sea, and killed every man of his party, except himself and one other, whom they made prisoners; from which state he attempted an escape, by cutting out a sloop, but was detected, and again put into confinement.

He married his first wife at New-York, whose maiden name was *Catharine Cheeseman*, by whom he had eight children, twenty-five grand-children, twenty-three great-grand-children, and three great-great-grand-children.

At the age of 51 he married his second wife, in Philadelphia, her maiden name *Ann Vanlear*, 19 years old at the time of the marriage; by whom he had seventeen children, forty-one grand-children, and fifteen great-grand-children.

The state of his issue, at this time, according to the best accounts I could collect, are:

		born.	*dead.*
Children by his first marriage,	are,	8	7
Grand-children -	-	25	6
Great-grand-children, -	-	23	
Great-great-grand-children,	-	3	
Children by his second marriage,	are,	17	12
Grand-children, -	-	41	16
Great-grand-children, -	-	15	4
Total born,	-	132	45

Now living eighty-seven; of whom the greater number reside in Philadelphia—two families of them in Richmond, Virginia.

His second wife died in Philadelphia, 14th Nov. 1788, aged 72 years and an half. He never had an head-ach; and has often said that he thought himself in his prime of life, when at the age of sixty years. He was always fond of fishing and fowling; and 'till his 81st year, he used to carry, in his hunting excursions, a heavy English musquet. He was ever a quiet, temperate, and hard-working man; and is now, a good humoured, hearty old man. He can see, hear, and

walk about, and has a good appetite, with no complaints whatever, except from the mere weakneſs of old age.

In the early part of his life he was on two ſcouts againſt the Indians,—he uſed to tell, that in one of thoſe excurſions, they went out in the night; how they lifted up their feet high in ſtepping, to prevent a noiſe amongſt the leaves; that they took an Indian woman priſoner, who led them to where the Indians lay; that they fired on, and killed moſt of the Indians, before they could get to their arms, and a few only eſcaped. That the Indians came in and made a peace, before this ſcouting party returned.

He knew the noted pirate Teach, called Black-beard; that an act of oblivion had paſſed, which permitted all pirates to return to their allegiance; that Black-beard then came to Barbadoes, where he ſaw him; this was a ſhort time before that pirate made his laſt cruiſe, and was killed in Carolina.

His grand-father, by his mother's ſide, Mr. Arthur Strangeways, died at Boſton, ſitting in his chair, when at the age of 101 years. His father, Mr. John Hutton, was born at Bournesdures, in Scotland, where, it is ſaid, there are many of the family now living.

C. W. PEALE.

Philadelphia, Sept. 3d, 1792.

On the THEORY *of the* TIDES.

[*Tranſlated from the works of a modern French author.*]

THE *lunar* theory of the tides, with which the world has hitherto been content to be ſatisfied, has nevertheleſs been involved in inexplicable difficulties. For my own part, I am fully of opinion that the ebb and flow of the ſea, the origin of which many writers have left among the ſecrets of nature, are owing entirely to the alternate melting of the ice at the poles, which, in their reſpective winter ſeaſons, are ſurrounded with an ocean of ice, upwards of three thouſand leagues in circumference, but, in their ſummer, are reduced to a much leſs extent.

It has been objected to this new theory, that "it denies the ſuppoſed action of the moon upon the face of the ocean, which agrees ſo well with the various phenomena of the tides." But they who conſider the arguments advanced, with proper attention, will ſee, in a work I have written on the ſubject, that I do not by any means abſolutely deny the lunar influence upon the ocean; but inſtead of making the moon act with moſt power on the ſeas about the equator, by an imaginary attraction, which produces not the leaſt effect, (as there are no tides, or at leaſt hardly any perceivable ones within the tropics) I reſtrain her influence to the frozen ſeas at the poles, where the melting of the ice is partly occaſioned by the rays of the ſun, reflected with conſiderable heat from her ſurface, a fact well known to

the ancients,* and which has been demonstrated by the moderns from the simple experiment of a glass of water. Besides, it is not true that there is a perfect agreement with the phases of the moon and the flow of the tides, in all parts of the world. The ebb and flow upon our own coasts, (France) answers rather to the mean, than the real and exact motion of the moon. In other places, the waters of the great ocean obey other laws, which Newton himself was aware of, when he said, "Undoubtedly there exists in nature some other partial cause of the regular return of the tides, which acts conjointly with that we have assigned, but which is still unknown." These general effects, then, which would not agree with Newton's theory but in part, are clearly accounted for from the direct influence of the sun, and the indirect influence of the moon in reflecting her rays upon, and melting the ice at the poles, alternately, as the sun is in the winter or summer signs. The liquefaction of the ice perfectly accounts also for the regular return of the tides, their delay for several minutes every day, and other phenomena wholly inexplicable upon any other plan.

HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 89.)

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

DURING the continuance of count d'Estaing on the coast of America, in the autumn of 1779, sir Henry Clinton was exceedingly alarmed for the safety of New-York. It was supposed that the reduction of Savannah would be speedily effected by the Americans, when aided by a naval force of such considerable magnitude; and that the next step would be an attack upon New-York, by the French fleet, in conjunction with the American army, under general Washington, which was stationed on the North-river, not far from that city. This apprehension put a period to the offensive operations of the British to the northward, in the latter part of the year 1779, and caused them to act entirely on the defensive. To render New-York capable of a vigorous defence, engaged all the attention of sir Henry Clinton. The troops and marine force, which had long been stationed at Rhode-Island to very little purpose, were withdrawn, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison; and these defensive measures were continued, till the news of d'Estaing's ill success, and of his final departure from the coast, relieved the British from their anxiety, and induced them to prosecute their plan for the reduction of the southern states. South-Carolina was fixed upon as the first object of

* It is well known that the rays of the moon, especially towards the fall, will render fish, and other animal substances, putrid, in a few minutes. Likewise, take two basons or pans, with a small quantity of water in each, just enough to cover the surface, and set them out in a bright moon-light night, one in the shade, the other exposed to the rays of the moon, and the latter will be by far the soonest evaporated.

enterprize; as well on account of the ſuitableneſs of the climate for winter operations, as of the richneſs of the country, and its diſtance from the centre of force and action, by which the proſpect of its obtaining any timely or effectual relief, was rendered extremely faint. Nor was it at all likely, even if the obſtacle of diſtance were removed, that general Waſhington could afford the ſouthern ſtates any immediate ſuccour; his army being greatly reduced, by the expiration of the time for which a conſiderable proportion of the ſoldiers had been enliſted, and their conſequent return to their homes.

Sir Henry Clinton having committed the command of the army in New-York to general Knyphauſen, embarked for the ſouthward, with a large body of choice troops, including a ſtrong detachment of artillery, and 250 cavalry. Furniſhed with an ample ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, and accompanied by vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a ſuitable marine force, he ſailed from New-York, a few days before the cloſe of the year 1779.—The fleet experienced ſo much tempeſtuous weather, that it did not arrive at Savannah until the end of January. The tranſports and victuallers ſuſtained conſiderable injury in the paſſage. Some were loſt; others diſperſed and damaged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordnance ſhip went to the bottom, with all her ſtores; and moſt of the artillery, with all the horſes appertaining to the cavalry, were loſt.

Towards the middle of February, the fleet ſailed from Savannah; and, after a ſhort paſſage, the troops were landed at North-Ediſto, about thirty miles from Charleſton. They immediately took poſſeſſion of John's-Iſland and Stono-ferry; and, ſoon after, of James's-Iſland and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and a part of the royal army took poſt on the banks of Aſhley-river, oppoſite to Charleſton.—Sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that the Americans had fortified Charleſton pretty ſtrongly, reſolved not to riſque an attack with his preſent force, after the loſſes it had ſuſtained.—He diſpatched an order to New-York for a reinforcement of men, and a ſupply of ſtores; and directed major-general Prevoſt to ſend him twelve hundred men from the garriſon of Savannah. The royal army, waiting to be reinforced, did not commence the ſiege until the end of March. This time was aſſiduouſly improved by the Americans, in ſtrengthening and extending the works which had been previouſly thrown up for the defence of Charleſton.

The aſſembly of South-Carolina, which was ſitting when the Britiſh landed, adjourned, after delegating to governor Rutledge, and ſuch of his council as he could conveniently conſult, a power to do every thing neceſſary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial.—The governor immediately ordered the militia to repair to the ſtandard of their country; but, notwithſtanding the urgency of the occaſion, this order was obeyed by few. He was now reduced to the neceſſity of iſſuing a proclamation, under the extraordinary powers with which he was inveſted, requiring ſuch of the militia as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants, and owners of property in the town, to join the garriſon immediately, under pain of confiſcation. It was remarkable, that even this rigorous meaſure produced little effect. The people were

so much dispirited by a series of ill success, and particularly by the late repulse at Savannah, that they had in general given up the cause of their country for lost.—Their despondency must have been great indeed, when the very men who not a month before had turned out with alacrity could now tamely look on, while the enemy invested their capital, and over-ran their country. Such being the state of the public mind, it is highly probable, that had sir Henry Clinton pushed for the town, immediately after his landing, he might have possessed himself of it in a very few days. But his design was, to run no risk; he therefore proceeded slowly, and with the utmost circumspection, both before and after the commencement of the siege. He had taken care, however, to block up the harbour, previously to the debarkation of his troops; so that the shipping of the Americans could not have been saved by their evacuating Charleston; and their baggage, field artillery, and stores, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, for want of waggons to remove them.

General Lincoln had taken uncommon pains to render the garrison capable of sustaining a siege. Until the near approach of the enemy called him to other duties, he had made it his constant practice, to assist personally in forwarding the works; and this example was attended with very beneficial effects—it excited such a degree of emulation among all ranks of people, that they seemed to vie with each other, in this necessary, but laborious service. Lines and redoubts were extended across Charleston neck, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of these were strong abbatis, and a wet ditch, which last was made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, that run in opposite directions. Deep holes were dug, at short distances from each other, between the abbatis and the lines. On the right and left, the lines were of considerable strength; and were so constructed, as to command the wet ditch, in almost its whole extent. In the centre was erected a citadel of mason-work; and at all the landing places, around the town, works were thrown up by the garrison.—It had been expected that commodore Whipple's squadron, which was stationed at Five-fathom-hole, and consisted of the Bricole, of forty-four guns, and five other vessels, mounting from thirty-two to sixteen guns each, would have been able to prevent the shipping of the enemy from crossing the bar; but upon the approach of admiral Arbuthnot, with one ship of fifty, two of forty-four, four of thirty-two guns, and the Sandwich armed ship, it was found that Whipple's force would be inadequate to the undertaking. He therefore fell back to Fort-Moultrie, whence he soon after retreated to Charleston. The crews and guns of all the vessels, except one, were put on shore, to reinforce the batteries; and, with a view to prevent the shipping of the enemy from passing into Cooper river, from which they might have enfiladed the lines, eleven vessels, with chevaux-de-frize on their decks, were sunk in the channel, opposite to the exchange. Congress, and the states of North and South-Carolina, had given general Lincoln reason to expect an army of nearly 10,000 men; and it was not till it was too late to attempt a retreat, that the assurances he had received were found to be fallacious. When the town was invested

by the enemy, his whole force, including militia, consisted of little more than 3000.

In the mean time, sir Henry Clinton was employed in forming a depot at Wappoo, on James's-Island, and in erecting fortifications on that island, and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston, that he might proceed to the commencement of a regular siege, as soon as the expected reinforcement should arrive, from Savannah. Accordingly, upon being joined by a detachment of twelve hundred men, from that garrison, he, on the 29th of March, caused an advanced party to cross Ashley river; and, in a few days, broke ground, at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works.

Admiral Arbuthnot had crossed the bar, and anchored at Five-fathom-hole, on the 21st of March. Here he remained till the 9th of April, when, seizing the advantages of a strong southerly wind and a flowing tide, he passed Fort-Moultrie, and anchored, near the remains of Fort-Johnson, in the vicinity of Charleston. Colonel Pinckney, the commanding officer at Fort-Moultrie, kept up a brisk and well directed fire on the ships, during their passage; but they passed the fort with such rapidity, that their loss, in killed and wounded, was but twenty-seven. Taught by the unsuccessful attempt of sir Peter Parker to reduce that fort, in 1778, admiral Arbuthnot adopted the more prudent plan, of not stopping to engage it.

Sir Henry Clinton discovered the utmost circumspection, in his manner of conducting the siege. His approaches were made with such extraordinary caution, that the field-works of the Americans, which had been hastily thrown up, cost him no less than three parallels. On the 10th of April, the day after admiral Arbuthnot passed Fort Moultrie, the first parallel was completed, and the garrison was summoned to surrender; but general Lincoln answered, that the same sense of duty which had prevented him from abandoning Charleston, during sixty days knowledge of their hostile intentions, operated now, with equal force, in prompting him to defend it to the last extremity. This answer served as a signal for the opening of the British batteries, which began to play on the 12th, and soon acquired a decided superiority over those of the garrison. This advantage arose from two causes—the British had twenty-one mortars and royals, whereas the Americans had no more than two; and the regular force in the garrison was much inferior to that of the besiegers. Besides, the attention of the Americans was divided, by the joint attack of the land and naval forces of the enemy, at the same time.

Feeble indeed were the exertions made by the people of South-Carolina, to afford relief to their suffering brethren in Charleston. About the beginning of the siege, a work was thrown up near Wando river, nine miles from Charleston, and another at Lempriere's point, to preserve a communication with the country, by water. Measures were also taken to secure a ferry over the Santee, as well to favour the coming in of reinforcements, as to facilitate the retreat of the garrison, if a retreat should eventually be found necessary.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who commanded the British cavalry, had landed at Savannah, where he soon obtained a fresh supply of

horses for his corps, to replace those which had been lost on the passage from New-York. Attaching himself to the troops which marched from Savannah, as a reinforcement to sir Henry Clinton, he missed no opportunity of scouring the country, in different directions, wherever he had any expectation of coming up with small parties of militia, which he frequently surprised. In these attacks he was almost uniformly successful. On the 27th of March, however, he was checked, for the first time, by lieut. col. Washington, at the head of his corps of horse. The Americans took seven prisoners, and obliged Tarleton to retreat; but, being unsupported by infantry, they did not venture to pursue him. At the beginning of the siege, general Lincoln ordered the cavalry, in number about 300, to keep the field, for the purposes of covering the country, and preserving a communication between it and the town. The country militia were ordered to act as infantry, in conjunction with this corps; but with this order they did not, generally, comply; so that the cavalry was not supported in such a manner as would enable them to render any essential service. On the 14th of April, this corps was surprised and routed, at Monk's-corner, by a British detachment, under lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Webster. About twenty-five were killed or taken. The remainder effected an escape, by concealing themselves, for several days, in the adjacent swamps. The British having now but little to fear, from any American force without the lines of Charleston, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river, with no more than two hundred and fifty horse, and six hundred infantry. It was determined, in a council of war, held on the 16th of April, that the weak state of the garrison rendered it improper to send out a detachment, capable of encountering even this small force. On the 6th of May, the remains of the American cavalry, which escaped from the surprise at Monk's-corner, experienced a still greater disaster. They were surprised, at Laneau's ferry, on the Santee, by Tarleton, who charged them with a superior force, and killed, captured, or dispersed the whole. Major Call and seven others escaped on horse-back, by urging their way through the British cavalry; a number got off, by concealing themselves in swamps; and lieut. col. Washington, major Jameson, and about half a dozen privates, saved themselves by swimming across the Santee. On the same day, Fort-Moultrie was surrendered to the British. The garrison, however, was small; col. Pinckney, with about 150 men, having been previously withdrawn to Charleston.

While the British were thus successful in all their undertakings, the Americans acquitted themselves with great resolution, in defending Charleston against the attack of a much superior force; but their hope of being able to prevent the town from ultimately falling into the hands of the enemy, became every day more faint.

On the 19th of April, the second parallel was completed; and on the following day the besiegers were joined by a reinforcement of 2000 men, from New-York. On the 21st, it was agreed by the garrison, in a council of war, that a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable. They therefore advised, that, before their affairs became too critical, offers of capitulation should be made to sir Henry Clinton, which might ad-

mit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants. These terms being proposed, were rejected without hesitation; but the garrison, though disheartened by this offer to capitulate, did not yet entirely despair of succour. They therefore determined not to recede from the terms which had been asked, till their situation should become more desperate. Hostilities were accordingly renewed.

About this time, a party of 200 men, commanded by lieut. col. Henderson, made a sally. They attacked the advanced working parties of the British, killed and wounded several, and took eleven prisoners. This was the only sally made during the siege. The garrison was too weak to engage frequently in such hazardous service.

On the 6th of May the besiegers had completed their third parallel; but, before its batteries were opened, sir Henry Clinton entered into a correspondence with general Lincoln, on the subject of a capitulation. Lincoln was disposed to close with Clinton's offers, so far as they respected the army; but it was thought that more favourable terms might be obtained for the citizens. With this view, a conference was asked; but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered, that hostilities should re-commence at eight o'clock. The firing, however, was not renewed before nine; when it was begun by the garrison. A severe cannonading now took place, on both sides. The British cannon and mortars played on the garrison, at a distance of less than one hundred yards. Vast numbers of shells and carcases were thrown into almost every part of the town, and several houses were burned. The Hessian chasseurs were so near, that they could strike, with their rifles, almost every person who showed himself above the lines. The besiegers, by pushing a sap to the dam which supplied the ditch with water on the right, had drained it, in several parts, to the bottom, insomuch that they were enabled to pass the ditch. They then advanced within twenty-five yards of the main works, and began to prepare for a general storm. The garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. No hope of succour remained. A considerable part of their cannon was dismounted, and some of the remainder rendered useless, for want of shot. The militia of the town had thrown down their arms; and the citizens, in general, were exceedingly discontented and clamorous. Under such circumstances, it would have been the height of madness, to attempt, with a force short of 3000 men, scattered along extensive lines, to stand the assault of 9000 well disciplined troops, especially when they must expect to be attacked by a strong naval force at the same time. The citizens, fully sensible of their situation, addressed general Lincoln, expressing their willingness to agree to the terms which had been offered by the besiegers, and requesting that they might be accepted. General Lincoln accordingly wrote to sir Henry Clinton, and offered to accept the terms which had been proposed. The British commanders, wishing to avoid the cruel extremity of a storm, and aware of the impolicy of pressing to unconditional submission, an enemy, whose friendship was desirable above all things, and to conciliate which was their chief object, granted the same conditions which they had before offered. Articles of capitulation were signed on the 11th of May.

The garrison were allowed some of the honors of war; but they were not to uncase their colours, nor to beat a British march. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged. The militia to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and, while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested, in person or property, by the British troops. The citizens, of every condition, to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers, of the army and navy, to retain their baggage, unsearched; and also their servants, swords, and pistols. They were permitted to sell their horses in Charleston, but not to remove them. And a vessel was permitted to carry general Lincoln's dispatches to Philadelphia, unopened.

The British return of prisoners, by including every adult male inhabitant, was swelled to upwards of 5000; but the proper garrison, at the time of the surrender, did not exceed half that number. The number of continental privates was somewhat short of 2000, and of these 500 were in the hospitals. The number of officers captured was out of all proportion to that of the privates. One major-general, six brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, and thirty-two second lieutenants and ensigns, became prisoners of war. Many country gentlemen, who were mostly militia officers, repaired to the defence of Charleston, although they were not able to muster privates, equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were also fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates. Hence arose that disparity which has been mentioned. It was unfortunate for the Americans that so many of their officers were made prisoners. The reasons for retaining so many in the town, during the siege, were chiefly founded in an apprehension, that their being ordered out would dispirit the army. It is not unworthy of remark, that, notwithstanding the gloomy prospects of the Americans, at this disastrous period, only twenty soldiers deserted during the siege.

The opinion of the world with respect to the merits of a military commander, is generally founded upon the degree of success which may have atttended his arms. Good or ill fortune, usually stamps the character of the general with celebrity or disgrace, although every reasoning or observing man must acknowledge the conclusion, in such general terms, to be unsupported either by reason or experience. Had general Lincoln succeeded in the defence of Charleston, it is probable that his conduct would have been highly extolled; but as this was not the case, he was very ungenerously and undeservedly censured, for having risked so much for its preservation. It will not be denied, that sound policy dictated to the Americans, the propriety of abandoning their towns to destruction, rather than risk too much for their defence. And so uniformly was this rule observed by the commander in chief, and by the officers acting under him, that this was the first instance in which the Americans attempted to defend a town. But general Lincoln had particular reasons for this deviation from the example of the commander in chief. Charleston was the only considerable town in the southern extremity of the union; and

South-Carolina and the adjacent states seemed willing to make great exertions for its preservation. Reinforcements, which would have been fully adequate to its defence, were promised, and expected. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had such assurances of support that he could not, with propriety, attempt it. Before the futility of these assurances was ascertained, the British force was so advantageously posted, that, in the opinion of a council of war, a retreat, if not wholly impracticable, would at least have been attended with extraordinary hazard, and many distressing inconveniencies.

(To be continued.)

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A PROJECT *for* LESSENING *the* EXPENSES *of* GOVERNMENT.

[*Written in* 1784, *but now altogether inapplicable in Pennsylvania.*]

HONEST and sensible men may differ in opinion respecting the forms of government, but all agree in this, that frugality is necessary in the administration; not only as a saving to the pockets, but to the morals of a people: for, as a great author observes, the emoluments of office are generally wasted in the excesses of dissipation and luxury.—It is therefore that I have contemplated, with the anxiety of a good citizen, our civil list, to the enormous amount of which, not only the multiplication of needless offices, but the supernumaries in the several departments, those excrescences (or, as they have been emphatically stiled, fifth wheels) as useless, as they are unornamental, to the machine of government, do so largely contribute.

Having said thus much, I must beg the reader's attention to a project I have conceived, for saving to the state a considerable share of the expense incurred by means of these *redundants*: from which I can hope to derive no immediate benefit to myself, but what will be common to my countrymen, in proportion each one to the extent of his taxable property, being incited thereto by the unmixed spirit of patriotism.

My first thoughts were, to employ my project upon the great council for the executive affairs of the state, of whose conformation and structure I did not at all approve. In the distribution of power, under the constitution, this division of it ever appeared to me as an awkward and unwieldy succedaneum for a second legislative branch; an inadequate counterpoise to a one-legged legislature.—But what I chiefly condemned in it was, the number of counsellors required, to which the paucity of the business committed to them was surely mightily disproportioned; but the council of censors having, by the fortuitous, though judicious restoration of a comma, and the introduction of a parenthesis, in the frame of government, found means considera-

bly to multiply the employment of that board,* I was obliged to turn aside from my original mark.

Forced, for this reason, to begin with that great legislative department which shares, with the former body, the sovereignty of the state, I am peculiarly lucky in timing my project so just in the nick, and when it will best bear: that is, when this department is about, with unprecedented humility, voluntarily and patriotically to ease itself of the labour of executing some of its most important functions, rights, and privileges;† all which gives my scheme a double propriety.

This branch of the public authority, it is well known, consists now of between seventy and eighty members; a number which, though inconveniently great for discussion and deliberation, respect for our law-givers would not suffer us greatly to wish an abridgment of, but rather put us to seek for reasons to justify.

I will suppose, then, that the following considerations might have had considerable influence in this point.

That numbers, in a legislative body, as in the military, would have a certain effect in producing respect and impressing awe, and so were essential to the dignity of the commonwealth. That matter, as well as spirit, is requisite to animal life, both giving effect to it. And that, as, in mechanicks, the lead of the jack is as necessary to motion as the wheels or flyers; so the certain weight of dulness and sluggishness, inseparable from, and the concomitants of large bodies, were indispensable to all legislative movements. And, lastly, that as the representative should be, as it were, the image of the constituent, or the person represented, and reflect, as in a mirror, his likeness, condition, and faculties; the larger the provision made in this case, the better would be the chance of accommodating the various characters, the wise, the foolish, the refined, the gross, the honest, and the knavish, who make so many classes in society, with each its proper and distinct representative.

But to come nearer to my project, which does not respect our present members of assembly, who are all noted for wisdom, in literal conformity to a rule of the constitution, but may be applicable to their successors, who, as we have reason to suppose, will be made up, like all other popular bodies, of what I shall call, for want of some better distinction, *effectives* and *non-effectives*. It is upon the latter I propose to try it. The former do actually *think* and *vote*; the latter only *vote*: the former employ the faculty of speech; to the latter it is wholly unnecessary—the former should be endued with as much loco-motion, at least, as to carry them to and from ——— tavern, where every business of the house, but the formal, is usually transacted; the latter need no other use of the motive faculty, than what will raise them into an erect posture, when it is necessary to affirm a question.

Now, sir, I humbly conceive that these *non-effectives*, which, I suppose, may be two parts in three of the whole body, if made of *wood*,

* The constitutionalists, conceiving their strength to lie rather in the executive council than in the assembly, contrived, by this manœuvre, to throw the appointment to almost all the state offices into the hands of the former.

† An act passed the assembly, co-operating with the executive in the new plan of power.

whether beech, oak, ash, or poplar, would be to the full as useful as in an animal state; and to the unspeakable benefit of the commonwealth, in point of saving.

I would therefore humbly propose, that a bill be brought in, as soon as may be, authorizing and directing the supreme executive council to contract with Mr. Cutbush, who has so long displayed the delicacy and excellency of his chisel in the carving of ships lions, to prepare, in his best manner, the complete figures or effigies of any number, not exceeding fifty, of able-timbered assembly-men, to be delivered in time to take their seats, and be assigned to the city and counties respectively, at the first meeting after the autumnal election. To engage with the ingenious Mr. Rittenhouse, to endow the said members with so much of the automatical powers, as will enable them to give their affirmative vote, which, as we have said before, being performed by the simple act of rising, will be but an inoperose work to his journeymen, easily executed by them, under the orders of that great master. To employ Mr. Peale in decorating and finishing the said automata, with his various tints—a sober brown for the cloathing, and yellow for as many wigs in the group, as shall be thought expedient.*

Economy, sir, should ever be the butt and aim of governmental arrangement, and I flatter myself to have hit on an idea, that will secure to me as much praise in this respect, and, I hope, more success, than what has attended the great Mr. Burke, in his late plans of reformation in the government of Great-Britain; for assuming one hundred and fifty days in the year for the sessions, fifty non-effectives, at fifteen shillings per diem wages, are an annual expense to the state of five thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds; whereas my men, from the first hewing of the outline to the last stroke of the brush, will not, at one hundred pounds a-piece, cost in the whole more than five thousand pounds; which may be funded by a trifling charge upon the impost, or excise, of three hundred pounds per annum—an important difference, in the present exhausted condition of the treasury, and when people are so little disposed to pay taxes.

No other saving occurred to me at first, but I have since considered that there will be a further one in the article of *mileage*, which has sometimes amounted to a capital sum. On a closer view of this my political bantling, I have discovered some other agreeable features in it, not to be omitted in the present tablature.

My members so constituted being of a sober, *solid*, and *luggish* cast, and of natural immobility, will seldom give the speaker occasion to call to order; neither, from faction, misunderstanding, or miff, will they be so apt to make hasty secessions, and leave the public business at sixes and sevens—an instance of which we lately had cause to regret, in some of their prototypes.

Being also fixures, they will, thereby, be in a great measure removed from the influence of out-door juntos, from which such pernicious consequences have often flowed; and, besides, being considerable dulled in

* One of the parties in the state, frequently called *yellow-whigs*, whether they wore wigs or not.

the auditory faculty, and labouring under the infirmity of a locked-jaw, it would be somewhat more difficult for the constitutional and republican parties, the one to catch them by the ear, the other to take them by the teeth. *

Furthermore, it would reflect peculiar honour upon the state, in being the only instance of public encouragement, that I know of, existing in America, given to the noblest of the polite arts, *statuary*; so highly esteemed and cultivated by the illustrious ancients, so neglected by the modern nations of Europe, but altogether a stranger to these western shores—my scheme would moreover be the means, in the session, of carrying genteel strangers, men of taste, to *see*, if not to *hear*; and in recess would afford a handsome perquisite to the door-keeper.

My expedient, besides, whilst it can give no just offence to the jealous principle of rotation, established in our government, can only respect animal representation, and which, in that case, is the only security we have against the tyranny of a single branch, unchecked as it is by any co ordinate body, is happily free from its great defect, the necessary newness and greenness of the members from the frequent change; whereas, by my method, the members will, after a time, be fully matured, and well *seasoned* to their places.

I am not unaware, that ingenuity and plausibility may suggest some objections to my improvement. The old saying may be urged against me, *ex quove ligno non fit Mercurius*, but this, it should be remembered, was spoken in reference to *wits*, and not to *legislators*. It may be insinuated that such wooden members would not know when and which way to vote; but surely this may be obviated, by assigning them over to the will and disposal of the leaders of the house, at the beginning of each session, by some equitable and convenient rule, as shall be agreed on—little different indeed from a practice long established in all public bodies, with respect to animal non-effectives.

I expect, too, it will be objected, that my members will not be able to answer at roll-calling; but this ceremony, unprecedented in the British house of commons, from which we pretend to derive our rules, and borrowed from the practice of privateers, or of iron-works, in muftering their crew of seamen and labourers, may well be waved in favour of my members, as the clerk may be assured that he has them on the spot: And I am certain it will not escape remark, that my method will be the only one always to obtain an early quorum, through the want of which the public business often greatly suffers, but which the pains and penalties of the half-crown fines generally fail to procure.

Having succeeded so well in parrying all objections, whether sober or captious, I publish this my scheme, for the consideration of the respectable body it is meant to affect, and I flatter myself the great savings pointed out, and the other advantages in it, of a public nature, will induce a disposition for proceeding forthwith to its execution, which I stand ready further to assist with my advice and opinion, whenever any committee of the house shall incline to confer with me on the subject.

A.

* The republican party in the city, frequently accused of debauching the country members of the opposite side with good dinners.

A PATHETIC STORY.

[*From* MODERN CHIVALRY—*By* H. H. BRACKENRIDGE. *Esq.*]

AS there were ſome circumſtances in the account of the young woman, that were a little ſtriking, the captain's curioſity was excited to let her be called in, and preſent herſelf. Accordingly, the old lady ſtepping out, a young woman made her appearance, of conſiderable beauty; but in her countenance expreſſions of woe. Her blue eye ſeemed involved in miſt; for ſhe ſhed no tears—her ſorrow was beyond that.

Young woman, ſaid the captain, it is eaſy to perceive that you have not been in this way of life long; and that you have been brought to it, perhaps, by ſome uncommon circumſtances. My humanity is intereſted; and it occurs to me to aſk, by what means it has come to paſs. The part which he ſeemed to take in her diſtreſs, inſpiring her with confidence; and being requeſted by him to relate her ſtory frankly, ſhe began as follows:

My father, ſaid ſhe, lives at the diſtance of about twenty miles from this city, and is a man of good eſtate. I have two brothers, but no ſiſters. My mother dying when I was at the age of fourteen, I became houſe-keeper for the family.

There was a young man that uſed to come to the ſame church to which we went. He was of the very loweſt claſs, mean in his appearance, of homely features, and a diminutive perſon. Yet he had the aſſurance to put himſelf in my way on every occaſion; endeavonring to catch my eye; for he did not dare to ſpeak to me. But I hated him, and was almoſt reſolved to ſtay at home on Sundays, to avoid him; for he began to be very troubleſome. His attention to me were taken notice of by my brothers. They were confident that I muſt give him ſome encouragement, or he would not make ſuch advances. My father was of the ſame opinion. I aſſured them I had never given him any encouragement, and I never would; that I was as much averſe to him as poſſible.

I ſhunned him and hated him. He perſiſted a long time, almoſt two years, and ſeemed to become melancholy, and at laſt went away from the neighbourhood; and, as I heard afterwards, to ſea. I began now to reflect upon his aſſiduity, and endeavours to engage my affections. I recollected every circumſtance of his conduct towards me, ſince the firſt time I was obliged to take notice of him. I reaſoned with myſelf, that it was no fault of his, if his family was low; and if he himſelf had not all that comelineſs of perſon which I wiſhed in a huſband; yet he was ſufficiently puniſhed in his preſumption in thinking of me, by what he muſt have ſuffered, and by his going to ſea, which he did to get out of my ſight, finding his attempts to gain my affections, hopeleſs. I dreamed of him; and ſcarcely a moment of the day paſſed, but my thoughts were running on the danger to which he was expoſed. It ſeemed to me that if he came back, I ſhould be more kind to him. I might at leaſt ſhew him, that I was not inſenſible of his attachment.

In about a year he returned, and the moment I ſaw him, I loved him. He did not dare to come to my father's houſe. But I could not help giving him encouragement, by my countenance, when I met him in public. Emboldened by this, he at laſt ventured to ſpeak to me; and I agreed that he might come to a peach orchard, at ſome diſtance from my father's houſe, and that I would give him an interview. There he came often; and with a moſt lowly and humble behaviour, fixed my regard for him. Not doubting the violence of his love for me, and my aſcendency over him, I at laſt put myſelf in his power. Becoming pregnant, I hinted marriage; but what was my aſtoniſhment to find, that, on various pretences, he evaded it; and as I became more fond, he became more cold; which had no other effect, than to make me more ardent than before. It had been uſual, for many months, to meet me every evening at this place; but now I had gone often, and did not find him there. At laſt he withdrew altogether, and I heard he had left the ſettlement. Worthleſs and baſe, as I now knew him to be; and, though my reaſon told me, that in perſon he was ſtill as homely as I firſt thought him, yet I continued to love him to diſtraction.

What was my diſtreſs, when my father, and my brothers, found that I was with child? They charged me, unjuſtly, of having deceived them with reſpect to my attachment to this low creature, from the firſt: In fine, my father diſmiſſed me from the houſe: My brothers, no leſs relenting than he, in their reſentment againſt me, upbraided me with the offers I had refuſed, and the treatment I had given to ſeveral gentlemen, in their advances to me. For, indeed, during the abſence of this worthleſs man, I had been addreſſed by ſeveral; but my pity and compaſſion for the wretch, had ſo wrought upon me, that I could not think of any, or ſcarcely bear them to ſpeak to me.

Diſmiſſed from my father's houſe, (even my younger brother, who was moſt ſoft and yielding in his nature, ſeeming to approve of it,) I went to the habitation of a tenant of my father; there remained ſome time, and endeavoured to make compenſation, by the labour of my hands, for the trouble I was giving them. But theſe poor people, thinking my father would relent, had informed him where I was, and of the care they had taken of me. The conſequence was, that, at the end of three months, he ſent for the child, of which I had been brought to bed ſome weeks before; but ordered them inſtantly to diſmiſs me, that I might never more offend his hearing with my name.

I wandered to this city, and the firſt night lay in the market-houſe, upon a bench. The next morning mixed with the women that came to market, and enquired for work of any kind. I could find none; but at laſt meeting with a young woman who felt for my diſtreſs, ſhe told me, that ſhe had a ſmall room in this city, where ſhe had lived ſome time with an aunt that was lately dead; and that now ſhe ſupported herſelf by doing a little in the millinery way; that if I would come and take breakfaſt with her, and ſee where ſhe lived, I was welcome. Going with the poor girl, I found her lonely and diſtreſſed enough. Nevertheleſs I continued with her ſeveral months. But the work was ſmall that we got to do, and times becoming ſtill worſe, I was obliged to ſell the clothes that I brought with me, to the laſt

petticoat and ſhort gown, to ſupport ourſelves and pay rent. To bring me to the laſt ſtage of miſery, the poor girl, who was more expert than I was, in making any little proviſion that could be made, fell ſick, and in ſhort time died. I could bear to ſtay no longer in the room, and coming out to wander in the ſtreets, like a forlorn wretch indeed, and ſobbing ſorely by myſelf, when I thought no one heard me, I was obſerved by this woman, at whoſe houſe you now are, and preſſed by her to go home. I ſoon found what ſort of a houſe it was, and had I not been watched, when I talked of going away, and threatened to be ſent to jail, for what, it is pretended I owe ſince I came to the houſe, I ſhould not have been here longer than the firſt day.

The captain, feeling with great ſenſibility, the circumſtances of her ſtory, made reply: Said he, Young woman, I greatly commiſerate your hiſtory and ſituation, and feel myſelf impelled to avenge your wrong. But the villain which has thus injured you, is out of my reach, in two reſpects: firſt, by diſtance; and ſecond, being too contemptible and baſe to be purſued by my reſentment, even on your account. But revenge is not your object, but ſupport and reſtoration to your friends, and the good opinion of the world. As to money, it is not in my power to advance you any great ſum; but as far as words can go, I could wiſh to ſerve you: not words to yourſelf only; but to others, in your behalf. It is evident to me, that you have ſuffered by your own too great ſenſibility. It was humanity and generoſity, that engaged you in his favour. It was your imagination, that gave thoſe attractions to his vile and uncomely perſon, by which you was ſeduced. You have been a victim to your own goodneſs, and not to his merit. The warmth of your heart has overcome the ſtrength of your judgment; and your prudence has been ſubdued by your paſſion: or, rather, indeed, confiding in a man whom you had ſaved from all the pains, and heart-felt miſeries of unſucceſsful love, you have become a ſacrifice to your compaſſion and tenderneſs. The beſt advice I can give you, is, to compoſe yourſelf for this night. Preſerve your virtue; for I do not conſider you as having loſt it: your mind has not been in fault, or contaminated. I will endeavour to find out ſome perſon, who may be diſpoſed to aſſiſt you; and though it may be difficult for you yet to eſtabliſh loſt fame, it is not impoſſible. So ſaying, he left the room; but the young woman, impreſſed with theſe laſt words eſpecially, viz. the difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of regaining reputation, ſunk down upon her chair, and could not pay him the compliment of thanks, at his departure.

During the night, through the whole of which he lay awake, at the public houſe, he ruminated on the extraordinary nature of this incident, and the means which he would adopt to recover this woman from her unfortunate ſituation.

Thought he, I am in a city where there are a great body of the people called Quakers. This ſociety, above all others, is remarkable for humanity, and charitable actions. There is a female preacher, of whom I have heard; a Lydia Wilſon: I will inform this good woman of the circumſtance; and, if ſhe gives me leave, I will bring this ſtray ſheep to her; ſhe may have it in her power to introduce her to ſome place, where, by needle-work, and induſtry, ſhe might live, until it may be

in my power, taking a journey to her father, and ſtating the caſe, and giving my ſentiments, to reſtore her to her family.

Early next morning, as ſoon as it could be preſumed, the Quaker lady had *ſet her houſe in order*; that is, after the family might be ſuppoſed to have breakfaſted, which was about nine o'clock, the captain ſet out; and being admitted, ſtated to Mrs. Wilſon, the exact circumſtances as before related. The pious woman readily undertook every office in her power. Accordingly, taking leave, the captain ſet out for the houſe of Mrs. Robeſon.

At the door, he met a number of men coming out, and, on inquiry, he found a coroner's inqueſt had juſt ſat on the body of a young woman of the houſe, who had the preceding evening, ſuſpended herſelf from the bedpoſt with her garter. He was ſtruck, ſuſpecting it muſt be the young woman whom he had ſo much in his thoughts. Going in, and enquiring, he found it to be the caſe; and that they propoſed to bury as ſoon as the few boards of a coffin could be got ready. As a man of humanity, he could not but ſhed tears; and blame himſelf that he had not given her ſtronger aſſurance of his interpoſition before he left her, that ſhe might not have fallen into deſpair, and taken away her life.

The coffin being now ready, the funeral ſet out, not for the burying ground of a church-yard; but for a place without the city, called the Potter's-field: For ſuicide forfeits chriſtian burial: Her obſequies attended, not by a clergyman in front, nor by ſcarfed mourners, holding up the pall; nor was ſhe borne on a bier, but drawn on a cart; and the company that followed her uncovered herſe, were not decent matrons, nor venerable men, but old bauds and ſtrumpets, and cullies, half drunk, making merry as they went along.

Being interred, they returned home; but the captain remaining ſome time, contemplating the grave, thus ſpoke:

Earth, thou covereſt the body of a lovely woman, and with a mind not leſs lovely; yet doomed in her burial, to the ſame ground with negroes, and malefactors; not that I think the circumſtance makes any difference; but it ſhews the opinion of the world with reſpect to thy perſonal demerit. Nor do I call in queſtion the juſtneſs of this opinion; having ſuch circumſtances whereon to found it. But I reflect with myſelf how much opinion, operating like a general law, may do injuſtice. it remains only with heaven's chancery to reach the equity of the caſe, and abſolve her from a crime; or at leaſt qualify that which was the exceſs of virtue. If the fair elements that compoſed her frame, ſhall ever again unite, and riſe to life, and, as the divines ſuppoſe, her form receive its ſhape, and complexion from her mental qualities, and conduct on earth, ſhe will loſe nothing of her beauty; for her daring diſdain of herſelf and fate, was a mark of repentance,—ſtronger than all tears. Yet had ſhe acted the nobler part of holding herſelf in life, preſerving her mind and body chaſte until famine had taken her away, or the hand of heaven moved for her relief, ſhe had ſhone, at the laſt, riſing with ſuperior brightneſs; been ranked amongſt the firſt beauties of heaven, and walked diſtinguiſhed in the paradiſe of God. Doubtleſs the Almighty muſt blame, and chide her for this premature and raſh ſtep. Fallen to the laſt

point of depreſſion, he was about to relieve her, and the ſequel of her days might have been happy and ſerene. It was a diſtruſt of his providence. She heard my words, though ſhe did not know my heart. And ſurely it was my intention to relieve her. But ſhe erred againſt my thoughts; ſhe eluded the graſp of my humanity. For this ſhe will be reprimanded by the Moſt High; and fail of that ſupereminent glory which awaits heroic minds. Yet, O world, thou doſt her wrong, in ſentencing her to ſo low a bed. Shall the wealthy, but diſhoneſt men; matrons chaſte, but cold and cruel in their feelings; ſhall theſe have a ſtone built over them, and occupy a conſecrated ſpot; whilſt thou, unworthy, art thrown amongſt the rubbiſh of carcaſes, ſwept from jails; or of emigrants, unknown as to their origin and place.

Farewel, lovely form, whom late I knew; and let the graſs grow green upon thy grave. Thy ſorrows are expunged; but mine are awake; and will be ſo, until I alſo come to the ſhades inviſible, and have the ſame apathy of heart with thee.

DIRECTIONS *to* STUDIOUS PEOPLE *for the* PRESERVATION *of their* HEALTH.

AS ſtudious people are neceſſarily much within doors, they ſhould make choice of a large and well-aired place for ſtudy. This would not only prevent the bad effects which attend confined air, but would cheer the ſpirits, and have a moſt happy influence both on the body and the mind. It is ſaid of Euripides, the tragedian, that he uſed to retire to a dark cave to compoſe his tragedies; and of Demoſthenes, the Grecian orator, that he choſe a place for ſtudy where nothing could either be heard or ſeen. With all deference to ſuch venerable names, we cannot help condemning their taſte. A man may ſurely think to as good purpoſe in an elegant apartment as in a cave; and may have as happy ideas where the all-cheering rays of the ſun render the air wholeſome, as in places which they never reach.

Thoſe who read or write much ſhould be very attentive to their poſture. They ought to ſit and ſtand by turns, always keeping as nearly in an erect poſture as poſſible. Thoſe who dictate may do it walking. It has an excellent effect frequently to read or ſpeak loud; this not only exerciſes the lungs, but almoſt the whole body. Hence ſtudious people are greatly benefited by delivering diſcourſes in public. Such indeed ſometimes hurt themſelves by over-acting their part; but this is their own fault. The man who dies a martyr to mere vociferation merits not our ſympathy.

The morning has by all medical writers been reckoned the beſt time for ſtudy. It is ſo; but it is alſo the moſt proper ſeaſon for exerciſe, while the ſtomach is empty, and the ſpirits refreſhed with ſleep. Studious people ſhould therefore ſometimes ſpend the morning in

walking, riding, or ſome manly diverſions without doors. This would make them return to ſtudy with greater alacrity, and would be of more ſervice than twice the time after their ſpirits are worn out with fatigue. It is not ſufficient to take diverſion only when we can think no longer. Every ſtudious perſon ſhould make it a part of his buſineſs, and ſhould let nothing interrupt his hours of recreation more than thoſe of ſtudy.

Muſic has a very happy effect in relieving the mind when fatigued with ſtudy. It would be well if every ſtudious perſon were ſo far acquainted with that ſcience, as to amuſe himſelf after ſevere thought, by playing ſuch airs as have a tendency to raiſe the ſpirits, and inſpire cheerfulneſs and good humour.

It is the reproach of learning, that ſo many of her votaries, to relieve the mind after ſtudy, betake themſelves to the uſe of ſtrong liquors. This indeed is a remedy; but it is a deſperate one, and always proves deſtructive. Would ſuch perſons, when their ſpirits are low, get on horſeback, and gallop ten or a dozen miles, they would find it a more effectual remedy than any cordial medicine in the apothecary's ſhop, or all the ſtrong liquors in the world.

It is much to be regretted that learned men, while in health, pay ſo little regard to theſe things. Nothing is more common, than to ſee a miſerable object over-run with nervous diſeaſes, bathing, walking, riding, and, in a word, doing every thing for health, after it is gone; yet, if any one had recommended theſe things to him by way of prevention, the advice would, in all probability, have been treated with contempt, or at leaſt with neglect. Such is the weakneſs and folly of mankind, and ſuch the want of foreſight, even in thoſe who ought to be wiſer than others.

With regard to the diet of the ſtudious, we ſee no reaſon why they ſhould abſtain from any kind of food that is wholeſome, provided they uſe it in moderation. They ought, however, to be ſparing in the uſe of every thing that is ſour, windy, rancid, or hard of digeſtion. Their ſuppers ſhould always be light, and taken ſoon in the evening. Their drink may be water, fine malt liquor, not too ſtrong, good cyder, wine and water, or, if troubled with acidities, water mixed with a little brandy.

We ſhall only obſerve, with regard to thoſe kinds of exerciſe which are moſt proper for the ſtudious, that they ſhould not be too violent, nor ever carried to the degree of exceſſive fatigue. They ought likewiſe to be frequently varied, ſo as to give action to all the different parts of the body; and ſhould, as often as poſſible, be taken in the open air. In general, riding on horſeback, walking, working a garden, or playing at ſome active diverſions, are the beſt.

We would likewiſe recommend the uſe of the cold bath to the ſtudious. It will, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the place of exerciſe, and ſhould not be neglected by perſons of a relaxed habit, eſpecially in the warm ſeaſon.

The ſtudious ought neither to take exerciſe, nor to ſtudy, immediately after a full meal.

MODERN HONOUR.

MAN of honour! what a prostituted term! by all repeated, by few understood—the vain man's riddle, and the wise man's stumbling-block! As every principle implanted in the human breast, that incites to noble and virtuous action, ought to be fostered with caution and treated with care; so when this active quality called honour, warms the passions and the blood, it ought to be treated with respect, for many are its precious qualities. But the misfortune is, a fate attends this similar to what attends on all rich and valuable metals---it is often counterfeited. Honour is a splendid and comely garment; and therefore every hare-hearted knave, since he cannot put *it* on, will put on its likeness. He will make a scurvy merit of imitating that virtue which he has not. The flower which would bloom and flourish in the soil of virtue, will spread and wanton as a rank weed in the soil of vice.---Hence we may trace the abuse of honour: every one gives it his own definition; and when a man has an inclination to play the knave, it is easy to reduce it to the standard of his own principles and convenience.

Who, then, is this man of modern honour? who, but a fellow that is fiery as flint, and who pretends to be *feeling* all over---one who starts at the shadow of an affront, yet passes his whole life in affronting religion and virtue---one who can tell a thousand lyes with the greatest indifference, yet would run a thousand men through the body if they charged him with telling any---one who would not hear a disrespectful word of his sister, yet would ruin half the young women in the neighbourhood, merely for the *reputation* of doing it?---are not these the features of the man of honour?

The character of this *man of honour* is perhaps the most despicable in society. Let those therefore be satisfied with it, who can attain to nothing else: 'tis purchased at too low a price to create any jealousy in noble souls. Some fortune, and many vices, will make it complete: virtue has nothing to do with it.

And yet the laws of this false principle are considered as indispensible. It is almost impossible to evade them. It is in vain that the brave man has vindicated his courage in a thousand dangers, a thousand fields: if a fool beckons him to a duel, he must follow, and rob at once his family, his friends, and his country, to gratify the ignorance of men who ought not to be regarded. What a distressing dilemma! What a delicate situation is a brave man reduced to, when he hesitates between the laws of his country and the laws of *honour!* On one side he sees the sword of justice hanging over his head, if he should dare to act in violation of them; and on the other he hears the stimulating voice of the point of honour cry aloud, "It is better to perish a thousand times than to live dishonoured." What a cruel alternative! Death or infamy.

De L'Isle and De la Fosse were two French officers, who lived not long ago. They had both been born in the same town, the same street, and were almost next-door neighbours. They had passed their infancy, and the first part of their youthful years, together as play-

fellows or ſchool-fellows, and a moſt cordial friendſhip was contracted.

Unfortunately for them and their parents, an officer's commiſſion for each was purchaſed, in two different regiments, between whom had long ſubſiſted an inveterate animoſity. Whenever a rivalſhip of this kind happens between two regiments, it is the buſineſs of their ſuperiors to caution againſt their meeting each other, either on march or in garriſon, and even to guard againſt a meeting of the individuals; for which reaſon, before the one regiment arrives at garriſon, it is evacuated by the other.

De L'Iſle's regiment was upon duty at Montpelier, and De la Foſſe bore his commiſſion in a regiment that was to ſucceed it. The latter having a ſtrong deſire to ſee the former, obtained leave to go a day or two before, on pretence to ſee a friend of his who was much indiſpoſed.

De L'Iſle was tranſported with joy at ſeeing him, as well as on account of the obliging ſtratagem he had invented for that purpoſe.

Having dined and drunk a cheerful glaſs of Frontiniac together, De L'Iſle conducted his friend to a kind of licenſed gaming-houſe in the environs of Montpelier. They played a few games: De L'Iſle, having the run of cards in his favour, won every one. The other, ſomewhat piqued, ſaid unguardedly, "It is impoſſible to win ſo! how do you contrive to get ſuch cards?" Keep your temper (replied De L'Iſle) the cards may favour you in a game or two more.---This friendly altercation ended in a laugh on both ſides. They paid the uſual tax of the place for cards, went home, ſupped together, and on parting, took a farewel embrace of each other, De L'Iſle being to ſet out from Montpelier with his regiment the next morning, in order to make room for De la Foſſe's.

It ſeems, unhappily for them both, and quite unknown to De L'Iſle, that an officer belonging to his corps, who had got intelligence of De la Foſſe's belonging to the regiment adverſe to theirs, ſtood behind while they played at cards, in order to obſerve what ſhould paſs between them. The buſy liſtener had remarked the impatient expreſſions at loſing, which De la Foſſe's too warm temper had let eſcape. Theſe ſeeming to imply an innuendo of foul play, he conſtrued as an affront; which, on account of the then ſubſiſting regimental antipathy, was not then to be put up with. Wherefore waiting on De L'Iſle in and morning, he told him his ſenſe of the affair, and that he muſt go the demand immediate ſatisfaction, both for the ſake of his own honour, and that of the corps to which he belonged.

De L'Iſle, alarmed at the cruel purport of this unexpected viſit, remonſtrated to his brother officer the undeſigning and good-natured warmth of his friend; that they had been intimate from their infancy; that the fatal conſequences, perhaps, of ſuch a requiſition would effectually ruin his peace of mind for ever, ſhould he be even the ſurvivor.

All his excuſes, however, were treated as unmanly; and he was told, he might do as he pleaſed; but, that a faithful narrative of the affair ſhould be laid before the ſuperior officers.

Torn with anxiety and horror, he went to De la Foſſe's lodgings, and acquainted him with the terrible dilemma they were both in, and that the horrid mandate of military uſage muſt be obeyed. They went out upon the ramparts of the town, drew their ſwords, with great regret, againſt each other, and ſoon received on both ſides wounds ſufficient to diſable them from continuing the combat any more that day, as well as to atone, in the judgment of any men but refined barbarians, for ſo trifling, nay, imaginary an affront.

This duel was fought in the ſight of ſome of De L'Iſle's officers, who had been ſent on purpoſe to obſerve him. As ſoon as he got his wounds dreſt, he repaired to ſatisfy his ſuperior officers: theſe refuſed to ſee him, but ordered it ſhould be intimated to him that what he had done was not enough, becauſe one of the parties muſt die.

In conſequence of this mercileſs injunction, the diſtracted youths, neither deſiring to outlive his friend, by mutual agreement ran upon each other's ſword, in the fond hope of expiring together: which was nearly the caſe; for De la Foſſe dropt in the inſtant at De L'Iſle's feet, who was ſo terribly wounded that his recovery was deſpaired of for ſix weeks by the ſurgeon, to whoſe houſe he had been privately conveyed, and where he was kept ſecreted from all the enquiries of juſtice.

De la Foſſe was, by the immediate care of the military gentlemen, thrown into a hole dug for that purpoſe, and round which they ſtood with their ſwords drawn, till the fleſh was all conſumed, or ſo far diſfigured that the ſentence of the law could not be executed upon it, viz. That the body of a perſon ſlain in a duel is to be dragged on a ſledge, through the ſtreets, &c.

In about three months after this unhappy cataſtrophe, De L'Iſle eſcaped privately in the night time from Montpelier, and fled to Spain, where he has lived ever ſince, lamenting the loſs of his country, his parents, and his friend.

Is there no one now who bluſhes for this ſavage honour? Let us leave this character to thoſe who are willing to be ſatisfied with ſounds and emptineſs. All the *men of honour* in the univerſe are not worth one virtuous man. True honour is the bright ſun which warms noble ſouls to noble deeds. To be honourable is to be virtuous: The temple of VIRTUE leads to the temple of HONOUR.

The FURIES, *a Fable. From the German of* M. LESSING.

MY furies begin to turn old, ſaid Pluto to the meſſenger of the gods: I muſt have others more freſh and young: go then, and take a circuit through the earth, and chooſe me three perſons proper to fulfil the employment which I deſtine them. Mercury obeyed, and departed.

A ſhort time after this, Juno ſaid to Iris, could you not find out for me among the mortals, two or three girls, ſage, but perfectly ſo?

You underſtand me: I have a great deſire to confound Venus, who who ſo often boaſts that ſhe has ſubjected the whole ſex to her dominion. Go, and endeavour to make this diſcovery. Iris departed, and ſearched every corner of the earth, but in vain. She at length reſolved to return. Ah! cried Juno, ſeeing her return alone, is it poſſible! O virtue! O chaſtity!

Goddeſs, ſaid Iris, I ſhould have brought you three girls, who were all three perfectly ſage—who all three never in their life ſmiled upon a man---who all three had deſtroyed in their heart, the very ſeeds of love; but alas! I arrived too late. How, too late! ſaid Juno? Yes too late:---Mercury had juſt carried them off for Pluto---

For Pluto!---and what would Pluto make of theſe virtuous girls?---FURIES.

SINGULAR ACCOUNT *of the* STORMING *and* CAPTURE *of a* FORT *by a* DRUNKEN SAILOR.

[*From Ives's Voyage to the Eaſt-Indies.*]

IN 1756, Admiral Watſon, having ſailed with his ſquadron, and the king's troops, from fort St. David, to the aſſiſtance of Calcutta, in the Eaſt-Indies, ſtopped at Mayapore, on the banks of the Ganges, where the enemy had a place of conſiderable ſtrength, called Bougee Fort, which it was neceſſary to ſecure before he proceeded farther in the expedition. The action was begun by a briſk cannonade from the ſquadron, which ſoon ſilenced the cannon of the fort: but the garriſon not offering to ſurrender, and continuing to diſcharge fire-arrows and ſmall arms, it was determined, in a council of ſea and land officers, that colonel Clive ſhould endeavour to take it by aſſault. For this purpoſe, at five in the evening, the admiral landed an officer, two midſhipmen, and about forty ſailors from each ſhip, under the command of captain King, to aſſiſt the colonel in ſtorming the fort, which he intended doing juſt before daylight, under the cover of two twenty-four pounders mounted cloſe to the ditch. In the mean time, the colonel had given directions that the whole army, (the neceſſary guards excepted) and the detachment from the ſhips, ſhould reſt on the ground, in order to recover themſelves, as much as poſſible, from the great fatigues they had undergone in the preceding day's ſervice.

All now was quiet in the camp; and we on board the ſhips, which lay at their anchors but at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, had entertained thoughts of making uſe of this interval to refreſh ourſelves alſo with an hour or two of ſleep; but ſuddenly a loud and univerſal acclamation was heard from the ſhore, and ſoon after an account was brought to the admiral, that the fort had been taken by ſtorm. This was a joyful piece of news, and the more ſo as it was quite unexpected; but when the particular circumſtances that uſhered in this ſucceſs were related, our exultation was greatly abated, becauſe we found

that the rules ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary in all military exploits had been entirely diſregarded in the preſent inſtance, and therefore could not help looking upon the perſon who had the principal hand in this victory, rather as an object of chaſtiſement than of applauſe. The caſe was this.

During the tranquil ſtate of the camp, one Strahan, a common ſailor belonging to the Kent, having been juſt ſerved with a quantity of grog (arrack mixed with water,) had his ſpirits too much elated to think of taking any reſt; he therefore ſtrayed by himſelf towards the fort, and imperceptibly got under the walls. Being advanced thus far without interruption, he took it into his head to ſcale at a breach, that had been made by the cannon of the ſhips; and having luckily gotten upon the baſtion, he there diſcovered ſeveral Moor-men ſitting upon the platform, at whom he flouriſhed his cutlaſs, and fired his piſtol, and then, after having given three loud huzzas, cried out, "*The place is mine.*" The Mooriſh ſoldiers immediately attacked him, and he defended himſelf with incredible reſolution, but in the recounter had the misfortune to have the blade of his cutlaſs cut in two about a foot from the hilt; this miſchance, however, did not happen, till he was near being ſupported by two or three other ſailors, who had accidentally ſtraggled to the ſame part of the fort on which the other had mounted. They, hearing Strahan's cries, immediately ſcaled the breach likewiſe, and echoing the triumphant ſound, rouſed the whole army, who, taking the alarm, preſently fell on pell-mell, without order and without diſcipline, following the example of the ſailors. This attack, though made in ſuch confuſion, was followed with no other ill conſequence but the death of the worthy captain Dougal Campbell, who was unfortunately killed by a muſket-bullet from one of our own pieces in the general confuſion. Capt. Coote commanded the fort for that night, and at day-light the fort ſaluted the admiral. It was never exactly known what number of Moors there were in the fort when our people firſt entered. We took in the fort eighteen cannon, from twenty four pounders downwards, and forty barrels of powder.

Strahan, the hero of this adventurous action, was ſoon brought before the admiral, who, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs that had attended it, thought it neceſſary to ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed with a meaſure in which the want of all military diſcipline ſo notoriouſly appeared. He therefore angrily inquired into the deſperate ſtep which he had taken. "Mr. Strahan, what is this that you have been doing?" The fellow, after having made his bow, ſcratched his head, and with one hand twirling his hat upon the other, replied "Why, to be ſure, Sir, it was *I* who took the fort,—but I hope *there was no harm in it.*" The admiral with difficulty, was prevented from ſmiling at the ſimplicity of Strahan's anſwer; and the whole company were exceedingly diverted with his awkward appearance, and his language and manner in recounting the ſeveral particulars of his mad exploit. Mr. Watſon expatiated largely on the fatal conſequences that might have attended his irregular conduct, and then, with a ſevere rebuke, diſmiſſed him; but not before he had given the fellow ſome diſtant hints, that at a proper opportunity he would be certainly puniſhed for his

temerity. Strahan, amazed to find himself blamed where he expected praise, had no sooner gone from the admiral's cabin than he muttered these words—"*If I am flogged for this here action, I will never take another fort by myself as long as I live, by G—d!*"

The novelty of the case, the success of the enterprise, and the courageous spirit which he had displayed, pleaded strongly with the admiral in behalf of the offender; and yet, at the same time, the discipline of the service required that he should shew him outwardly some marks of his displeasure: this the admiral did for some little time; but afterwards, at the intercession of some officers, which intercession the admiral himself prompted them to make, he most readily pardoned him. And it is not improbable, that had Strahan been properly qualified for the office of boatswain, he might on some other pretence, before the expedition had ended, have been promoted to that station in one of his majesty's ships. But, unfortunately for this brave fellow, the whole tenor of his conduct, both before and after the storming of the fort, was so very irregular, as to render it impossible for the admiral to advance him from his old station to any higher rank, how strongly soever his inclinations led him to do it.

On MONOPOLIES.

OF all the scourges which Providence, in the course of its administration, has suffered mankind to impose or inflict upon each other, this has been the most severe;—other evils were temporary in their nature, and limited in their operation; but this, like the stroke of the torpedo, attacked the vital principle—and of countries, comparatively fair and populous, made frequently a howling wilderness:—it acted like the cramp on the human system, and tended to depress every effort of national industry.

By monopolies I mean any and all privileges granted by sovereigns to a few in their dominions, for the purpose of carrying on any branch of trade or commerce exclusively; whereby, to the inequalities which by nature and education subsist among mankind, were superadded an artificial mean of acquiring riches, at the expense of the peace and comfort of a nation, that the throne of an outrageous despot might be supported, by the creatures and satellites of its own power.

Not contented with armies of hired and disciplined assassins, ready to execute their mandates—not satisfied with prisons, doleful and obscure, in which to deposit, in perpetual oblivion, the victims of their malice;—insecure in the midst of treaties and stratagems devised for their preservation, and of family compacts instituted for the maintenance of their authority;—they invented also monopolies, in order to divide, as it were, the people among themselves, and to create among them an order, not decorated indeed with titles, nor ornamented with mystic ensigns of supposed and hereditary rank, but, what was

much worse, bearing in their train innumerable evils, and in their hands charters of unequal and arbitrary privileges.

Awful and afflicting would be the detail of excesses flowing from this lamentable source, were the pages of history traced, as far as they could lead us, in the search of miseries endured from this quarter!—But it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to a few instances, of such modern date as are, or have been, within every body's view.

And, first, of the East-India company of England, deservedly pre-eminent in the list:—What horrors—what devastations—hath not this incorporation produced in Asia!—What a destruction of private industry and virtue hath it not occasioned in Britain!—Fair and populous regions of India have been laid waste, by sword and famine!—and the navigation of England was not suffered to exist, but for the benefit of this company, beyond the Cape of Good Hope. On the one hand, you see Asia given up to private rapacity and avarice;—on the other, a few ships employed, as might suit the fancy of the India managers! In the one case, generals and contractors, supercargoes and directors, riot in the spoils of Hindostan; on the other, a few influential ship-owners divide the profit of all the freight the company would suffer to be earned in those seas. In a minute of lord Cornwallis's, of Sept. 18, 1789, he says, "I can safely assert, that one third of the Company's territories in Hindostan, is now a jungle inhabited by wild beasts."—In a private letter from India, dated in Nov. 1791, it is said, "The Mahratta and Nizam's forces have burnt, plundered, and devastated, wherever they have marched; and it is impossible to give any probable computation of the number of unfortunate people, who have already perished by this war and its consequences: but I am confident I should not exceed the truth, if I put it at above *one million of souls!*"—Both these papers were read in the house of commons of England, so late as the sixth of June last, by Mr. Francis, a member of that house; about which time, Mr. Fiott, a spirited merchant of London, proved to a meeting of India stockholders, assembled in Leaden-Hall-Street, that upwards of 200,000l sterling per annum had been, for many years past, paid by the company, for freight to certain favoured old ship-owners, more than they needed to have done, in case of a fair and general competition for such freight, by way of public contract.

By the operation of this company, then, thus incorporated, it happens,

First. That a stock is created in the market that becomes food for the bulls and bears of the alley.

Second. That loans are made to the government, increasing the national debt, and, of course, the national burthens.

Third. That this money is ready at the call of the minister, to be employed against America, or any other people daring to be free.

Fourth. That this company contract themselves debts of eight millions, in the manner of the national debt, affording further aliment to purposes of stock-jobbing.

Fifth. That India is devastated—its miserable inhabitants put to fire and sword—its sanctuaries invaded—its princes dethroned—its

treasuries pillaged;—as has been fully described by Sheridan, by Burke, and by numerous other writers.

Sixth. That the marine of England is deprived of that freedom of spreading its sails to the breeze, that it enjoys in all but the Indian seas.

Seventh. That the officers of the company alone enjoy the fruits of victory, while they pay not the expenses of the war;—returning rich to their own country, to purchase seats in parliament, or to be the subject of state-trials, ending in nothing but immense expense and loss of time to the nation: and

Lastly. That for all this the stockholders get 6 to 8 per cent per annum, on their capitals, which they might as well, and more easily have earned in any other way—

Let these facts be long impressed on the memory of Americans, who draw from India only the fruits of an honourable and equitable trade—and if ever, in a moment of national frensy and delusion, it should be proposed to them to engage in similar establishments, let the still weeping shade of Asia arise to avert at once the misery of her sister and her own.

RUSSELL.

Philadelphia, September, 1792.

On PUBLIC CREDIT.

THERE is no subject generally so fascinating to popular declaimers, as that of public credit, wherein they appear to include all possible description of national good—and doubtless it is a benefit for a nation, as it is for an individual, where either have contracted just debts, to have the easy means, as well as the disposition to pay them; but there is this difference between the two cases, an individual considers his credit as concerned in the extinction of his debts, whereas nations usually place theirs, in an ingenious minister's ability to provide for the interest of them;—in the one case, a man is said to be in a state of sound credit when he is clear of pressure; in the other, a nation is said be rich, when it is subjected to perpetual and increasing burthens. If you say of a man, he is a man in good credit, you suppose of him as either out of debt, or as competent and willing instantly to pay his debts, out of his real or personal property;—if you say of a nation that it is in good credit, as it is in England for instance, it is only meant that the minister contrives to pay the interest, without ever dreaming of the principal.

It would seem also, that an individual became in good credit, in proportion to the small amount of his debts, whereas a nation is in better credit, just in proportion to the largeness of them,—as in England, where the funds never were so high as since they have become of an almost incredible magnitude.

The subject is new in this country, and certainly merits, by its importance, the investigation of our ablest statesmen—a debt has been contracted during the war, which became, by general neglect of it, so in-

considerable in value, as to be compared and called after those balloons, that have lately arisen to excite matter of speculative curiosity: this debt, by a new order of things, has become restored to its pristine value, and the public credit of the country has been proportionably applauded. Were this all, the prospect would be flattering and agreeable; but, unfortunately, we are every now and then told of new loans made in Holland, or of the bank; these are cited as proofs of public credit, whereas, unless applied to pay off other debts, they ought rather to lessen the credit, in proportion as the sum owing is increased.

The truth is, public credit, as every other thing, has its good and its evil;—let it be our study to secure the one and to avoid the other: the good of public credit consists, in the settled order: it supposes of payment of the debts of the state, whereby its creditors are benefited; but the evil consists, and a very formidable one it has proved in other countries old in the science, that it administers to the officer at the head of the treasury, an easy facility to borrow; this is connected with a constant readiness, in the government of a country, to enter into any war or adventure, however absurd in itself, and destructive to the human race, where the head of the treasury can easily obtain the necessary loans; these again are never paid off, nor meant to be, but are only to be put on interest, and taxes imposed on the people in the most plausible, and least obnoxious manner, to raise the sums necessary to pay that interest; such has been the history of public credit in England, and such it will be here, unless guarded against by a vigilance on the part of the people, almost beyond what it is to be expected they will exert.

In such a state of things, public credit means public taxes; the more debt, the more imposts; and unfortunately should there come into government, men, admirers of the system, fond of proving to their constituents the excellence of their credit, by the free use they make of it; such men will be for war, because war of any kind creates debt, debt creates taxes, taxes create offices and officers, and so it goes on, till the poor are saddled, as in England, with unsupportable burthens, contributing to the enriching and aggrandizing only of a few; hence, you will see, in their papers, on the one side, the queen ornamented at a ball, with a dress and jewels worth 100,000 guineas, and on the other, misery and wretchedness attending the common people, and reducing many of them to want the necessaries of life: In one part of the picture, you behold the splendour of opulence existing in the castles of the noble and the affluent; in the other, the wretched peasantry abandoning the country—here, a poet-laureat singing his birth-day ode; and there, a Goldsmith lamenting over his deserted village.

To conclude, while we applaud a sound state of public credit, let us build it only ON THE PAYMENT of our debts; for whatever our sophisters may say on the subject, we shall then best deserve credit when we least solicit it.

RUSSELL.

Philadelphia, August, 1792.

On the INDIAN WAR.

THAT a prosperous state of credit is apt on nations, as on individuals, sometimes to work ill effects, by leading them into hazardous and unprofitable adventures, the subject we are considering sufficiently evinces ;—before the restoration of the finances of the Union all was peace, or if it was disturbed by any temporary and fugitive alarms, they subsided, by the necessity of forbearance on the one side, or of moderation on the other ; but no sooner was money plenty, than war follows on its heels ; instead of cultivating peace every where, retrenching expenses, and paying off our debts,—the country is, as it were suddenly, and by surprise, involved in a new war, and heavy expenditures—a war, wholly unprofitable in its object, and hopeless as to its success ; for what is the object of it ? To extirpate the Indians : as it would be inhumane, so it would be without benefit to us ; and as to compelling them to an honourable peace, little is to be expected from a treaty, dictated by force on the one side, and necessity on the other ; were any treaty capable of continuance with a wandering herd, subject to continual warfare, offensive or defensive, with the frontier settlers, it is hopeless as to its success ; for what armaments can penetrate regions comparatively unknown, to pursue an enemy that flies as you advance, unless he sees a fair occasion to strike decisively, in a country without resource to our troops in case of a misfortune.

To have formed an effectual barrier on our borders, and limited our territorial possessions within their just bounds, would at once have kept both the settlers and the indians in awe, and would have sustained the hitherto unknown limits of our pursuits ; war might thus have been avoided, and the country have been left to pursue that pacifick system, by which alone its public credit can be supported, and its debts be honourably extinguished—but then, how many offices had been wanting, how many lucrative contracts would have been lost, and how great a waste of money would have been prevented from flowing into the coffers of those concerned in this business ?

If this war continues, it is easy to say its expenditures will be growing, and it will prove a regular and constant drain upon the treasury, very little calculated to enhance its credit,—to say nothing of the discouragement it affords to Europeans to come into this country, engaged in a ruinous warfare : many of them are prevented by it from visiting us, our lands suffer in the sale, by being conceived to be the bone of contest, and the nations of the earth exclaim against the injustice of a people, unable to cultivate what ground they have, still panting after more.

Let it be the study then of the people, in their elections, to choose those men to represent them that may lay the axe at the root of this evil, men of such patriotism, independence, and disinterestedness, as anxious above all things to secure their own rights, may be at the remotest distance from invading those of others ; thus the poor Indian may become safe in the hunting grounds allotted him—and the country enjoy a dignity, credit, and peace proportionate to the wisdom and integrity of its views.

RUSSELL.

Philadelphia, August, 1792.

Of Farm-Yard Manure.

[*From a valuable little Treatise, entitled* "Sketches on Rotations of Crops"—*lately published in Philadelphia.*]

TO conduct the business of a farm to full advantage, we must exercise our reasoning faculties, and build up principles which systematically embrace such a regular course of particulars, as will best follow and depend on each other for obtaining the one whole of the design of farming. It is not immediate product alone that we aim at: for, whilst we we with to obtain repeated full crops, our reason assures us it is indispensibly necessary to that end, that the soil be preserved in full vigor. The mind then is employed, principally, on the objects of preservation and improvement of the productive powers of the earth. Observations on the state of common farming fix the opinion, that in general no unconnected, random pursuits tend to ensure a succession of advantageous husbandry for any length of time.

Well chosen rotations of crops, together with due culture, are believed to be so favourable to the ground, as to need but little addition of manure, in comparison of what the common random crops absolutely demand. Still the application of manures is held to be an essential branch of farming, a great link of the chain, in every instance. If very rich soils require, comparatively, but a moderate quantity, in a rotation where ameliorating crops are prevalent, yet middling and poor soils want all that can be obtained; and under the *old courses*, all soils eagerly demand *more manure than can be procured.* These exhausting courses, we see, are continually impoverishing our farms. Too many farmers, therefore, incline to move to fresh lands; where they would prceisely act the same murderous part over again.

The two principal links in good farming, are proper *rotations of crops*, which are treated of above; and *manures*, of which it is wished the occasion would admit of more than the few observations that follow.

In the American practice, *hay and fodder are stacked in the fields*; and the cattle are *fed round the stacks and fodder houses*: the disadvantages whereof are,

1. A *wasteful* use of the provender;
2. The *dung* lying *as it is dropped without straw*, or other vegetable substance brought to it, the manure is little in quantity; and
3. That little, *not lying in heaps*, is reduced abundantly by *exhalation* and *rain*; leaving scarce any thing to the soil.

In the English and Flemish practice (feebly observed by a few of our husbandmen) cattle are carefully *housed*, or otherwise confined to a fold-yard (straw-yard) in which are *shelters* against cold rains, during the whole winter, and as far through the spring as food will last: the advantages of which are,

1. A fair expenditure of the provender, *without waste*:
2. *Less exhaustion* of the juices; because of the dung lying together in *large heaps*:

3 The dung being mixed with the *ſtraw*, and other vegetable ſubſtances brought to the beaſts as *litter*, the whole is trod together, and forms a large quantity of very valuable manure.

It may be no exaggeration to affirm, that the *difference* in the quantities of manure obtained from an equal ſtock of cattle by theſe ſeveral methods, may be as three to one. If ſix acres may be annually manured by the inferior method, then may eighteen by the ſuperior. Now on a ſuppoſition that *manured land is kept in heart five years* without repeating, in the one caſe but thirty acres will always remain in good order; in the other ninety acres: A very important difference! Indeed it is all the difference between an huſbandman's poverty and his riches.

Do cattle, when ſoddered round hay-ſtacks and fodder-houſes, or ricks, give twelve large loads of manure (forty heaped buſhels) each? do they yield *one* ſuch load? It is an eſtabliſhed fact that, in the courſe of a winter, cattle do yield full twelve ſuch loads; and if ſoiled or fed well, during the ſummer, with green cut graſs or clover, they may be expected to yield more and richer manure; provided that in both caſes they are *kept up*, on a *full quantity of litter*. Here, by the way, it may be noted that a lot of graſs only ſufficient to keep one beaſt in *paſturing*, has ſufficed five or ſix in *ſoiling*: and what is of immenſe importance to the ſtate of the ground and of future crops, the ground being *untrod*, is left *light* and *mellow*. Another favourable circumſtance attends this method: the beaſts are kept in *ſhade*, and conſiderably protected from flies, eſpecially if the houſe be kept dark during the heat of the day, with only air-holes near the ground and above their heads. But it will be ſaid, the ground round the ſtacks receives the dung dropt, as a dreſſing to ſo much of the field. Alas! we know this extends to a very ſmall diſtance, and even then the effects are in no part conſiderable. The place where, is ſome eminence: the rains and winds of half the year waſh away or evaporate from the frozen ground moſt of the rich ſubſtance of the winter's lean dung ſo dropt about; and the ground is, when unfrozen, during all that time, trod down and poached, to a degree that nearly deſtroys the benefit remaining from the dung dropt. A fodder houſe (a hollow rick, made of maiz tops in the way of thatch) was ſet up in a field, as is uſual; it was fenced in: at the ſouth front of it the maiz was huſked, and the huſks were ſheltered in the fodder-houſe; they were fed out in the courſe of the winter to cattle in front of the rick; in April, the rick or fodder-houſe, being then empty, was pulled down, and the covering given to the cattle. The ſoil thus *ſheltered* by the fodderhouſe for ſix months (October to April) ſhewed marks of richneſs, greatly ſuperior to the ground on which the cattle were foddered during the ſame time: graſs, weeds and crops, during the four or five following years, ſhewed this in their great growth: where the fodderhouſe, 300 feet in length and 20 in breadth, ſtood and ſheltered the ground, the richneſs of the ſoil was ſtrongly marked; when but a faint ſuperiority, over the common field, appeared where the cattle were fed.

Litter is an eſſential, without which farm-yard manure is of no account; and unleſs it be in *full proportion* to the number of cattle, it is not thought highly of—but is as a half done thing. Good farmers in England deem *full* littering of ſuch importance, that after reaping with ſickles and inning their wheat, they chop the *ſtubble* with ſcithes, and ſtack it for litter, for their live ſtock. Beſides the ſtraw and ſtubble for litter, they apply to the ſame uſe, fern and ſuch other vegetable ſubſtances as they can procure; and they buy ſtraw from common farmers who are not in the practice. In all countries, moſt farmers are careleſs of improvement: they look not beyond their old habits.

The like materials may be ſo applied in America—ſtraw, ſtubble, maiz ſtalks, fern, weeds before they ſeed, flags, wild oats, ſea-graſs, leaves of trees, &c. Our farmers ſay, "there is no manure in corn-ſtalks;" and they leave them ſtanding in their fields. I have been uſed to draw them into my fold-yard, in the fall and during the winter; where they were laid thick, as litter to grown cattle, and were ſoon trod into a ſponge-like ſtate; in which condition they catch and *retain* the dung and *urine* of the cattle, ſo as to give a great quantity of manure, uncommonly rich.

In November, all the cattle are to be *confined* from wandering about the fields. The fold yard is then well littered; and as often as the litter is trod into the dung, or is ſoaking wet, more litter is added; ſo that the beaſts may always lie *clean* and *dry*. They are thus confined and littered till there is a full bite of graſs in May. All the cattle that can are to be under ſhelter from cold rains during that time. It is an indiſpen able meaſure that all horſes and young cattle be ſo ſheltered. Litter is to be given them as above.

"In many ſituations," ſays Mr. *Young*, "the dependance of a farm for manure, is on the ſtraw-yard. If in that caſe the farmer does not properly *proportion* his arable crops which *feed* cattle, to thoſe which *litter* the yard; and both theſe to the quantity of his *graſs* fields, the farm will be long before it gets well manured."

To PREVENT *the* FIRING *of* HAY-STACKS.

IN Hertfordſhire, (Eng.) the farmers, for this purpoſe, ſtuff a ſack as hard as they can with hay, and tie the top tight with a cord, making the rick round it, and pulling it up as the rick advances in height: it is pulled out at the top when the rick is finiſhed, and leaves a tunnel in the middle of the hay, which admits a circulation of air, and prevents the heat, which otherwiſe might occaſion its deſtruction.

In ſome counties, farmers place a ſheep-crib in the middle of the rick, which admits a current of air, and keeps the hay from heating.

MIRA; *A* FRAGMENT.

——SHE was fantaſtically dreſt.—I wiſh, ſaid I to my uncle, as ſhe paſſed by us, that thoſe ladies who ſtudy to look fine, would conſider what will be the advantage of their labour and expenſe. They ſeem to believe, that the more tawdry their appearance, the more acceptable they will be to the gentlemen.—It is true, they may gain by this the admiration of coxcombs; but the heart of a man of ſenſe was never caught by ribands. Would you chooſe her for a friend, who had ſo deſpicable an opinion of you, as to ſuppoſe you more pleaſed with a new cap, than a refined underſtanding!

"*Mira*" ſaid my uncle, looking after her with a ſigh, "has been changing her dreſs and complexion once a day, for fifteen years; ſometimes ſhe is too white, and at other times too red: Always poſſeſſed of the miſtaken notion, that beauty of perſon is all that is needed to make one altogether amiable; and that the next change will render her more beautiful than the laſt. But Mira, ſave her fondneſs for dreſs, and a wiſh to appear more handſome, was a girl of good ſenſe.—I was her intimate friend at the age of twenty, and had a ſincere affection for her:—I told her of her faults; ſhe thought I exaggerated, and was affronted: Few girls, Timothy, can bear you ſhould be ſo friendly. I incloſed the little poem, of which you ſaw the copy yeſterday, in a letter to her, and bade her adieu."

I ſhall conclude with my uncle's

ODE TO MIRA.

MIRA, can *rouge* of bluſhing hue,
Or all the waſhes France e'er knew
Add beauty to the roſe?
Or, ſprinkled with the lov'd perfume,
Say, will it richer ſweets aſſume,
Or more regale the noſe?

Then ceaſe, nor hope by art to place
New charms upon that lovely face;
Nature alone can pleaſe.
'Tis affectation ſpoils the fair;
Mira, avoid the affected air,
And act, I pray, with eaſe.

But grant it true, that by your ſkill
You'll make that face more beauteous ſtill;
Are you by this more bleſt?
Did beauty ever gain a friend;
Or with life's ills one pleaſure blend,
Or ſooth the grief-ſwoln breaſt?

A mind illumed and virtuous heart,
Well pleaſed to eaſe a wretch's ſmart,
To me endear the more
Than beauteous Venus ſelf could boaſt,
Or could coquettes complain they've loſt,
From ſixteen to four-ſcore.

THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A PARAPHRASE *on the 16th chapter of of* St. LUKE's GOSPEL, *from the 19th verse to the end.**

AMONG the various tribes which breath'd on earth,
Of man's frail race, of mortal boasted birth,
A certain *nobleman*, supreme in power,
Tasted fresh pleasures every circling hour.
Rich *purple robes* his soften'd limbs infold;
His garments glistened with refulgent gold:
The Tyrian-Crimson blush'd upon his vest;
And finest linen his nice taste confest.
Exotic dainties grac'd his lordly board;
With choicest wine his massy cups were stor'd.
Each day's repast was as a sumptuous treat;
With every elegance of life replete.
Day followed day, while each succeeding night
Teem'd with gay novelty and fresh delight.

But mark the contrast—at his gate there lay
A wretched cripple off the *common way*;
Rank *sores* and *ulcers* did his body fill,
Undress'd by pity, and unprob'd by skill:
No tender hand had sooth'd the poignant smart,
No touch of *friendship*, no relief from *art*.
Naked and hungry, he sends forth a groan,
And, dying, makes his heart-felt anguish known;
Pleads for a morsel of the glutton's crust,
A little morsel of the very worst;—
The very crumbs his dogs refus'd to chew,
The most despised wretched scrap would do.
But this denied, he ordered from the gate;
Nor suffer'd there his sorrows to relate;
The dogs, much kinder than their churlish lord,
A transient comfort from their tongues afford;
His sores they lick, but ah! too late all aid;
For Death's cold hand had all his sorrows laid.

Just as his soul had left its shatter'd case,
A guard of angels did the spirit grace.
With airy swiftness, soft they soar on high,
Beyond the limits of the vaulted sky.
To holy Abraham they their charge translate
And place him in the most enraptured state.
No funeral obsequies his body grace;
His *mortal* part you on a *dunghill* trace:
Where soon curruption seizes its remains;
Scarce any form the squallid mass retains.

The rich man gorg'd, replete with pamper'd food,
Cram'd with each dainty that the great term good,
Fill'd with diseases, from luxurious fare,
Met too the doom which *Adam's* race must share;
Sighed his last breath on velvet's softest down,
Torn from life's treasures, with a poignant groan!
In state superb the sumptuous carcase lay,
Where blazing tapers made a midnight day;
With solemn pomp, at length, consign'd to dust
Were the vile fragments of disease and lust.

* *When we recollect this* important parable, *and remember who spoke it, and join the description, in the 25th of Matthew, of the last judgment, where it is said* "*Then shall he also say unto those, depart from me ye accursed,*" *see* 41, 42, 43, *to the end---One would almost wonder that any professing wealthy* christian *should not be liberal in alms; for the poor seem to be like the steps of the* patriarch's ladder; *the steps for the rich to climb up on from* earth *to* heaven; *not to trample on, but to ascend as on the hallowed steps of the altar.*

A stately tomb of polish'd *marble rose*,
Where the nice *architect* each touch bestows
That skill and fancy can with taste unite.
And by its form the curious eye delight,
Or wandering stranger to the spot invite,
To read the praises on the *speaking stone*,
And view the fair inscription wrote thereon.

Here lie the atoms of the loathsome thing,
While rival *bards* his great eulogium sing;
Call him *good*, *learned*, *great*, *polite* and *wise!*
And hail his spirit in its native skies!

But oh behold! the sad reverse here view,
And let your thoughts the rich man's soul pursue:
To hell's dark, dreary mansion is he hurl'd,
Deep to the center of a burning world!
Here former comforts prove a source of woe,
When he those comforts could no longer know.

His eyes he lifts, in anguish and despair;
Sees distant regions, placid, sweet, and fair;
Views happy *Lazarus*, serenely laid,
Fanned in the zephyrs of a heavenly shade;
Then in the agony of dire distress,
The wretched rich man does his suit address:
O father *Abraham!* in mercy hear;
And listen to my first, my only prayer!
Send *Lazarus* down from his delightful seat,
And let him enter this profound retreat;
One drop, one little drop but let him bring,
From the pure fount of heaven's refreshing spring;
One *little drop*, perchance, would cool this flame,
And the fierce burnings of these torments tame.

My son! my son! the *patriarch* replied,
Remember now your former fatal pride;
You had your good things in life's giddy sphere,
While *Lazarus* remain'd unpitied there;
You ask a *drop of water*, but too late;
He ask'd a *morsel* at your sumptuous gate.
Both, both denied, you have exchanged your bliss—
Be thine the sorrow, and the glory his.

Besides, a gulph impassable remains,
Betwixt your dreadful and these blissful plains;
A gulph so awful, that the spirits here,
Cant dart across the terminated sphere;
Nor dare the spirits of the dark abode
Bound o'er the barrier of their gloomy road;
This the grand *Isthmus* which divides the plains,
Where awful horror and where pleasure reigns---
A line tremendous to the sinner's eye;
A screen of mercy to the saints on high.

Then thus spake *Dives*, Since all good below,
Is quite excluded, let my brethren know
This place of anguish is no priest-craft scheme,
No tale of poets, no *enthusiast's* dream!
But a dread certainty, a *very hell*,
Where wretched spirits are consign'd to dwell,
Perhaps for ever, if some cheering ray
Shines not to bless us with a glimpse of day.
Five sons my mother to my father gave;
I first descended the untimely grave.
Perchance forewarn'd, they yet may shun my doom,
Nor like me enter this tremendous gloom.

Then *Abraham* thus the pleading soul bespoke,
For them in vain thou dost mine aid invoke.
The law of *Moses* points the road to *truth*;
The prophets preach to each attentive youth;
Let them then listen to the points they tell,
And these shall guide them from the paths of hell.

O father! father! *Dives* ardent cried,
That's not enough their devious steps to guide:
If from the dead a soul commission'd flew,
And stood before my thoughtless brethren's view,
They might repent, not take the dreary road
Which leads immediate to this dread abode.

The saint once more the sinner thus addrest,
And this grand truth in these clear words express'd:

The law lies open to mankind below;
Moses forewarns them of impending woe:
The prophets tell them of their future fate,
And draw the portrait of life's fleeting date:
If these prevail not on the harden'd mind,
No other motives shall admission find.
Tho' from the dead a ghostly spirit rose,
And hallow'd souls their dark contents disclose,
A sinner's tongue would ridicule the voice,
And to the last, in vicious ways rejoice.

LAURA.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

FEMALE LUSTRE; *an* ODE.

FAIR Chloe youthful minds subdues,
Whil'st e'en the old her empire own:
Honoured by her is every muse;
The graces bend before her throne.
Her heart by goodness is refined,
And knowledge triumphs in her mind.

Behold her in the dance appear!
Whilst grace o'er every step presides;
The maid in conversation hear,
Each sentiment whilst reason guides.
To prudence and to reason true,
She charms the many and the few.

Loved Chloe! still thy power maintain
On reason and discretion's plain;
Thus shalt thou general favour gain,
Till thou shalt bless the happy man:
Nor even then that favour lose,
Since none to worth can praise refuse.

Ye glitt'ring gems, withdraw your blaze,
Nor emulate the source of light!
How weak, how transient are your rays!
Meanly they vanish, wrapped in night.
Meteors awhile may gild the skies;
But Virtue's radiance never dies.

Phila. Sept. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The HEROINE *in* HUMBLE LIFE.

EVEN in early youth her solid mind
To sacred truth was steadily inclined.
By worth regarded, favoured by the wise,
Earth she adorned, and panted for the skies.

Bereft of either parent, soon she found
The clouds of dark dependence gather round;
Yet to those ills she studied to conform,
And with becoming firmness met the storm.

Received beneath the hospitable roof,
Patient the toil endured, and bore reproof.
By virtue governed, and with prudence blest,
E'en base Suspicion all her worth confessed.
But death soon shifts the scene of mental ease,
And Betty must another mistress please;
Another master too—within whose doors
Not e'en the hour of midnight, peace insures.
Here Revelry's loud voice was often heard;
Here Luxury in all her pomp appeared.
Oft in the kitchen Ribaldry prevailed,
And in respect to modest Virtue failed.
Still patient, soon she bid a mild adieu,
And from wild Dissipation's scenes withdrew.

An humble roof she sought; that roof was found,
Which promised quiet, by reflection crowned.
But ah! how vain the hope!—A Fury here
Reigned like the storm, which blasts the fruitful year—
'Twas Jealousy!—Rage triumphed in her mien,
And on her face Suspicion's gloom was seen;
Which, like the gust, its fury would reveal
In many a flash, and roar in many a peal.

Contention's home she quits; her peaceful mind,
By worth endeared, to Heaven was still resigned.
But now disease attacks her feeble frame,
And malice on her conduct dares declaim.
Of every friend, and all support bereaved,
By public charity at length received,
Weaning from earthly comforts her desires,
This heroine without a groan expires.

This simple tale, ye mild! with pity hear,
And shed Compassion's tribute o'er her bier.

Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The IRRESOLUTE MAN.

BY vanity oft led astray,
Yet hoping reason's path to gain,
I tread misfortune's dreary way,
And wisdom court, yet disobey.
Henceforth, the foot-ball of despair,
Victim of folly and confusion,
In pleasure's path I persevere,
Resolve! to make—*no resolution.*

Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

ADVICE *to the* LADIES,

NOT TO NEGLECT THE DENTIST.

SINCE time too soon the race of man impairs,
And age comes on with all its pains and cares,
Why then, by nature subject to decay,
Ah! why invite what art might long delay?---
Foes to the bloom of health, neglect and sloth
Corrode the ivory of the loveliest tooth,
And that coarse breath, where every sweet might dwell,
Tempts the nice beau to slight his careless belle,
And think no longer 'tis his heaven to sip
Love's draft of pleasure from the damask lip.

The *Dentist's* care, bright maids, can shield from harms,
And to your kisses lend a thousand charms;
Safe from the ills of torture and decay,
Love there would perch, and all his flames display---
Low at *their* shrine more constant lovers fall,
Who leave not *nature* to accomplish all---
Revere that art which thus prevents your pain,
Which ages past have sought, but sought in vain;
So shall your lovers to their oaths be true,
And, years elaps'd, each beauty still be new;
While *she*, who proudly would all art despise,
And trusts alone the conquests of her eyes,
Too soon beholds her wonted influence lost,
Neglected wit, and love congeal'd to frost.
In vain her *rouge* the mask of health restores,
No more the lover sighs, the slave adores;
Insulting prudes no more a rival fear,
But cruel whispers thus insult her ear;
In Love's bright circle, why should they be seen
Whose toothless charms encroach on gay sixteen?

Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

The DISH *of* TEA.

LET some in grog place their delight,
O'er bottled porter waste the night,
Or sip the rosy wine;
A dish of tea
More pleases me,
Yields softer joys,
Provokes less noise,
And breeds no base design.

From China's clime, this present brought,
Enlivens every power of thought,
Rigs many a ship for sea;
Old maids it warms,
Young widows charms,
And misses' men
Not one in ten
But courts them for their tea.

When throbbing pains assail my head
And dulness o'er my brain is spread,
The muse no longer kind,
A single sip
Dispels the hyp:
To chase the gloom
Fresh spirits come,
The flood-tide of the mind---

When worn with toil, or vext with care,
Let Susan but this draught prepare
And I forget my pain;
This magic bowl
Revives the soul,
With gentle sway
Bids care be gay,
Nor mount to cloud the brain.

If learned men the truth would speak
They prize it far beyond their Greek,
More fond attention pay:
No Hebrew root
So well can suit;
More quickly taught,
Less dearly bought,
And studied twice a day——

This leaf, from distant regions sprung,
Puts life into the female tongue,
And aids the cause of love.
Such power has *tea*
O'er bond and free,
Which priests admire,
Delights the 'squire,
And Galen's sons approve.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the ſeſſion which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

(Continued from page 137.)

FISHERY BILL.

ON the 12th of January, an act for the encouragement of the bank and other cod-fiſheries, was ſent from the ſenate, for the concurrence of the houſe of repreſentatives. This act was founded on the report of the ſecretary of ſtate, reſpecting the fiſheries; which had been preſented to congreſs in the preceding ſeſſion, and for which our readers are referred to the Aſylum for Oct. 1791, page 270.—In the debates on this bill, we again find the narrow principle of local intereſt evidently forming a bias in the minds both of its friends and opponents, though not openly avowed by either. By one party, the juſtice and policy of the propoſed bounty were ſtrenuouſly urged; while the unconſtitutionality of the meaſure ſeemed to form the baſis of the oppoſition.

The bill being taken up, in a committee of the whole, on the 3d of February. Mr. *Giles* moved that the whole of the firſt ſection, which provided for the payment of the bounty, ſhould be ſtruck out. This he conſidered as the moſt effectual mean of collecting the ſenſe of the committee, with reſpect to the principle of the bill, which he conceived to be a bounty on occupation, and therefore at variance with the conſtitution; for the conſtitution contained no ſuch power, either direct or implied. It might, perhaps, be defended by a rule of conſtruction already adopted by the houſe, viz.—that of *ways and ends;* but he wiſhed ever to ſee ſome connexion between a ſpecified power, and the means adopted for carrying it into effect.

There was, he contended, a great difference between giving encouragement and granting a direct bounty, Congreſs might paſs laws for the regulation of commerce; and any advantage thence reſulting to a particular occupation, connected with commerce, came within that authority. But the propoſed bounty, to a particular employment, was ſtepping beyond the circle of commerce, and would affect the whole manufacturing and agricultural ſyſtem. He declared his averſion to bounties, in almoſt every ſhape, and expatiated on the injuſtice of excluſive privileges, monopolies, &c. as derogations from the common right. Under a juſt and equal government, every man was entitled to protection in the enjoyment of the whole product of his labour, except ſuch portion of it as might be neceſſary to enable government to protect the reſt. In every bounty, excluſive right, or monopoly, government violated the rights of a part of the community, by tranſferring the product of one man's labour to the uſe and enjoyment of another.

The principle of the bill, as it reſpected political economy, he conceived to be equally unjuſtifiable. All occupations, ſaid he, that ſtand in need of bounties, inſtead of increaſing the real wealth of a country, tend to leſſen it; for as the real wealth of every country conſiſts in the product of uſeful labour employed in it, the impolicy of encouraging any occupation that would diminiſh the aggregate wealth of the community, muſt be manifeſt. If an occupation is really productive beyond the capital employed, and thus augments the general wealth, no bounties are neceſſary for its ſupport;—when it falls ſhort of this, any forced advantage that is given to it, by governmental bounties, only tends to decreaſe the wealth of the country.

It might perhaps be ſaid, in favour of the bill, that it made proviſion for the defence of the united ſtates, and that the only queſtion to be decided was—whether the bounties were more than equivalent to the portion of defence to be expected from the fiſheries. But any man, ſaid he, who takes a view of this country, muſt be convinced that its real ſtrength ariſes from the land, and not from the ſea. The oppoſite miſtake has ariſen from a ſervile imitation of the conduct of Great-Britain. That country, ſurrounded by the ſea, finds a navy neceſſary to ſupport her commerce; while America, poſſeſſed of an immenſe territory, and having yet ample room to cultivate that territory, has no occaſion to contend by ſea with any foreign power. He next

proceeded to ſhow, that that portion of the national defence which might be derived from the fiſheries, would coſt too much. He obſerved, that, although the apparent intention of the bill was to convert the exiſting drawbacks into the propoſed bounty, yet they had no neceſſary relation to each other. The drawbacks were allowed only on the exportation of the fiſh, but the bounties would be granted on the tonnage of the veſſels, ſo that there could be no comparative value between them. He read a calculation, tending to ſhow that the propoſed bounties would conſiderably exceed the exiſting drawbacks, and what expenſe each man employed in the fiſheries would be to the united ſtates. He did not think it wiſe to enter into a competition with Great-Britain and France, for ſupplying the different markets with fiſh. Thoſe nations being able to hold out greater encouragement to their fiſhermen, than we could to ours, ſuch a competition would only exhauſt the treaſury of the united ſtates, to no purpoſe.

Mr. *Murray* obſerved, that, in order to demonſtrate the propriety of the meaſure, in would be incumbent on the friends of the bill, firſt, to prove that the fiſhery trade was in a ſtate of decay; that the ſtock employed in it did not yield the ordinary profits, ſo as to juſtify the merchants in embarking their capital in this branch of trade; that there was a ſyſtem of defence in contemplation, which the circumſtances of the country called for, and which this trade was calculated to furniſh; that other branches of trade, which did not ſtand in need of encouragement, were not equally capable of furniſhing ſeamen for the purpoſe; that this particular object ſo peculiarly claimed the attention and encouragement of the united ſtates, as to leave far behind every conſideration of the manufacturing intereſt, the agricultural, &c.—all this he thought neceſſary for gentlemen to prove, and to ſhew ſome very ſtrong neceſſity for encouraging one particular claſs of men, in preference to all others.

Mr. *Goodhue* ſtated the advantages that would ariſe to the country, from encouraging a nurſery of hardy ſeamen, who would, in caſe of emergency, contribute largely to the national defence, as they had done during the late war.

The drawback, allowed by the exiſting law, on the exportation of ſalt fiſh, was calculated to be only equal to the duty beforehand paid, on the quantity of ſalt uſed in curing the fiſh; but the fiſhermen complained, that, as the act ſtood, they were wholly excluded from any participation in the benefit, which centered entirely in the coffers of the merchants:---the object of the preſent bill, was only to repay the ſame money into the hands of thoſe perſons who were immediately concerned in catching the fiſh; and there could no reaſonable objection be made to ſuch a transfer of the drawback, as government would not loſe a ſingle dollar by the change.

The fiſhermen, he continued, are now under no control; and in conſequence of this want of a proper reſtraint, they often take whims into their heads, and quit the veſſels during the fiſhing ſeaſon. To prevent the inconveniencies of this practice, the bill contemplates their excluſion from the bounty, unleſs they enter into ſuch contracts and regulations, as may be found neceſſary for the proper and ſucceſsful conducting of the buſineſs, which, from our advantageous ſituation, would be entirely in our hands, if we did not meet with ſuch oppoſition and diſcouragement from foreign nations, whoſe bounties to their own fiſhermen, together with the duties laid upon our fiſh, would, to perſons leſs advantageouſly ſituated than us, amount almoſt to a total prohibition.

In the report from the ſecretary of ſtate, a drawback is contemplated of the duties on all foreign articles, uſed by the ſeamen employed in the fiſhing trade, ſuch as coffee, rum, &c. &c.—but we aſk it, on the ſalt alone; nor is it aſked as a bounty, but merely as a transfer from the hand of the merchant to that of the fiſhermen.

Mr. *Ames*, after ſome introductory obſervations, adverted to the neceſſity of fixing ſome point in which both ſides would agree. Diſputes, he ſaid, could not be terminated, or rather, they could not be managed at all, if ſome firſt principles were not conceded. The parties would want weapons for the controverſy.

Law is in ſome countries the yoke of government, which bends or breaks the necks of the people—but, thank heaven, in this country it is a man's ſhield; his coat of mail, his caſtle of ſafety; 'tis more than his defence—,tis his weapon to puniſh thoſe who invade his rights—'tis the inſtrument which aſſiſts—'tis the price that rewards, his induſtry.

If I ſay that fiſhermen have equal rights with other men, every gentleman feels in his own boſom a principle of aſſent; if I ſay that no man ſhall pay a tax on ſending

his property out of the country, the conſtitution will affirm it; for the conſtitution ſays, *no duty ſhall be laid on exports:* If I ſay, that on exporting dried fiſh, the exporter is entitled to a drawback of the duty paid on the ſalt, I ſay no more than the law of the land has confirmed.

Plain and ſhort as theſe principles are, they include the whole controverſy; For I conſider the law allowing the drawback as the right of the fiſhery; the defects of that law as the wrong ſuffered, and the bill before us as the remedy.

	Dollars.
The defects of the law are many and grievous.	
Suppoſe 340,000 quintals exported, the ſalt duty is - -	42,744
The drawback is only - - - -	34,000
Loſs to the fiſhery - - - -	8,744
Whereas government pays, at 13½ cents including charges, which are 3½ cents on a quintal, - - -	45,900
Which is beyond what the fiſhery receives - -	11,900
And a clear loſs to government of - -	3,156

So that, though the whole isi ntended for the benefit of the fiſhery, about one fourth of what is paid is not ſo applied; there is an heavy loſs, both to government and the fiſhery.

Even what is paid on the export is nearly loſt money; the bounty is not paid till the exportation—nor then till ſix months have elapſed: Whereas the duty on ſalt is paid before the fiſh is taken; it is paid to the exporter, not to the fiſherman. The bounty is ſo indirect that the poor fiſherman loſes ſight of it. It is paid to ſuch perſons, in ſuch places, and at ſuch periods, as to diſappoint its good effects—paſſing through ſo many hands, and paying ſo many profits to each, it is almoſt abſorbed. The encouragement too is greateſt in ſucceſsful years, when leaſt needed—and is leaſt in bad fiſhing ſeaſons, when it is moſt needed.

It is a very perplexed, embarraſſing regulation, to the officers of government, and to the exporter—hence the great charge; and, with all this charge and trouble, it is liable to many frauds. Four hundred miles of coaſt—little towns, no officer.

All theſe defects the bill remedies—and beſides, gives the money on condition that certain regulations are ſubmitted to, which are worth almoſt as much as the money.

The bill is defended on three grounds—1ſt, it will promote the national wealth—2d, the national ſafety—3d, juſtice requires it---the laſt is fully relied on.

To ſhew that the fiſhery will increaſe the wealth of the nation, it cannot be improper to mention its great value.

The export before the war, brought more than a million of dollars into this country; probably it is not leſs at preſent, and no ſmall part in gold and ſilver: It is computed that 30,000 perſons, including 4,000 ſeamen, ſubſiſt by it. Many ſay, very compoſedly, if it will not maintain itſelf, let it fall. But we ſhould not only loſe the annual million of dollars which it brings us; an immenſe capital would be loſt. The fiſhing towns are built on the naked rocks or barren ſands on the ſide of the ſea. Thoſe ſpots however, where trade would ſicken and die, which huſbandry ſcorns to till, and which nature ſeems to have devoted to eternal barrenneſs, are ſelected by induſtry to work miracles on: Houſes, ſtores and wharves are erected, and a vaſt property created—all depending on this buſineſs.—Before you think it a light thing to conſign them to ruin, ſee if you can compute what they coſt; if they outrun your figures, then confeſs that it would be bad economy, as well as bad policy, to ſuffer rival nations to ruin our fiſhery.

The regulations of foreign nations tend to bring this ruin about. France and England equally endeavour, in the language of the ſecretary of ſtate, to mount their marine on the deſtruction of our fiſhery.

The fiſh of Newfoundland is allowed liberal bounties by the Engliſh government; and in the French Weſt-Indies—we meet bounties on their fiſh, and duties on our own, and theſe amount to the price of the fiſh. From the Engliſh iſlands we are quite ſhut out—yet ſuch is the force of our natural advantages that we have not yielded to theſe rivals. The ſecretary of ſtate has ſtated theſe, page 5th and 6th of his report.

The more fiſh we catch, the cheaper; the Engliſh fiſh will need a greater bounty—whereas if we ſhould yield, the Engliſh would probably need no bounty at all; they would have the monopoly. For example, ſuppoſe the Engliſh can fiſh at two dollars

the quintal—we catch ſo much, that we ſell at one dollar and two thirds; the loſs to them is $\frac{1}{3}$ dol. each quintal. They muſt have that ſum as a bounty.

Whereas, if we increaſe our fiſhery, a greater and a greater bounty is needed by foreign nations—the conteſt ſo painfully ſuſtained by them muſt be yielded at laſt, and we ſhall enjoy alone an immenſe fund of wealth to the nation, which nature has made ours; and though foreigners diſturb the poſſeſſion, we ſhall finally enjoy it peaceably and excluſively. If the lands of Kentucky are invaded, you drive off the invader, and ſo you ought—why not protect this property as well.

Theſe opinions are ſupported by no common authority.—The ſtate of Maſſachuſetts having repreſented the diſcouragements of the fiſhery, the ſubject has received the ſanction of the ſecretary of ſtate; he confirms the facts ſtated in the petition; he ſays it is too poor a buſineſs to pay any thing to government.

Yet inſtead of aſking bounties, or a remiſſion of the duties on the articles conſumed, we aſk nothing, but to give us our own money back, which you received under an engagement to pay it back, in caſe the article ſhould be exported.

If nothing was in view therefore, but to promote national wealth, it ſeems plain that this branch ought to be protected and preſerved; becauſe, under all the diſcouragements it ſuffers, it increaſes, and every year more and more enriches the country, and promiſes to become an inexhauſtible fund of wealth.

Another view has been taken of the ſubject, which is drawn from the naval protection afforded in time of war by a fiſhery.

Our coaſting and foreign trade are increaſing rapidly; but the richer our trade becomes, the better prize to the enemy: So far from protecting us, it would be the very thing that would tempt him to go to war with us. As the rice and the tobacco planter cheerfully pay for armies, and turn out in the militia, to protect their property on ſhore, they cannot be ſo much deceived as to wiſh to have it left unprotected when it is afloat; eſpecially when it is known that this protection, though more effectual than the whole revenue expended on a navy could procure, will not coſt a farthing; on the contrary, it will enrich while it protects the nation. The coaſters and other ſeamen, in the event of a war, would be doubly in demand, and neither could protect themſelves nor annoy the enemy, to any conſiderable degree; but the fiſhermen thrown out of buſineſs by a war, would be inſtantly in action.—They would, as they formerly did, embark in privateers—having nothing to loſe, and every thing to hope, they would not diſhonour their former fame. Their mode of life makes them expert, and hardy ſeamen. Nothing can be more adventurous. They caſt anchor on the banks, 300 leagues from land, and with a great length of cable ride out the ſtorms of winter: If the gale proves too ſtrong, they often ſink at their anchors, and are food for fiſh which they came to take; for ever wet, the ſea almoſt becomes their element—cold and labour, in that region of froſt, brace their bodies, and they become as hardy as the bears, on the iſlands of ice; their ſkill and ſpirit are not inferior—familiar with danger, they deſpiſe it. If I were to recite their exploits, the theme would find every American heart already glowing with the recollection of them; it would kindle more enthuſiaſm than the ſubject has need of: My view is only to appeal to facts, to evince the importance of this fiſhery as a means of naval protection. It is proper to paſs over Bunker's-hill, though memorable by the valour of a regiment of fiſhermen; nor is it neceſſary to mention further, that five hundred fiſhermen fought at Trenton.

It is proved that the privateers manned by fiſhermen, in want of every thing, not excepting arms, which they depended on taking from their enemies—brought into port warlike ſtores of every kind, as well as every kind of merchandiſe, ſufficient for the army and the country: the war could not be carried on without them. Among other exploits almoſt beyond belief, one inſtance is worth relating—theſe people, in a privateer of ſixteen guns and one hundred and fifty men, in one cruiſe, took more than twenty ſhips, with upwards of two hundred guns, and nearly four hundred men.

The privateers from a ſingle diſtrict in Maſſachuſetts, where the fiſhery is chiefly ſeated, took more than two thouſand veſſels, being one third of the Britiſh merchant veſſels, and brought in near 1200. An hundred ſail of privateers, manned by fiſhermen, *would* ſcour every ſea in caſe of a war.

Some gentlemen think of a navy: but what navy could do more? what nation would provoke a people ſo capable of injuring them? Could fifty ſhips of the line afford more ſecurity? and yet this reſource of the fiſhery, always ready, always ſuffici-

ent, will coſt nothing. The ſuperior naval force of our foes ſhould not diſcourage us; our privateers would iſſue, like ſo many ſword-fiſh to attack the whale.

I leave theſe obſervations to their weight, and forbear to preſs them further—ſtrong as I think them, I reſt my ſupport of the bill on another ground.

I will only aſk whether you will ſuppreſs, if you will not encourage them? whether if you will not give them the money of the public, you will partially ſeize their own? This is all they aſk—if your policy demands for them ſo much, will your juſtice deny them ſo little?

I have repeatedly aſſerted that the bill will not coſt the public a farthing: you only take the money which the fiſhery brings into the treaſury for the ſalt duty, and pay the ſame or a leſs ſum back in bounties, inſtead of a drawback on the exportation of the fiſh; here I reſt the argument. Before I adduce my proofs, I cannot forbear to lay open the ſtate of my mind.

I rely on the truth of the facts I propoſe to offer; I rely on the proof of them, being as near demonſtration as the nature of the caſe will admit: I make no doubt of the good ſenſe and good intentions of the gentlemen whom I wiſh to convince; and yet, I am ſorry to ſay, I am far from being ſanguine in the hope of gaining a ſingle vote for the bill. I will explain my meaning, and then I think no gentleman will take exceptions at it: this debate depends on calculation. In print or writing, or in private converſation, figures have the advantage of every other mode of inveſtigation: the mind is fixed to a point, and made to perceive it clearly.---But in public debate it is otherwiſe---figures not only diſguſt attention, but, as the mind cannot carry them along, they confound it; they make a plain thing look myſterious, and bring it into ſuſpicion. When I aſk of the committee an hearing, and it is granted, I get nothing---I want a cloſe attention, and I have to beg, and earneſtly too, that gentlemen will not truſt their firſt opinions, and vote againſt the bill, without condeſcending to receive and to weigh the facts and calculations of its advocates.

The firſt queſtion is, how much does government receive by the duty on the ſalt uſed in curing the fiſh which is exported?

The quantity of fiſh muſt be known.

Several ways of information are to be explored.

The ſecretary of ſtate ſuppoſes the fiſh of 1790, to be 354,276 quintals.

A treaſury return of fiſh exported from Aug. 20th, 1789, to Sept. 30th, 1790, which which is $13\frac{2}{3}$ months, is 378,721 quintals.

For a year equal to 340,849.

See ſecretary's report, page 16.

Foreign dried fiſh imported from 15th Aug. 1789, to Aug. 1790, 3701 quintals---5 per cent. drawback thereon is only 310 dollars, at $1\frac{2}{3}$ dollars per quintal.

Mr. Giles is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that foreign fiſh deducts 16,000 dollars from our eſtimate.

Return of fiſh in ſeven months, from May 30th, to December 1790. exported---all fiſh of the united ſtates, 197,278 quintals;

Which for a year is 331,184 do.

The medium may be fairly taken for the time paſt at 340,000 quintals a year.

Six gentlemen of Marblehead certify, that 5043 hogſheads, or 40,344 buſhels of ſalt were uſed on $38,497\frac{1}{2}$ quintals; which for 340,000 quintals, gives 356,200 buſhels.

The duty at 12 cents is 42,744 dollars, which government receives.		dols.
But the charge to the united ſtates is, at $13\frac{1}{2}$ cents per quintal,	-	45,900
Whereof the fiſhery receives 10 cents on each quintal exported,	-	34,000
Charges as the law ſtands,	- -	11,900

Further, this is but an eſtimate made up from what the laſt year proved. The next may be very different, and probably it will be. If more money ſhould be demanded than 44,000 dollars, we muſt not be accuſed of miſleading congreſs. But in that caſe an increaſe would be made by the law---for the more fiſh is exported, the more $13\frac{1}{2}$ cents to be paid; ſo that the bill creates no burden in that way. But the increaſe of the export of fiſh will probably operate in favour of government. For it is known that the economy, ſkill, and activity of the fiſhery are making progreſs. Its ſucceſs has progreſſed. The more fiſh to a veſſel, the cheaper the allowance on the tonnage

—therefore the tonnage of veſſels will not increaſe in a ratio with the increaſe of the fiſh.

The very objections prove this. For they deem the encouragement too great. But any encouragement muſt have the effect.

The difference of the agreements for diſtributing the fiſh according to the preſent practice, or by this bill, makes a great one in the quantity taken. The bill reforms the practice in this point. Marblehead veſſels take leſs than thoſe from Beverly. The former throw the fiſh into a common ſtock, which is afterwards divided upon a plan very unfriendly to exertion. A man works for the whole---perhaps twelve hours, and they take about 800 quintals to a veſſel. But in Beverly, the exertion is as great as can be made—eighteen hours a day, becauſe each man has what he catches, and they catch 1100 quintals.

Marblehead ſeamen, ſailing from other towns, and dividing as laſt mentioned, which the bill eſtabliſhes, ſeldom fail to catch two or three hundred quintals more than veſſels or men from Marblehead on the firſt plan. Accordingly, I aſſert, on good authority, that the increaſe in Marblehead only may be computed at 15,000 quintals, merely in conſequence of the reform by the bill. The beſt informed perſons whom I have conſulted, entertain no doubt that the export, in caſe the bill ſhould paſs, would not be leſs than 400,000 quintals, probably more—but at 400,000 quintals, it would add 7,200 dollars more to the ſalt duty: a ſum more than equal to any eſtimate of the actual tonnage, or any probable increaſe of it, 42,744

7,200

49,944 Salt duty on 400,000 quintals.

Other facts confirm the theory, that ſkill and exertion are increaſing in this buſineſs.

In 1775, tons 25,000, ſeamen 4,405. Fiſh ſold for 1,071,000 dollars,

In 1790, three fourths of the ſeamen, and three fourths of the tonnage, take as much fiſh. It is owing to this that our fiſhery ſtood the competition with foreign nations.

Finally, the average in future may be relied on not to be leſs than 350,000 quintals.

Salt duty on which	43,944	dollars.
Bounties	44,000	
Wanted	56	

The calculation firſt made will anſwer the purpoſe.

340,000 quintals pay ſalt duty	42,744	dollars.
Tonnage bounty	44,000	
Wanted	1,256	

This is the mighty defect. Obſerve, the authentic return of the export of fiſh may be, and we can almoſt prove it to be, below the future export---Whereas, to baniſh all doubt, we go to the top of the ſcale for the tonnage; we take what we know to be the utmoſt. This we might have preſented more favourably, if we had choſen to conceal any thing. But even this will anſwer our purpoſe. For 200 tons are wanting in the eſtimate of the bounties, being 19,800, not 20,000, which will take off one third of the deficient ſum. The tonnage over 68, which receives nothing, is not mentioned---which probably is not leſs than another third. The boats under five tons, though trifling, are to be noticed---they receive nothing.

But above all, the chances of non-compliance with the regulation are in favour of the remainder of the 1,256 dollars being ſtopped. Boats may not get twelve quintals to the ton, or veſſels may have their voyages broke up, and not ſtay four months on the fiſhing ground; in either caſe, they would receive nothing. Take all theſe together, it is not to be doubted that 1,256 dollars will remain of the 44,000 in the treaſury.

But theſe are trifles which I cannot believe gentlemen are anxious about. For the event cannot be reduced to certainty. What quantity of fiſh will be exported, no man can tell now. But as government may receive more than it will pay, the chance may turn the other way, and it may have to pay a few hundred dollars more than it will have received. We have ſeen that the chance is moſt in favour of government. But one chance muſt balance the other. This anſwer is ſincerely relied on as a good one.

I barely mention that the wear of cordage, cables, ſails, and anchors is very great. Theſe articles, on being imported, pay duties. So that it is probable the extra duty paid by the fiſhery on their extra conſumption, will over balance any little ſums ſuppoſed to exceed in the bounty.

It has been aſked, as if ſome cunning was detected, why, if the money received in the treaſury to pay the drawbacks is equal to the propoſed bounties, a further appropriation ſhould be made? This cunning queſtion admits of ſeveral very ſimple anſwers.

The bill being for ſeven years, the average product is the ſum to be calculated. But the three firſt years may fall ſhort of the bounties, ſay 2,000 dollars a year; which is 6,000

The four laſt may exceed 2,000 8,000

Shall a poor fiſherman wait for the whole, or, if he takes his part according to the money in the treaſury---for a twenty-fourth part of the bounty on his veſſel, from 1792 to 1795?

2d. This delay would happen after a bad year, the very time when he would moſt need prompt pay.

3d. But fiſh taken this year will not be exported till December next. Therefore the money will not be ſtopped by the drawback, as the law ſtands, till ſix months after.

A ſubſtitute has been propoſed for the clauſe, to appropriate the drawback only. This is abſolutely improper. For the 10 cents allowed as drawback is but a part of the duty paid on ſalt---It is not eaſy to ſee any reaſon why a part ſtopped at the treaſury ſhould be equal to the whole paid there long before. The drawback falls near 9,000 dollars ſhort of the ſalt duty received by the government. The expenſe of the drawback would be very heavy and uſeleſs. Nor may gentlemen apprehend that government, by paying next December, will advance money to the fiſhery. The ſalt duty will have been paid, and government will have the uſe of the money many months, before the fiſhermen will have a right to call for their bounties. It is left to the candour of the gentlemen who have urged this objection, whether a better or further anſwer is deſired.

After having laborioufly gone through the eſtimate of the probable export of fiſh, it will not be neceſſary to be equally minute, as to the quantity or kind of veſſels which are to receive the bounty The eſtimate we believe to be very high. That it is high enough, we ſuppoſe very probable, from the eſtimate of the ſecretary of ſtate, which is only 19,185 tons.

This mode of paying the bounty on the tonnage is very ſimple and ſafe---the meaſurement is already made, and coſts nothing; and as it was made to pay a duty on tonnage, we are very ſure that government will not be cheated by an over meaſure. The mode of paying the drawback, as the law now ſtands, is expenſive, perplexed, and embarraſſing; liable to frauds and delays.

This intricate and diſguſting detail of calculations was neceſſary, to ſatisfy the committee that each of the three grounds of defence on which the bill reſts, is tenable. Inſtead of impoveriſhing the nation, by ſcattering the treaſure of the whole to benefit a part, it appears that we are preſerving a mine of treaſure. In point of naval protection, we can ſcarcely eſtimate the fiſhery too highly. It is always ready, always equal to the object---it is almoſt the only ſufficient ſource of ſecurity by ſea. Our navigation is certainly a precious intereſt of the country. But no part of our navigation can vie with the fiſhery, in reſpect to the protection it affords. There is no point, which regards our national wealth or national ſafety, in reſpect to which it ſeems practicable to do ſo much with ſo little.

We rely on the evidence before you, that the public will not ſuſtain the charge of a dollar. Thoſe ought not to doubt the evidence, who cannot invalidate it. If then the fiſhermen aſk you to reſtore only their own money, will you deny them? Will you return to every other perſon, exporting dutied goods, the money he has paid, and will you refuſe the poor fiſhermen?---If there muſt be an inſtance of the kind, will you ſingle out for this oppreſſive partiality, that branch which is deſcribed by the ſecretary of ſtate as too poor even to bear its part of the common burden? That branch which nevertheleſs has borne the neglect of our nation, and the perſecution of foreign prohibitions and duties:---A branch which, though we have received much, and expect more, both of money and ſervices, urges no claims but ſuch as common juſtice has ſanctioned.

Mr. *Gerry.* The propofed allowance has been called a bounty on occupation, and is faid to be very different from that encouragement, which is the incidental refult of a general commercial fyftem :---but in reality it is no bounty :-- a bounty is a grant, made without any confideration whatever, as an equivalent; and I have no idea of a bounty, which admits of receiving from the perfon, on whom it is conferred, the amount of what is granted. We have impofed a duty on falt, and thereby draw a certain fum of money from the fifhermen :---the drawback is, in all inftances, the amount of the money received :---this is all we afk; and we afk it for a fet of men, who are as well entitled to the regard of government, as any other clafs of citizens.

It has been fuppofed, that the allowance, made to the fifhermen, will amount to a greater fum than the drawback on the exportation of the fifh: but I think it has been clearly fhewn, that this will not be the cafe :---on the contrary, it is prefumable, that the drawback on the fifh would, on the whole, exceed the fum which is propofed to be allowed to the fifhermen; fometimes it might be more, fometimes lefs.

The calculation is made on general principles; and it is impoffible to calculate to a fingle cent: the quantity of falt, to be expended on the fifh, cannot be minutely afcertained; but this was not heretofore confidered as a fufficient reafon, why congrefs fhould refufe to allow the drawback: they allow it, though in a different fhape.---It is now propofed to make a further commutation: gentlemen call this a bounty on occupation :---but is there any propofition made for paying to the fifhermen, or other perfons concerned in the fifhery, any fums, which we have not previoufly received from them?---if this were the cafe, it would indeed be a bounty :---but if we beforehand received from them, as much as the allowance amounts to, there is no bounty granted at all.

If however it really was a bounty on occupation, it would after all be only an indulgence fimilar to what has been granted to the landed and agricultural intereffs :---we have laid on hemp a duty of 45 cents per hundred weight; and on beer, ale, and porter, five cents per gallon :---now I afk gentlemen, whether the profeffed defign of thofe duties was to raife a revenue, or to prevent the importation of thofe articles? they were laid for no other purpofe, than to prevent foreigners from importing them, and thereby to encourage our own manufactures; and was not that encouragement a bounty to the perfons concerned in producing fuch articles in this country?

I wifh to know on what principle gentlemen can expect, that the citizens of Maffachufetts fhould contribute 200,000 dollars, or perhaps a greater fum, for the protection of the weftern frontier againft the Indians, when no contribution is made to fupport the commerce of Maffachufetts, which, without this fupport, will be as effectually ruined, as if their veffels were captured by an enemy. The principle is carried farther, with refpect to the protection of the frontier: we have voted large fums as prefents to the favages, to keep them friends to the frontier fettlers: there is, however, no claufe in the conftitution, that will authorife a meafure of this kind: it is true, indeed, we have a power to regulate trade and commerce with the Indian tribes; but does that give us a power to render the united ftates tributary to the favages? and if we make them fuch grants every year, do we not in fact become tributary to them?

Here Mr. Gerry read a ftatement, to fhew the diminution of the revenue in confequence of the failure of the fifheries;---and added,

To fupport the fifhery, is to fupport the revenue: by that ftaple, the citizens of Maffachufetts are enabled to pay the revenue that is expected from them; and, by an attempt to fave 10,000 dollars, government would probably facrifice an hundred thoufand; and befides, lofe the confidence of the citizens of that ftate.

Mr. *Williamfon.* We have been told that congrefs may give bounties for ufeful purpofes :—that is to fay, they may give bounties for all imaginable purpofes, becaufe the fame majority that votes the bounty, will not fail to call the purpofe a good one. Eftablifh the doctrine of bounties, and let us fee what may follow. Uniform taxes are laid to raife money---and that money is diftributed---not uniformly; the whole of it may be given to people in one end of the union. Could we fay in fuch a cafe, that the tax had been uniform? I think not.

We are told that a nurfery of feamen may be of great ufe to the nation, and the bounty propofed is a very fmall one. Thefe, fir, are the reafons why I have marked this as a dangerous bill: the moft dangerous innovations are made under thefe circumftances. To begin with a great bounty would be imprudent, and to give a fmall bounty for a doubtful purpofe, might deferve a worfe epithet. Half a million of dol-

lars per annum, would have been too much for a beginning, and perhaps a bounty on the uſe of ſleighs, though they are convenient for travelling in winter; or a bounty on ſtone fences, though they are durable, would not at this time be prudent. The object of the bounty, and the amount of it, are equally to be diſregarded in the preſent caſe: we are ſimply to conſider whether bounties may ſafely be given under the preſent conſtitution; for myſelf, I would rather begin with a bounty of one million per annum, than one thouſand: I wiſh that my conſtituents may know, whether they are to put any confidence in that paper, called the conſtitution.

You will ſuffer me to ſay, that the ſouthern ſtates have much to fear from the progreſs of this government, unleſs your ſtrength is governed by prudence; the operation of the funding ſyſtem, has tranſlated at leaſt two millions of dollars, from the ſouthern ſtates, that is to ſay, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, to the northern ſtates. The intereſt of that ſum, when it ſhall be ſix per cent. will be 120,000 dollars; but the quota of thoſe ſtates, is at leaſt one third of the whole; whence it follows, that they muſt pay forty thouſand dollars every year, in the form of intereſt, to the northern ſtates. This, it ſeems, is not ſufficient, and other meaſures are to be adopted for draining the ſouthern ſtates. Bounties, to promote the general welfare, are already brought forward; we ſhall not hear of a bounty for raiſing rice, or preparing naval ſtores. If that was the queſtion, the general welfare would not have ſuch prominent features. Unleſs the ſouthern ſtates are protected by the conſtitution, their valuable ſtaples, and their viſionary wealth, muſt occaſion their deſtruction.

Perhaps I have viewed this project in too ſerious a light; but if I am particularly ſolicitous, on the ſubject of finance, that we do not even ſeem to depart from the ſpirit of the conſtitution, it is becauſe I wiſh the union may be perpetual. The ſeveral ſtates are now pretty well relieved from their debts, and our fellow-citizens in the ſouthern ſtates, have very little intereſt in the national funds; preſs them a little with unequal taxes, and the remedy is plain.

While I would ſhun bounties, as leading to dangerous meaſures, I am not inattentive to every argument that has been advanced by the honourable member who firſt roſe in defence of the bill. That gentleman tells us, that more than a buſhel of ſalt is uſed in curing a quintal of fiſh. If this fact be eſtabliſhed, the former act ſhould be amended, by giving a greater drawback. He ſays, the drawback, as it is now paid to the merchant, does noto perate ſo as to encourage the ſeamen, who have moſt need of ſuch aſſiſtance. This is very probable, and the parties may be relieved by dividing the drawback in the very manner that is propoſed by the bill. If it is true, that the propoſed bounties will not exceed the average of the drawback that ſhould be paid on ſalt, why do they contend about names, unleſs they are ſolicitous about the precedent. If our object is to encourage induſtry, and to increaſe our commerce, by ſending fiſh to a foreign market, we muſt adhere to the drawback; for, according to the terms of the bill, the bounty is to be paid, though every fiſh that is caught ſhould be conſumed in the country; in which caſe we ſhould be paying a viſionary drawback, when nothing was exported; according to the terms of the bill, there is no proportion between the labour and the reward, ſo far as the bank fiſhery is concerned; the bounty in all caſes being the ſame.

If the drawback on dried fiſh exported, is not equal to the duty on the ſalt uſed in curing ſuch fiſh, let the drawback be increaſed to eleven cents, or twelve cents, as the caſe may be. Let us ſuppoſe that the drawback for the next year, will be equal to the drawback on the laſt year; and let that ſum of money, being the expected drawback, be divided between the ſeamen and owners, according to the terms of the bill; the accounts muſt be made up annually. If the drawback exceeds the allowance that had been made, the difference will be conſidered as advanced to the fiſhery, and the allowance for the next year muſt be ſomewhat reduced, according to the actual amount of the drawback. If the fiſhermen are more fortunate or more active, and the exports are increaſed, the allowance for the next year muſt be raiſed. The rule being fixed by law, all that remains being pure calculation, may be done from year to year by the executive. Every important object of this bill, that has been preſented to our view, may be obtained by ſafe and conſtitutional ſteps. Why ſhould a man take a dangerous and a doubtful path, when a ſafe one preſents itſelf? If nothing more is deſired than to regulate and protect the fiſhery, the bill may be altered and accommodated to that purpoſe; if the theory of bounties is to be eſtabliſhed, by which the ſouthern ſtates muſt ſuffer, while others gain, the bill informs us what we are to expect.

Mr. *Goodhue.* The gentleman, (Mr. Williamson) allows that we may commute the present drawbacks, and give them to the fisherman instead of the merchant: but it is impossible to do this with safety, in any other mode than that pointed out in the bill—Shall we leave it to the fisherman, to be determined by his oath? This would not be adviseable.

The plan proposed is a much less exceptionable one: it is founded on a calculation, that a certain quantity of tonnage is employed in taking a certain quantity of fish:---on this calculation the allowance is apportioned to the tonnage: if gentlemen think the allowance too high, let the sum be reduced; but let it not be stigmatised as a bounty: it is no such thing.---The word '*bounty*' is an unfortunate expression; and I wish it were entirely out of the bill.

Mr. *Lawrance* said, from examining the section, he conceived it contemplated no more than what the merchant is entitled to by existing laws. The merchant is now entitled to the drawback: but it is found by experience, that the effect has not been to produce that encouragement to the fishermen which was expected; and he presumed the way was perfectly clear to give a new direction to the drawback—and this is all that is aimed at in the bill. He supposed that the clause had no necessary connection with the question which had been stated, respecting the right of the government to grant bounties---but, since the question has been brought forward, it may be proper to consider it: In discussing the question, he enquired, what has congress already done? Have we not laid extra duties on various articles, expressly for the purpose of encouraging various branches of our own manufactures---these duties are *bounties*, to all intents and purposes; and are founded on the idea only of their conducing to the *general interest*---Similar objections to those now advanced, were not made to these duties—they were advocated (some of them), by gentlemen from the southward; he traced the effects of these duties, and shewed that they operated fully, as indirect bounties.

Mr. Lawrance then adverted particularly to the constitution—and observed that it contains *general* principles and powers only—these powers depend on *particular* laws for their operation; and on this idea he contended that the powers of the government must, in various circumstances, extend to the granting bounties; he instanced in case of a war with a foreign power, will any gentleman say that the general government has not a power to grant a bounty on arms, ammunition, &c. should the general welfare require it? The general welfare is inseparably connected with any object or pursuit, which in its effects adds to the riches of the country.

Mr. *Madison.* In the conflict I feel between my disposition, on one hand, to afford every constitutional encouragement to the fisheries, and my dislike, on the other, of the consequences apprehended from some clauses in the bill, I should have forborne to enter into this discussion, if I had not found that in discussing it, over and above such arguments as appear to be natural and pertinent to the subject, others have been introduced, which are, in my judgment, contrary to the true meaning, and even strike at the characteristic principles of the existing constitution. Let me premise, however, to the remarks which I shall briefly offer, on the doctrine maintained by these gentlemen, that I make a material distinction in the present case, between an allowance as a mere commutation and modification of a drawback, and an allowance in the nature of a real and positive bounty. I make a distinction also, as a subject of fair consideration at least, between a bounty granted under the particular terms in the constitution, "a power to regulate trade," and one granted under the indefinite terms, which have been cited as authority on this occasion. I think, however, that the term "bounty" is in every point of view improper, as it is here applied, not only because it may be offensive to some, and in the opinion of others, carries a dangerous implication; but also because it does not express the true intention of the bill, as avowed and advocated by its patrons themselves. For if in the allowance nothing more is proposed than a mere reimbursement of the sum advanced, it is only paying a debt; and when we pay a debt, we ought not to claim the merit of granting a bounty.

It is supposed by some gentlemen, that congress have authority not only to grant bounties, in the sense here used, merely as a commutation for drawbacks; but even to grant them under a power, by virtue of which they may do any thing which they may think conducive to the "general welfare." This, sir, in my mind, raises the important and fundamental question, whether the general terms which have been cited, are to be considered as a sort of capitation or general description of the specified

powers, and as having no further meaning, and giving no further power, than what is found in that specification, or as an abstract and definite delegation of power extending to all cases whatever; to all such, at least, as will admit the application of money, which is giving as much latitude as any government could well desire.

I, sir, have always conceived,---I believe those who proposed the constitution conceived, and it is still more fully known, and more material to observe, that those who ratified the constitution conceived, that this is not an indefinite government, deriving its powers from the general terms prefixed to the specified powers, but a limited government, tied down to the specified powers, which explain and define the general terms.

The gentlemen who contend for a contrary doctrine, are surely not aware of the consequences which flow from it, and which they must either admit, or give up their doctrine.

It will follow, in the first place, that if the terms be taken in the broad sense they maintain, the particular powers afterwards, so carefully and distinctly enumerated, would be without meaning, and must go for nothing. It would be absurd to say first, that congress may do what they please, and then that they may do this or that particular thing; after giving congress power to raise money, and apply it to all purposes which they may pronounce necessary to the general welfare, it would be absurd, to superadd a power to raise armies, to provide fleets, &c. In fact, the meaning of the general terms in question, must either be sought in the subsequent enumeration, which limits and details them; or they convert the government from one limited, as hitherto supposed, to the enumerated powers, into a government without any limits at all.

It is to be recollected, that the terms "common defence and general welfare," as here used, are not novel terms, first introduced into this constitution. They are terms familiar in their construction, and well known to the people of America.

They are repeatedly found in the old articles of confederation, where, although they are susceptible of as great latitude as can be given them by the context here, it was never supposed or pretended that they contained any such power as is now assigned to them. On the contrary, it was always considered as clear and certain, that the old congress could not give away the monies of the states in bounties, to encourage agriculture, or for any other purpose they pleased. If such a power had been possessed by that body, it would have been much less impotent, or have borne a very different character from that universally ascribed to it.

The novel idea now annexed to these terms, and never before entertained by the friends or enemies of the government, will have a further consequence, which cannot have been taken into the view of the gentlemen. Their construction would not only give congress the complete legislative power I have stated: it would do more: it would supercede all the restrictions understood at present to lie in their power, with respect to the judiciary. It would put it in the power of congress to establish courts throughout the united states, with cognizance of suits between citizen and citizen, and in all cases whatsoever. This, sir, seems to be demonstrable: for if the clause in question really authorises congress to do whatever they think fit, provided it be for the general welfare, of which they are to judge, and money can be applied to it, congress must have power to create and support a judiciary establishment, with a jurisdiction extending to all cases favourable in their opinion to the general welfare, in the same manner as they have power to pass laws and apply money, providing in any other way for the general welfare—I shall be reminded perhaps, that, according to the terms of the constitution, the judicial power is to extend to certain cases only, not to all cases. But this circumstance can have no effect in the argument, it being presupposed by the gentlemen, that the specification of certain objects does not limit the import of general terms. Taking these terms as an abstract and indefinite grant of power, they comprise all the objects of legislative regulation, as well such as fall under the judiciary article in the constitution, as those falling immediately under the legislative article; and if the partial enumeration of objects in the legislative article does not, as these gentlemen contend, limit the general power, neither will it be limited by the partial enumeration of objects in the judiciary article.

There are consequences, sir, still more extensive, which, as they follow clearly from the doctrine combated, must either be admitted, or the doctrine must be given up. If congress can apply money indefinitely to the general welfare, and are the sole and supreme judges of the general welfare, they may take the care of religion into their own

hands; they may eftablifh teachers in every ftate, county, and parifh, and pay them out of the public treafury; they may take into their own hands the education of children, eftablifhing in like manner fchools throughout the union; they may undertake the regulation of all roads, other than poft roads: In fhort, every thing, from the higheft object of ftate legiflation, down to the moft minute object of police, would be thrown under the power of congrefs; for every object I have mentioned would admit the application of money, and might be called, if congrefs pleafed, provifions for the general welfare.

The language held in various difcuffions of this houfe, is a proof that the doctrine in queftion was never entertained in this body. Arguments, wherever the fubject would permit, have conftantly been drawn from the peculiar nature of this government, as limited to certain enumerated powers, inftead of extending, like other governments, to all places not particularly excepted. In a very late inftance, I mean the debate on the repreftentation bill, it muft be remembered, that an argument much urged, particularly by a gentleman from Maffachufetts, againft the ratio of one for 30,000, was that this government was unlike the ftate governments, which had an indefinite variety of objects within their power, that it had a fmall number of objects only to attend to, and therefore that a fmaller number of repreftentatives would be fufficient to adminifter it.

Several arguments have been advanced to fhew that, becaufe, in the regulation of trade, indirect and eventual encouragement is given to manufactures, therefore congrefs have power to give money in direct bounties, or to grant it in any other way that would anfwer the fame purpofe; but furely, fir, there is a great and obvious difference, which it cannot be neceffary to enlarge upon. A duty laid on imported implements of husbandry, would, in its operation, be an indirect tax on exported produce; but will any one fay, that, by virtue of a mere power to lay duties on imports, congrefs might go directly to the produce or implements of agriculture, or to the articles exported. It is true, duties on exports are expreffly prohibited; but if there were no article forbidding them, a power directly to tax exports could never be deduced from a power to tax imports, although fuch a power might directly and incidentally affect exports.

In fhort, fir, without going further into the fubject, which I fhould not have here touched on at all, but for the reafons already mentioned.—I venture to declare it as my opinion, that, were the power of congrefs to be eftablifhed in the latitude contended for, it would fubvert the very foundation, and tranfmute the very nature of the limited government eftablifhed by the people of America:—and what inferences might be drawn, or what confequences enfue from fuch a ftep, it is incumbent on us all well to confider.

With refpect to the queftion before the houfe, for ftriking out the claufe, it is immaterial whether it be ftruck out, or fo amended as to reft on the avowed principle of a commutation for the drawback; but as a claufe has been drawn up by my colleague, in order to be fubftituted, I fhall concur in a vote for ftriking out, referving to myfelf a freedom to be governed in my final vote, by the modification which may prevail.

Mr. Bourne (Maff.)—Mr. chairman, I think little can be added after fo full a difcuffion of the fubject before you. The object of the firft fection in this bill, is intended for the relief of the fifhermen and their owners; they complain that the law now in force was meant for their benefit, by granting a drawback on the fifh exported; this they find by experience is not the cafe—for they fay that neither the fifhermen who catch the fifh, or the importer of the falt, receives the drawback; and I rather fuppofe, fir, it is the cafe. The owners of the greater part of the fifhing veffels are not merchants, neither do they import the falt they confume; but when the fifh they take are cured for market, they are fold for the market price; and it frequently happens, that thofe perfons who purchafe the fifh, are not the exporters of them, or the importers of the falt—but a third perfon, who purchafes with a profpect of felling them at a profit, is the exporter; and when it fo happens, neither the fifherman who catches the fifh, or the importer of the falt, receives any benefit from the drawback, unlefs the purchafer (the third perfon) gives a greater price in contemplation of the drawback, which I think is not to be fuppofed.

Is it worthy the attention of government that the codfifhery fhould be preferved? It appears to me that it is. When we confider the labour and affiduity beftowed on this object by our miniffers, at the fettlement of peace between us and Great Britain;

and the care then taken to secure this privilege, as appears by the treaty, and consider the struggle made to deprive us of this inestimable branch of commerce, I cannot suppose that any one would at this day voluntarily relinquish it, and suffer Great-Britain to monopolize this branch, and supply the Mediterranean, French, and other markets. Great-Britain, at present, enjoys a sufficient portion of this commerce, while France is confined to the narrow limits of St. Peters and Miquelon. If we relinquish this branch of the codfishery, what is left us?—Our whale fishery is nearly at an end, and unless government speedily interposes by granting relief, we shall totally lose it.—Does not the British government wish to deprive us of this branch also? have not letters or agents been sent to the island of Nantucket, as well as New-Bedford, where this branch of business is principally prosecuted, inviting the whale fishermen to remove, and offering them permanent settlements at Milford-Haven, at the expense of their government?---This must be viewed as a great encouragement, in addition to their bounties on oil, to a class of poor men employed in that business. If the codfishery is relinquished, the fishermen have only to remove to the opposite shore of Nova-Scotia, where they will find encouragement fully adequate to their services---of all which they are not unapprised. By encouraging this class of men, your revenue will be encreased; for in return for the fish exported, you will receive sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, molasses, pimento, cotton, dying woods, rum, wine, salt, fruit and other articles subject to duty, and consumed in the country.---And again, your treasury will receive an excess by the provision in this bill---for I presume the greater proportion of vessels employed in this business, are from 20 to 40 tons---the town of Marblehead, perhaps, has principally large ones. Suppose then a vessel of 30 tons obtains in a season 600 quintals of fish (a very moderate voyage indeed) her tonnage is 75 dollars, the drawback on exportation would be 78 dollars, so that your treasury retains three dollars gain by this bill, which would be a loss on the drawback.

(To be continued.)

POLITICAL REGISTER.

LETTER *from* M. DE LA FAYETTE *to the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY *of* FRANCE, *dated Camp of Maubeuge, June* 16, 1792.

AT this moment, too long delayed perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public interests, and point out among our dangers the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence has long since accused; I am informed that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for, undoubtedly, it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, from their own insignificance the mere creatures of their power, that the least excuseable, the most noted of these ministers, will have cemented in the king's council his equivocal and scandalous existence.

It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger: the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives; of them the nation expects her salvation. But, when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

Persuaded, gentlemen, that the Rights of Man are the law of every constituting assembly, a constitution once formed becomes the law of the legislators appointed under it: it is to yourselves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promised to follow.

Nothing shall hinder me from exercising this right of a freeman, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither their momentary errors of opinion; for what are opinions when they deviate from principles? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; for I respect still more the people themselves, of whom the constitution is the will supreme; nor the favour you have constantly shewn to me; for that I wish to preserve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumstances are difficult. France is menaced from without, and agitated within---While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national sovereignty, and thus declare themselves the enemies of France, internal foes, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and fatigue us still more with their insolent malignity.

You ought, gentlemen, to suppress them, and you cannot have the power to do so, without being yourselves constitutional and just.

You desire to be so without doubt, but cast your eyes on what passes in your own body, and all around you.

Can you dissemble that a faction, and, to avoid vague denominations, that the Jacobine faction has occasioned all these disorders. It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a separate empire in its metropolis and its affiliations, blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps, by subjugating their representatives and their mandatories.

It is there that, in public sittings, love of the laws is denominated aristocracy, and their infraction patriotism. There the assassins of Desilles receive triumphs---the crimes of Jourdon find panegyrists---there also the recital of the assassination that stained the city of Metz excited internal acclamations of joy.

Can it be believed that they will escape reproaches by sheltering themselves under an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are named? Are they become sacred because Leopold has pronounced their name? And because we have to fight with foreigners, who presume to meddle in our quarrels, are we released from the duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny?

What import to this duty either the projects of foreigners, or their connivance with counter revolutionists, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I who denounce this sect; I who, without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who feign suspicions of me; "Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will soon be known, and let us see which of us, most inflexible in his principles, most firm in his resistance, will best brave the obstacles and the dangers which traitors wish to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her sake."

And how should I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the constituted authorities, and substitutes the spirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of agitators imposes silence on peaceable citizens and supplants useful men; when devotion to a sect is made the substitute of all public and private virtues, that in a free country ought to be the austere and only means of arriving at the first functions of government?

It is after having opposed to all obstacles and all snares the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its leader, that I can now oppose to this faction, the correspondence of a ministry, the worthy production of its club—a correspondence of which all the calculations are false, the promises vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory; where, after having pressed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without the means, they began to tell me that resistance would soon be impossible, when my indignation repelled the dastardly assertion.

What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between those factions, men who avow their aristocratic spirit, and those who usurp the name of patriots. Both wish to subvert our laws, rejoice in disorders, rise up against the authorities conferred by the people, detest the national guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, sometimes discouragement.

As for me, gentlemen, who espoused the American cause, at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who thenceforward devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—*For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it;* I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sully it: I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the most vile in the universe, may and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings formed against her.

It is not, undoubtedly, in the midſt of my brave army, that timid ſentiments are permitted; patriotiſm, energy, diſcipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it. In it the principles of liberty and equality are cheriſhed, the laws reſpected, property ſacred; in it neither calumnies nor factions are known; and when I recollect that France has ſeveral millions capable of becoming ſuch ſoldiers, I aſk myſelf to what pitch of debaſement would an immenſe people be reduced, ſtill ſtronger in their natural reſources than in the defence of art, oppoſing to a monſtrous confederation the advantage of combinations directed to a ſingle object, for the baſe idea of ſacrificing their ſovereignty, of covenanting for their liberty, of ſubmitting their declaration of rights to negociation, to appear one of the poſſibilities of the iſſue that is rapidly advancing upon us.

But in order that we, ſoldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with profit to our cauſe, it is neceſſary that the number of the defenders of our country be ſpeedily proportioned to that of their adverſaries; that ſtores of all ſorts be multiplied, to facilitate all our motions: that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the proviſions for their health, be no longer expoſed to fatal delays, or pretended ſavings, which always turn out the direct reverſe of their object.

Above all, it is neceſſary that the citizens, rallied around the conſtitution, be aſſured that the rights which it guarantees will be reſpected with a religious fidelity, that ſhall drive its enemies concealed, or public, to deſpair.

Reject not this wiſh: it is that of the ſincere and faithful friends of your legitimate authority. Aſſured that no unjuſt conſequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical meaſures can ſerve a cauſe which owes its force and its glory to the ſacred baſis of liberty and equality, make criminal juſtice reſume its conſtitutional courſe; make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the conſtitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the ſprings of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is inveſted with the national majeſty; let him have the power of chuſing a miniſtry that wears not the chains of a faction; and if there be conſpirators, let them periſh by the ſword of the law.

In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law, their uſurpations to the firm and independent exerciſe of the conſtitutional authorities, their diſorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty, their delirious fury to the calm and ſteady courage of a nation that underſtands its rights and defends them: in fine, their factious combinations to the true intereſts of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all thoſe to whom her ſubjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous ſpeculation.

Such, gentlemen, are the repreſentations and the petitions ſubmitted to the national aſſembly, as they are to the king, by a citizen, whoſe love of liberty will never be honeſtly queſtioned; whom the different factions would hate leſs, if he had not raiſed himſelf above them by his diſintereſtedneſs: whom ſilence would have better become, if, like ſo many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national aſſembly, and the conſequence with which it is of importance that it ſhould be ſurrounded; and who cannot better teſtify his own confidence, than by laying before it the truth without diſguiſe.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conſcience, and the obligations of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all, to myſelf, whom the chances of war do not allow to poſtpone obſervations that I think uſeful; and who wiſh to believe that the aſſembly will find in this addreſs a new homage of my devotion to its conſtitutional authority, as well as of my perſonal gratitude, and of my reſpect.

(Signed) FAYETTE.

LETTER *from* M. LA FAYETTE *to the* KING.

Entrenched camp of Maubeuge, June 16, 1792, 4th year of liberty.

SIRE,

I HAVE the honour to ſend your majeſty the copy of a letter to the national aſſembly, in which your majeſty will find the expreſſion of ſentiments that have animated my whole life. The king knows with what ardour, with what conſtancy,

I have been at all times devoted to the cause of liberty, to the sacred principles of humanity, equality, and justice. He knows that I was always the adversary of factions; the enemy of licentiousness, and that no power, which I thought unlawful, was ever acknowledged by me. He knows my devotion to his constitutional authority, and my attachment to his person. Such, sire, is the basis of my letter to the national assembly; such will be that of my conduct towards my country and your majesty, amid the storms which so many combinations, hostile or factious, strive to draw upon us.

It belongs not to me, sire, to give to my opinions or my measures a higher degree of importance than the unconnected acts of a simple citizen ought to possess; but the expression of my thoughts was always a right, and on this occasion becomes a duty; and although I might have fulfilled this duty sooner, if, instead of being to be heard from the midst of a camp, my voice had been to issue from the retreat from which I was drawn by the dangers of my country, I do not think that public function, or any personal consideration, releases me from exercising this duty of a citizen, this right of a freeman.

Persist, sire, strong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the constitution against all their enemies. Let this resolution, supported by all the acts of your private life, as by a firm and full exercise of the royal power, become the gage of harmony, which above all in the moments of crisis, cannot fail to be established between the representatives elected by the people, and their hereditary representative. It is in this resolution, sire, that for your country and for yourself are glory and safety.---There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne, to defend it against the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterprises of the factious. And I, sire, who, in their honourable hatred, have found the recompence of my persevering opposition—I will always merit it, by my zeal to serve the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law and the king.

Such, sire, are my unalterable sentiments, to which I subjoin the duty of homage and that of my respect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

An ADDRESS *to the* FRENCH, *on the* DANGER *of their* COUNTRY, *voted in the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY *on the* 11*th of July*, 1792.

CITIZENS,

YOUR constitution restores the principles of eternal justice. A league of kings is formed to destroy it. Their battalions are advancing: they are numerous, under rigorous discipline, and long practised in the art of war. Do you not feel a noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you suffer hordes of foreigners, like a destructive torrent, to overflow your fields? Will you suffer them to ravage your harvests; to waste your country by burning and cruelties: in a word, to load yourselves with chains dyed in the blood of all you hold most dear?

Our armies are not yet complete: an indiscreet security too soon restrained the ardour of patriotism. The levies of recruits ordained have not been so completely successful as your representatives had hoped. Internal troubles, added to the difficulty of our situation, cause our enemies to give themselves up to vain hopes, which to you are an insult.

Hasten citizens: save liberty, and vindicate your glory.

The national assembly declares, that our country is in danger.

Beware, however, of thinking, that this declaration is the effect of a terror unworthy of the assembly, or of you. You have taken the oath, *To live free or die.* The assembly knows that you will keep it, and swears to set you the example: but the question is not to brave death, we must conquer, and you can conquer: if you adjure your hatreds, if you forget political dissensions, if you unite in the common cause, if you watch with indefatigable activity your internal enemies, if you prevent all the disorders and all the acts of violence to individuals which they excite; if, securing within the kingdom the empire of the laws, and answering by well ordered move-

ments the call of your country, you fly to the frontiers, and to our camps, with the generous enthusiasm of liberty, and the profound sentiment of the duties of soldier citizens.

Frenchmen, four years engaged in a struggle against despotism, we advertise you of your dangers, in order to invite you to the efforts necessary to surmount them. We show you the precipice—what glory awaits you when you shall have overpassed it. The eyes of nations are fixed upon you; astonish them by the majestic display of your force, and of a grand character; union, respect for the laws, for the chiefs, for the constituted authorities; courage unshaken, and soon will victory crown with her palms the altar of liberty; soon will the nations who are now arming against your constitution covet to unite themselves with you by the ties of a sweet fraternity; soon consolidating, by a glorious peace, the basis of your government, you will reap all the fruits of the revolution; and in preparing your own happiness, you will have prepared the happiness of posterity.

An ADDRESS *to the* ARMY, *voted on the same day.*

BRAVE WARRIORS,

THE national assembly has just proclaimed the danger of our country: this is to proclaim the force of the empire; this is to announce, that French youth will soon flock round the standard of liberty. You will teach them to conquer, you will point them the road to glory.

On the signal of danger to your country, you will feel your ardour redoubled. Warriors, let discipline guide your motions; that alone is the guarantee of victory. Have that calm and cool courage with which the sense of your force ought to inspire you.

A true army is an immense body put in motion by a single head. It can do nothing without a passive subordination of rank to rank, from the soldier up to the general. Warriors, imitate the devotion of Dassias, and the courage of the brave Pie. Merit the honours which your country reserves for those who fight for her; they will be worthy of her and of you.

Forget not that it is your constitution that is attacked. The object is to make you descend from the glorious rank of freemen! Well, brave warriors! the constitution must triumph, or the French nation must be covered with indelible disgrace.

From all parts your fellow citizens are preparing to second you. Doubt not of it; there is not a Frenchman who hesitates; there is not one who, in these days of peril and of glory, risks dishonouring his life by a base and shameful inaction. How unhappy will be the man who cannot on some future day say to his children and fellow citizens—"I too fought when our liberty was attacked. I shared the glory of the day on which the French arms triumphed over our enemies. I defended the ramparts of the city, which they attacked in vain: and on such a day I bled for my country, for liberty and equality."

MANIFESTO, *published at* BRUSSELS *the 28th July, 1792, by the* DUKE *of* BRUNSWICK, *commander in chief of the* AUSTRIAN *and* PRUSSIAN *armies.*

THEIR majesties, the emperor and king of Prussia, having confided to me the command of the combined armies which they have caused to be assembled on the frontiers of France; I have resolved to announce to the inhabitants of that kingdom, the motives that have induced these two sovereigns to this step, and the principles by which they are governed therein.

After having arbitrarily suppressed the rights and pretensions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, and overset all interior order and good government, exercised against the sacred person of the king and his august family innumerable inju-

ries and violences, continued from day to day, and constantly renewed, those who have usurped the reins of government have, at length, filled up the measure of their iniquities, in causing an unjust war to be declared against his Imperial majesty, and in attacking his provinces, situated in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions of the Germanick empire have been involved in this invasion, and others have escaped, only by submitting to the imperious menaces of the predominating faction, and of its emissaries.

His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his Imperial majesty, by the ties of a strict and defensive alliance, as well as in his quality of preponderating member of the Germanick body, has not been able to refuse marching to the succour of his ally, and co-estates; and it is in both these qualities, that he takes upon himself the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

To these two interests is united another equally important, and which the two sovereigns have much at heart—that of causing the anarchy existing in the interior of France to cease; to stay the assaults made upon the throne and the altar; to re-establish the legal authority; to restore to the king the liberty and safety of which he has been deprived, and to place him in a situation to exercise the legitimate authority that of right belongs to him.

Convinced that the solid part of the nation abhors the excesses of a faction that subdues it, and that the greater number of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment of auxiliary aid openly to declare themselves against their odious oppressors, his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, call upon and invite them to return without delay to the paths of reason, of justice, of order, and of peace. With these views the undersigned general and commander in chief of the two armies declares as follows:

1st. That, led into this war by irresistible motives, the two courts propose to themselves no other object than the good of France, without intending to enrich themselves by means of their conquests.

2d. That they do not intend to intermeddle in the interior affairs of France, but mean only to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to procure to his most christian majesty the necessary security, that the king may be enabled, without danger or obstacle, to call together such convocation or assembly as he may think proper, to assist in preserving that happiness to his subjects, which he has promised to them, and to which he will contribute all that may depend upon him.

3d. The combined armies will protect all cities, boroughs, villages, persons and possessions, that shall submit to the king, and they will instantaneously contribute to the restoring of order, and a good police throughout all France.

4th. The national guards are called upon provisionally, to watch over the tranquility of the country, and the safety of the persons and effects of all French citizens, until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and royal majesties, or until it shall be otherwise ordered, under pain of being held personally responsible. On the other hand, such of the national guards as shall have fought against the troops of the allied courts, and shall be taken arms in hand, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king and disturbers of the public peace.

5th. That the general officers, subalterns and soldiers of the troops of the French line are equally called upon to return to their ancient fealty, and instantly to submit to the king their lawful sovereign.

6th. That the members of the departments, the districts and municipalities are held equally responsible on their heads, and with all their goods and chattels, for all crimes, fires, murders or atrocious acts, that they may not have used all their endeavours to prevent within their jurisdiction: they are further held provisionally to continue their functions until his most christian majesty shall be placed at full liberty to provide ultimately, or at least until in his name other steps shall be taken in the interval.

7th. The inhabitants of all cities, boroughs and villages, that shall dare to defend themselves against the armies of their imperial and royal majesties, or to fire upon them, either in the open field, or from any windows, doors, or openings of their houses, shall be immediately punished according to the rigor of the martial law, and their houses shall be demolished or burned; on the contrary, all inhabitants of the said cities, boroughs or villages, who shall hasten to submit to the king, by opening their doors to the troops of their majesties, shall be instantly placed under their protection, their

perfons and effects fhall remain under the fafeguard of the laws, and care fhall be taken to provide for the fecurity of all and each one of them.

8th. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without diftinction, are held to fubmit immediately, and without delay, to the king; to fet the king at full and entire liberty; and to affure to him, as well as to the royal family, that inviolability and refpect which fubjects owe to their fovereign by all the laws of nature and of nations. Their imperial and royal majefties render perfonally refponfible of all events upon their heads, and to be tried in a fummary military way, without the leaft hope of pardon, all members of the national affembly, the department, the diftrict, the municipality, and the national guard of Paris, juftices of the peace, and all others to whom it may belong. Their faid majefties declaring, on the faith and word of an emperor and a king, that if the caftle of the Thuilleries is either forced or infulted; that if the leaft violence—the leaft outrage be offered to his majefty, the queen, or the royal family—if immediate meafures be not taken for their fafety, their prefervation and their liberty, that they will take an exemplary and ever memorable vengeance, by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and a total fubverfion, while the guilty revolters are receiving the punifhment they will have merited.

Their imperial and royal majefties, on the contrary, promife to the inhabitants of the city of Paris, that they will ufe their good offices with his moft chriftian majefty, to obtain pardon for all wrongs and errors that may have been heretofore done, and to take the moft rigorous meafures to enfure their perfons and effects, if they immediately and exactly obey the prefent injunction.

Finally, their majefties being unable to acknowledge any laws as exifting in France, except fuch as fhall emanate from the king, enjoying a perfect liberty, they protefe beforehand againft the authenticity of any declaration which may be made in the name of his moft chriftian majefty, as long as his facred perfon, that of the queen, and the royal family, fhall not be really in fafety; in confequence, their imperial and royal majefties invite and earneftly folicit his moft chriftian majefty to name a city in his kingdom, the moft near to the frontiers, into which he may be pleafed to retire with his queen and family, under a ftrong and fufficient efcort, which fhall be fent for that purpofe, in order that his moft chriftian majefty may call together the minifters and councillors he may think proper, or collect fuch convocation or affembly as may appear beft to him, to provide for the reftoration of good order by the regular interior adminiftration of his kingdom.

In a word, I do further declare and engage myfelf in my own name, and in my quality above mentioned, to occafion to be every where obferved by the troops entrufted to my command, a good and exact difcipline, promifing to treat with mildnefs and moderation, all well intentioned fubjects that may appear peaceable and fubmiffive, and to apply force only againft fuch as fhall be guilty of refiftance or ill will.

It is for thefe reafons that I require and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the ftrongeft and moft earneft manner, not to oppofe the march and operations of the troops that I command, but rather to allow them free paffage, and all fuch good will and affiftance as circumftances may require.

Given at my head-quarters, at Coblentz, the 25th July, 1792.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, duke of Brunfwick Lunenburgh.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, Auguft 3.

LETTER *from the* KING, *on the* publication *of the* Declaration *of the* DUKE *of* BRUNSWICK.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

FOR feveral days a paper has been circulated, entitled, "The declaration of the reigning duke of Brunfwick Lunenburgh, commander of the combined armies of their majefties the emperor and the king of Pruffia, addreffed to the inhabitants of France."—This paper exhibits nothing that can be confidered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been tranfmitted by any of my miniffers at the feveral courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it, nevertheleffs, feems to me to require a new declaration of my fentiments and my principles.

France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the necessity of union. Calumny will not easily believe the sorrow I feel in considering the dissensions that exist among us, and the evils gathering round us; but those who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneasiness and my grief.

I brought with me pacific sentiments to the throne, because peace, the first blessing of nations, is the first duty of kings. My former ministers know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how necessary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by sparing the sufferings of the people, could make me support the character I undertook in this revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wish manifested by a great part of the nation, and several times expressed by the national assembly.

When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of assuring its success. My ministers received orders to concert measures with the committees of the national assembly, and with the generals. If the event has not yet answered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our intestine divisions, the progress of the spirit of party, and above all, on the state of our armies, which wanted to be more practised in the use of arms before being led to combat. But the nation shall see my efforts increase with those of the hostile powers; I shall take, in concert with the national assembly, all means to turn the evils inseperable from war, to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

I have accepted the constitution: the majority of the nation desired it; I saw that the nation considered it as the foundation of her happiness, and her happiness is the sole object of my life.

From that moment, I imposed it as a law upon myself, to be faithful to the constitution: and I gave orders to my ministers, to make it the rule of their conduct. I wished not to substitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of the people; I have discharged that duty; and to have done so is enough to satisfy the conscience of an honest man. Never shall I be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party; it is to the nation that I owe myself; I am one and the same with her; no interest shall separate me from her; she alone shall be listened to; I will maintain the national independence with my last breath. Personal dangers compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah! what are personal dangers to a king from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people? There lies the real wound of my heart.—The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happiness, how much it has always been my sole interest, my first wish. How many griefs might be effaced by the slightest mark of its return!

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Undersigned) BIGOT St. CROIX.

DECREES *of the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

IN consequence of a report from the committee of general inspection, founded upon the conduct and threats of the enemy, in regard to the national guards, the assembly passed a decree, by which it is declared, "That if the laws of war are not strictly observed in regard to all Frenchmen taken with arms in their hands, all the officers belonging to the enemy, who may be made prisoners, shall experience a similar treatment, whatever may be their rank, titles, or distinctions; but that the soldiery shall, notwithstanding, continue to be treated as before."

The assembly rose, and voted this decree by an unanimous acclamation.

The following Decree, moved by M. Goudet, was unanimously passed.

1. Every officer or soldier of the enemies armies, who, desiring to range themselves under the banners of liberty, shall appear at a military post, or before one of the constituted authorities, or a French citizen, shall be received with fraternal affection; shall be presented, as a sign of his adoption, with a cockade of three colours; shall enjoy a pension for life of one hundred livres, of which one quarter shall be always in

advance, and shall be admitted to take the civic oath. The pension, upon their decease, shall be continued to their widows.

2. Those who would not contract a military engagement, shall not be forced to it; those who chuse it, shall be admitted to what army they please, and shall receive the ordinary fee upon enlisting.

3. Lists shall be formed of foreigners in the service of France, and the pensions of those who die shall be continued to the survivors, till the latter shall have annuities of 500 livres each.

4. The widows of such military persons shall receive the annual pension of 100 livres, but will not share the benefits of the tontine.

5. Those who do not take a military engagement, shall retire into the interior of the kingdom; those who shall serve, will have the same reward for brilliant actions as French citizens.

6. If France shall ever be drawn into a war with a free nation, exercising its own sovereignty, military persons of that nation are not to have the advantages of the present decree.

The CHRONICLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 1.*

THE president and fellows of the medical society of the state of Delaware have announced the following questions as the subject of a prize dissertation: What is the origin and nature of the noxious power which prevails, especially in moist and hot climates, during summer and autumn, and produces intermittent and remittent fevers, and certain other diseases? By what means may this insalubrity of climate be corrected; and the diseases thence arising most successfully prevented and treated? The dissertation must be written either in the English, French, German, or Latin language. The premium for the best dissertation on this subject is three hundred dollars: fifty pounds of which were generously contributed by Mr. *Dickinson*—Should none of the dissertations offered be adjudged worthy of the prize, the money is to be appropriated to some other useful purpose.

On Saturday morning last a female infant was found laid in a cellar window, corner of second-street and Elfrith's alley. It was immediately taken into the protection of a humane family in the neighbourhood.

A splendid embassy is preparing from the court of Great-Britain to the emperor of China. The ambassador, (Lord Macartney) was to sail from Portsmouth some time in August, in a ship superbly fitted and accommodated; the troops and seamen alone were to be seven hundred, with artists, assistants, &c. of almost every description.

Additional intelligence is daily arriving of the destructive effects of the hurricane in the more easterly parts of the West-Indies, the beginning of August. It is an ancient rule in those islands, the result of long experience, for those bound to sea at the approach of the hurricane months, not to remain beyond the 25th of July, from which date to the 25th of October is reckoned the duration of the hurricane season.

A loan at 4 per cent. interest has been lately effected in Europe, for account of the united states. The sum is equal to the amount of the former loan, about twelve hundred thousand dollars.

The libel bill in England, has at length been determined on in their parliament. The right of deciding in all cases of libels is now taken from the judges, and is left to the juries; so that Peter Pindar, Mr. Paine, and others in their situation, will probably come off better than has generally been expected.

September 5th. At Concord in New-Hampshire, there has been a very severe tornado, which in its course tore to pieces many dwelling-houses, barns, woods, &c. A man was caught up by the wind and carried eight or ten rods. It is remarkable that the force of the wind was not more than twenty rods in width.

On the 11th ult. a very extraordinary ſtorm, attended by the largeſt hail-ſtones ever remembered, happened in the ſame ſtate, of which a gentleman gives the following account;

"The lumps of hail, that I examined, were of various ſizes, but the largeſt were generally compoſed of as many as eight or nine leſſer ſtones, congealed firmly together; in one lump; theſe leſſer parts were of different forms, ſome of the leaſt were circular, no more than a third of an inch diameter, yet theſe were of the ſpheroid kind, happening ſo by their expoſed parts ſuſtaining in their deſcent diſſolution, or of the ſhape deſcribed; ſome had the appearance of an ellipſis with its conjugate and tranſverſe diameters, delineated by the fingers of nature; others of the priſmatic, ſome cylindric, and ſome conic, and in the components of each lump, all the forms reſulting from the conic ſections, were clearly diſcernible! I weighed ſome of theſe, which were over two ounces and an half."

The patent conductor from fire, is now offered to the public by the inventor, *Samuel Green*, No. 59. Cold-ſtreet, New-York—or by Mr. *William Zanies*, Philadelphia, Prices from 10 to 15 dollars. Theſe machines are ſo eaſily made uſe of, ſays the patentee, that a boy of twelve years old, who never ſaw one before, can fix them inſtantly, and deliver twenty perſons, and furniture in proportion, every minute, from the greateſt heighth. Their utility muſt therefore be very apparent.

Sept. 15th The chriſtian Indian congregation who were ſettled near the Suſquehannah, and afterwards at Muſkingum, after ſuffering much uneaſineſs of mind from the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the various nations of wild Indians in the vicinity of, and at enmity with, the united ſtates, agreed in April laſt to remove to Retrench river, which empties itſelf above Detroit into lake St. Clair. By accounts from this religious congregation (who, in reſpect to war are quakers in principle) their troubles have been chiefly owing to a demand made upon them by the wild Indians to become a party in the general league againſt the united ſtates, in which they have declared they will not join, or have any thing to do.

The two grand canals which are to connect the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Suſquehannah together, will be begun this fall. Theſe canals will furniſh employment for ſeveral years to many hundred labourers. They will, probably, double the value of all the lands on thoſe rivers in Pennſylvania. They will encreaſe the commerce and wealth of the city of Philadelphia; and laſtly, they will encreaſe the population of this ſtate, by giving to the ſupport of human beings the immenſe quantity of proviſions which are now conſumed in feeding waggon-horſes.

The ſmall-pox, by ſome unknown means, having been introduced into Boſton, and its progreſs found impoſſible to be arreſted, the inhabitants have agreed upon a general inoculation: in conſequence of this determination upwards of eight thouſand perſons were inoculated the latter end of Auguſt and beginning of September.

The celebrated *Paul Jones* died in Paris about the middle of July, in the utmoſt poverty. A colonel Blackden, it is ſaid, was obliged to raiſe a ſmall ſum of money by way of ſubſcription, order to bury him.

By the laſt accounts from Sierra Leona, in Africa, the negro colony that have been tranſported from Great-Britain and America to that place, amounted in number to upwards of fifteen hundred. They were in tolerable good health, conſidering the inſalubrity of the climate, and buſily employed in clearing land and building houſes. The cultivation of the ſugar cane is ſaid to be one of their firſt objects in view: in which, if they ſucceed, it is not improbable that Africa may in time furniſh ſugar to the world in abundance, inſtead of miſerable ſlaves to cultivate it in that hell of the negroes, the Weſt-India iſlands.

About 100 Indians lately made an attack on Galliopolis, a French ſettlement on the Ohio, oppoſite the mouth of the Great Kanahwa, which continued for ſome time. The Indians, after deſtroying the ſtanding corn, killing four or five perſons, and doing other miſchief, retreated—About the ſame time, two young women named Morris, of Kanahwa county, were killed.

We learn that an attempt is now making to render the north branch of the river Potowmac navigable for boats, from Fort Cumberland to Old-town. That the work is carried on under the inſpection of capt. Thomas Beall, who has ſixty hands conſtantly employed, and when completed, boats with produce can paſs from Fort-Cumberland to George-town.

The army of the united ſtates, now at Pittſburgh, conſiſts of one thouſand infantry, four hundred riflemen, and two hundred light-horſe, under the command of general Wayne. They were expected to go down the river about the middle of September, if not delayed by the lowneſs of the waters.

Letters from Georgia repreſent the peace between the united ſtates and the Creek Indians to be upon a precarious footing. It is apprehended the Spaniards have been too ſucceſsful in ſowing prejudices to the diſadvantage of the united ſtates, and it is even ſaid that general M'Gillivray has been inceſſantly aſſailed from that, and perhaps *another quarter*, to break with us. Should the ſtrength of the Creeks be joined to the general Indian league that ſeems to be forming againſt us, from an apprehenſion that their country is in danger, the conſequences may prove ſeriouſly diſtreſſing to the whole frontier; and it may be found, perhaps too late, that regular armies are by no means calculated to repreſs Indian aggreſſions.

The Amſterdam Gazette repreſents the partition of Poland as a matter fixed on——That notwithſtanding the efforts of the nation, the unhappy fate of that country ſeems to be at length decided——Thus a people which had ſet an example to the civilized world, by eſtabliſhing a government which has raiſed the human ſpecies, long depreſſed and humiliated by the iron hand of feudal deſpotiſm, to the rank aſſigned them in the original conſtitution of nature, are again to be the ſport of ambition, the miſerable ſlaves of arbitrary power and lordly domination.

September 22d. The anniverſary of the French revolution has been celebrated with great eclat in Ireland and Scotland.

The fourth anniverſary of French freedom was celebrated at Paris with great ſolemnity and magnificence, and without any unfortunate accident happening throughout the day.

A ſubſcription is opened in England for the ſuccour of the people of Poland.

Late accounts from *France*, are by no means ſo favourable as might be wiſhed, by the friends of liberty, on this ſide of the Atlantic. Menaced by a powerful combination of kings; diſunited among themſelves; deſtitute of an energetic executive that might call forth and concentrate, as it were, the force of the nation; and harraſſed by the continual tumults and exceſſes of mobs, which even diſturb the deliberations of the national aſſembly, the people of France do not ſeem well prepared to avert the dangers with which they are threatened, from the interference of foreign deſpots. It is to be hoped, however, that a ſenſe of common danger will unite all parties in defence of their liberties.

On the 20th of June, a mob, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of nearly one hundred thouſand perſons, inveſted the palace of the Thuilleries, broke into the king's apartment, and committed great exceſſes. Their object was to demand that the king ſhould give his ſanction to two decrees of the national aſſembly; one for baniſhing the refractory clergy, and the other for forming a camp of twenty thouſand men in the environs of Paris, to which decrees he had before refuſed to give his concurrence. He diſcovered great addreſs and preſence of mind, and evaded a compliance with their demands.—This tranſaction occaſioned no ſmall ferment in the armies on the frontiers, particularly in that of M. la Fayette, who, in order to appeaſe the ſoldiery, repaired to Paris, and denounced the clubs of the Jacobins, who were much exaſperated by this conduct of M. la Fayette, and moved that he ſhould be ſent to Orleans as a priſoner. This propoſal was rejected; but the aſſembly decreed that military officers, &c. ſhould not petition the legiſlature on any ſubject, except thoſe immediately relating to the army.—So frequent have been the changes in the French cabinet, that there were three ſetts of miniſters in one week.—On the 4th of Auguſt, the envoys of the commonality of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the bar of the national aſſembly, and demanded, in the name of the forty-eight ſections, that the king ſhould be depoſed, and the public affairs be managed by reſponſible miniſters, till a new king ſhould be elected, in a national convention. This excited a violent agitation in the aſſembly, and throughout the nation. The aſſembly refuſed to comply with the demand, though urged, it is ſaid, by the petition of 50,000 inhabitants of Paris.—The French have been ſucceſsful in ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy. Great deſertions are ſaid to prevail on both ſides.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of AUGUST, 1792.

Days.	Baromet. Eng. foot. In.	Thermometer of Farenh. D.	Thermometer of Reaum. D.	Anemometer Prevail Wind	rain	thunder	tempest	WEATHER.
1	29 9 4	65 7	15 0	WSW	1	1		Rain, thunder, overc
	29 9 12	81 5	22 0	WSW				Overcast, shower,
2	29 10 11	67 0	15 5	NE				Idem
	29 11 12	77 0	20 0	NE				Cloudy
3	30 1 4	61 2	13 0	NE				Idem
	30 1 4	71 4	17 5	NE				Idem
4	30 1 0	59 0	12 0	NE				Fair
	30 0 9	77 0	20 0	E				Idem
5	30 0 15	63 5	14 0	SE				Overcast
	30 0 8	76 0	19 6	SE				Idem
6	29 11 4	63 5	14 0	ENE	1			Idem, some rain
	29 10 8	74 7	19 0	N				Idem
7	30 0 1	65 7	15 0	SW				Foggy, fair
	30 0 1	87 0	24 5	SSW				Fair
8	30 0 10	72 5	18 0	SSW				Overcast
	30 0 6	89 6	25 6	SSW				Cloudy
9	30 0 9	68 0	16 0	WSW				Idem
	29 11 14	91 6	26 5	WSW				Fair
10	29 11 4	71 4	17 5	WSW	1			Idem, overcast, rain
	29 10 8	89 4	25 5	WSW				Overcast
11	29 10 3	72 5	18 0	WSW				Cloudy
	29 8 15	95 0	28 0	SW				Fair
12	29 8 8	74 3	18 8	SW				Overcast,
	29 8 9	94 0	27 5	SW				Fair
13	29 11 0	69 0	16 5	NW				Idem
	29 11 2	88 2	25 0	NW				Idem
14	29 10 2	69 3	16 6	SE				Overcast
	29 9 4	70 2	17 0	SSW	1			Rainy
15	29 9 11	60 0	12 5	NW				Fair,
	29 10 4	74 7	19 0	NW				Idem
16	30 1 0	54 5	10 0	NW				Idem
	30 0 1	78 8	20 8	NW				Idem
17	30 0 12	58 0	11 6	WSW				Idem
	30 0 0	86 0	24 0	WSW	1	1		Idem
18	30 0 3	63 5	14 0	SW				Foggy, fair
	29 11 0	91 6	26 5	SW				Fair
19	29 10 11	59 0	12 0	W				Idem
	29 9 13	94 0	27 5	WSW				Idem
20	29 10 8	71 4	17 5	NW				Cloudy
	29 10 4	92 7	27 0	variabl.				Idem
21	30 1 0	61 2	13 0	NE				Overcast
	30 1 0	77 0	20 0	NE				Idem
22	30 0 10	61 2	13 0	NE				Idem
	30 0 10	77 0	20 0	NE				Idem
23	30 0 12	58 0	11 0	NE				Cloudy
	30 0 2	78 8	20 8	SE				Fair
24	29 10 4	65 7	15 0	S	1			Overcast, rainy
	29 8 13	73 6	18 5	S			1	Idem, rain, thunder,
25	29 7 8	63 5	14 0	NW				Fair
	29 9 10	78 0	20 5	NW				Cloudy
26	30 0 8	58 0	11 5	NW				Fair
	30 1 6	79 2	21 0	NW				Idem
27	30 2 2	55 6	10 5	NW				Cloudy
	30 1 3	85 5	23 8	S				Fair,
28	29 11 4	65 7	15 0	SSW	1			Rainy
	29 10 11	83 7	23 0	WSW				Cloudy
29	29 11 3	59 0	12 0	WSW				Fair
	29 9 5	88 2	25 0	SW				Idem
30	29 9 4	62 2	13 0	W				Idem
	29 8 10	85 5	23 8	W				Cloudy
31	29 11 4	52 2	9 0	NW				Fair
	29 11 10	78 0	20 5	NW				Idem
RESULT.	7th greatest 30 2 / 25th least el 29 7 8 / Variation 6 10 / Meaneleva. 29 11 3	Hi. gr. heat 95 8 / 31st least de. of heat 52 2 9 / Variation 42 8 19 / Mean degree 73 8 5		WSW & NW	6	2		Fair and dry.

THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR OCTOBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

CONTENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, N°. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

To CORRESPONDENTS.

LORENZO's "Biographical Memoirs," by descending to minute, and, we conceive, uninteresting particulars, are spun out to a very inconvenient length, for our miscellany. Perhaps the author may be disposed to publish them in a pamphlet. The manuscript will be returned, if called for.

Quid pro quo seems to consider *revenge* as a virtue. This principle might be very suitable for savages; but is utterly inconsistent with civilization and sound morality.

Hints, by a Jersey subscriber, show the author to be both candid and judicious. Friendly hints, suggesting improvements either in the plan or execution of this work, will, at all times, be thankfully received, and duly attended to.

A. B. must be accustomed to view human nature on its darkest side. Charity will not permit us to suppose, that he has looked into his own mind, for the original of the gloomy picture he has drawn; but this we will not hesitate to assert—that the mind which is much engaged in brooding over the vices of mankind, is seldom capable of enjoying happiness itself, or of communicating it to others. We do not think A. B's essay calculated either to enlighten the understanding, or to amend the heart.

A poetical address from Horatio to the secret object of his affections, being written in the doggrel or burlesque manner, with respect to metre, is not admissible. The *sonnet*, transmitted by the same correspondent, is possessed of much merit. We would advise the author to cultivate his poetical talent.

ERRATUM.

IN the Asylum for last month, page 160, line 4, for "not a month" read—"but a few months."

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 31, 1792.

Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	21/5.	*Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance*	
Deferred six per cents,	13/4.	*Bank of N. America*	*do.* 3
Three per cents,	12/9.		

COURSE *of* EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	71.	*Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,*	
Ditto, 60 *days,*	72½.	*Paris,*	
Ditto. 30 *days,*	73½.		

THE
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
AND
Columbian Magazine,
FOR OCTOBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

OBSERVATIONS *on the* MANUFACTURE *of* GLAUBER'S-SALT *and* SAL-AMMONIAC.

[*By* JAMES WOODHOUSE, *M. D.*]

OF all the ſubjects which have engaged the attention of the chemiſt, as an object of manufacture, no one is of more importance than the making of ſal-ammoniac. The uſe of this article in the arts is too well known to need any particular detail.

The ſal-ammoniac uſed in Europe was, for a long time, imported from Egypt, where it was made from the ſoot of the burnt dung of quadrupeds, according to the deſcriptions of the proceſs given by Haſſelquiſt, Pococke, Neibuhr, and Savary. As the knowledge of chemiſtry increaſed, it was diſcovered to exiſt in every ſpecies of ſoot, from which it may be obtained by ſolution or ſublimation, and alſo from the mother water of common ſalt, by the addition of old urine.

The importance of a manufactory of this article was ſoon perceived by a ſociety inſtituted in London, for the encouragement of arts and manufactures. Hence, in 1759, a premium of thirty pounds was offered to the perſon who ſhould produce a certain definite quantity, mentioned by the ſociety; in 1760, the premium was augmented to fifty pounds; in 1763, it was increaſed to 100 pounds, and was continued on the books until the year 1767.

In conſequence of the perſevering induſtry of chemiſts, the increaſed knowledge of the elective attractions, and the various improvements in the different branches of chemiſtry, an eaſy method has been diſcovered of making ſal-ammoniac in large quantities; and manufactories of it have been eſtabliſhed in England, Scotland, France, and America.

The preſent method of making this article is conjectured to be, by combining the vitriolic acid with the volatile alkali, obtained by the diſtillation of bones, or ſoot, and producing a double decompoſition by the addition of ſea-ſalt; or by adding the marine acid, procured from common ſalt by means of the vitriolic acid, to the volatile alkali.

In the laſt edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, we have an account of a ſal-ammoniac work eſtabliſhed at Edinburgh; but as no perſon is admitted inſide of the laboratory, the method of conducting the proceſs is unknown. The author of the account adds, there can be no other difficulty, than what ariſes from the volatility of the vapours of the alkali and the marine acid; for, in the common way of diſtilling theſe ſubſtances, a great part of both is loſt, and if it is at-

tempted to make sal-ammoniac, by combining these two, when distilled by the common apparatus, the produce will not pay the cost.

The mode of conducting the process in Philadelphia, is likewise kept a secret.

The following is the method which I propose—Gypsum, or plaster of Paris, is a substance composed of the vitriolic acid and calcareous earth. Different specimens contain different quantities of the acid—100 parts of some specimens, examined by Bergman, contained 46 of the acid; Kirwan obtained 29 parts, Wenzel 48, and Chaptal 30. The volatile alkali, distilled from bones or soot, contains a large quantity of the ærial acid. The plaster of Paris is to be reduced to a powder, to which the volatile alkali must be added, and remain upon it for two or three days, in close vessels; during which time a double elective attraction will take place: the vitriolic acid will leave the gypsum and unite with the volatile alkali, forming vitriolic ammoniac; while the ærial acid unites with the calcareous earth.---Hot water is then to be poured into the vessel in which the decomposition was made, in order to dissolve the vitriolic ammoniac; and the washing must be continued, until the ærated calcareous earth is perfectly tasteless.

To this solution of the vitriolic ammoniac, common salt is to be added, which produces another double elective attraction; the vitriolic acid of the ammoniac unites with the fossil alkali of the sea-salt, and forms Glauber's-salt, while the marine acid of the sea-salt unites with the volatile alkali, and forms sal-ammoniac, which is obtained in a concrete state by evaporation and sublimation. I have repeated these experiments, in the small way, with the mild hartshorn of the shops, and always with success.

The only objection against the process is, that the phlogistic matter, contained in the volatile alkali distilled from bones or soot, will be obtained in the chrystalization of the Glauber's-salt, and render it impure; an objection which equally militates against the present supposed method of obtaining Glauber's-salt.

In this process, a great saving is made of the vitriolic acid, as it is contained in sufficient quantity in the gypsum; and no difficulty arises from the volatility of the vapours of the alkali, or from the disengagement of fixed air.

Future experiments, in the large way, must determine, whether a manufactory would succeed, when conducted after the manner I have laid down. From theory, it appears to be a cheaper and easier method than any hitherto known. Let an experiment be made; if it succeeds, it is well; if it fails—"*Laus erit; in magnis voluisse sat est.*"

Philadelphia, October 18th, 1792.

DESCRIPTION *of a* SPANISH INN.

[*From the Chevalier de Bourgoanne's late travels into Spain.*]

A POSADA, or Spanish inn, merits a particular description. The first room in the house is often a great stable, full of asses and mules, through which you must make your way, if you wish to ask for,

and obtain a lodging. It is with considerable difficulty that you get to the kitchen, which is a round or square room; the ceiling of which terminates in a point, and is open at the top to leave a free passage for the smoke. Round this great chimney is a broad stone-bench, which, at night, serves the family for a bed; but, in the day-time, offers a commodious seat to travellers, coachmen, and muleteers; who, seated, without distinction, with the host and hostess, deprive the air of a part of the smoke, by swallowing it. The fire, which is in the centre of this wretched hovel, is often made with cow-dung mixed with straw; and serves to cook, for each person in turn, such provisions as he may have taken care to bring with him. The whole inventory of the kitchen-utensils consists in several great frying-pans; and every thing you eat is fried in rancid oil. This indeed is not spared, and abundance is joined to badness of quality, to take away the appetite. The corner of the fire-place is generally occupied by some newsmonger, wrapped up to his eyes in the cape of his cloak; or some blind musician, singing through his nose, and strumming his guittar, and the children of his hostess, both boys and girls, whose only clothing is a short shirt or shift, though of an age to be more modestly and decently covered. When you have refreshed and warmed yourself, and wish to retire, you are conducted to a damp corner, called a chamber; and furnished with two chairs, usually very high, if the table be low, and very low, if the table be high; because every thing here is contrary to all reason or proportion. A mattrass, a foot shorter than it ought to be, is thrown upon the ground: the sheets are not much larger than napkins; and the counterpane, if by chance you find one, hardly covers the sides of the wretched pallet. On this bed of voluptuousness is the traveller to repose, after the fatigues of the road, to wait agreeable dreams, or form new projects of peregrination. The worst inns are those which are kept by the *Gitanos*, or gipsies; you would be safer in a wood; your eye must be kept upon every thing, and, notwithstanding all the precaution you can take, you seldom leave them with all your baggage. All the inns belong to the lords of the soil, who erect them into farms, and will not suffer too many of them; so that the farmer is under the necessity of fleecing passengers, to make up the enormous rent he is obliged to pay. Besides, by a law, for which no reason can be now given, every inn-keeper is prohibited from keeping and selling eatables. If bread, meat, oil, or wine, be wanted, the traveller and the inn-keeper are obliged to have recourse to the person who has the exclusive privilege of selling them. It must indeed be acknowledged, that without this law, odious as it seems, several villages, in the inland parts of the country, would have wanted necessaries. The law, is at present, however, almost unnecessary, and might be advantageously modified. At Lumbreras, I found the spacious chimney surrounded with muleteers, and, on the fire, an enormous frying-pan; in which rice, saffron, long-pepper, and stock-fish, were boiling up together. I was conducted to a chamber, open to every wind that blows, in which, as the weather was cold, some lighted coals were thrown, without ceremony, upon the floor; and by the side of these a kind of mattrass, without sheets or covering. My gipsie host, after wishing me a good night, asked me for something to drink.

LETTER *from the famous self-taught* ASTRONOMER, BENJAMIN BANNEKER, *a black man, to* THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Esq. secretary of state.*

Maryland, Baltimore county, near Ellicott's Lower Mills, Aug. 19, 1791.

SIR,

I AM fully convinced of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you, on the present occasion: a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand; and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth, too well attested to you to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world; that we have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt, considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature, than many others; that you are measurably friendly and well disposed towards us; and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief, from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

Now, sir, if this be founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity, to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail in respect to us; and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one universal father gave being to us all; and that he hath not only made us of one flesh, but that he hath also, without partiality, afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that, however variable we may be, in society or religion, however diversified in situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

If these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensible duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labour under; and this, I apprehend, a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead us all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and those inestimable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous, that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their preservation from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that colour which is natural to them of the deepeſt dye; and it is under a ſenſe of the moſt profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the univerſe, that I now confeſs to you, that I am not under that ſtate of tyrannical thraldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly taſted of the fruition of thoſe bleſſings, which proceed from that free and unequaled liberty with which you are favoured, and which I hope you will willingly allow you have received from the immediate hand of that Being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Suffer me to recal to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the Britiſh crown were exerted, with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a ſtate of ſervitude; look back, I intreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were expoſed; reflect on the time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aſpect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a ſerious and grateful ſenſe of your miraculous and providential preſervation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the preſent freedom and tranquility which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar bleſſing of heaven.

This, ſir, was a time when you clearly ſaw into the injuſtice of a ſtate of ſlavery, and in which you had juſt apprehenſions of the horrors of its condition;—it was now that your abhorrence thereof was ſo excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all ſucceeding ages. "We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among theſe are—life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs."

Here was a time in which your tender feelings for yourſelves had engaged you thus to declare; you were then impreſſed with proper ideas of the great violation of liberty, and the free poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſſings to which you were entitled by nature; but, ſir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that, although you were ſo fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial diſtribution of thoſe rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you ſhould, at the ſame time, counteract his mercies, in detaining, by fraud and violence, ſo numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppreſſion; that you ſhould, at the ſame time, be found guilty of that moſt criminal act, which you profeſſedly deteſted in others, with reſpect to yourſelves.

I ſuppoſe that your knowledge of the ſituation of my brethren is too extenſive to need a recital here; neither ſhall I preſume to preſcribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwiſe than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourſelves from thoſe narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with reſpect to them, and, as Job propoſed to his friends, "put your ſoul in their ſouls ſtead," thus ſhall your hearts be enlarged with kindneſs and benevolence towards them, and thus ſhall you need neither the direction of myſelf or others, in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but having taken up my pen, in order to direct you, as a present, a copy of an almanack which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life (59); for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity therein, through my own assiduous application to Astronomical study, in which I need not recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the federal territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott; yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this state, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy; a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favourably receive; and, although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript, previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing.

And now, sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, your most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN BANNEKER.

Mr. JEFFERSON'S *answer to the preceding letter.*

To Mr. Benjamin Banneker.

Philadelphia, August 30, 1791.

SIR,

I THANK you, sincerely, for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the almanack it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do, to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of the other colours of men; and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add, with truth, that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit.

I have taken the liberty of sending your almanack to monsieur Condorcet, secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document to which your whole colour had a right, for their justification against the sentiments which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CHARACTER *and* EFFECTS *of* MODERN NOVELS.

WHEN one reflects how easy a matter it is to give a wrong bias to the minds of youth, it is impossible to help being astonished at the remissness of those parents and guardians, who suffer their daughters and wards to read, indiscriminately, the multiplicity of novels which are daily published.

It is as incumbent a duty to attend to the books a young lady reads, as to the company she keeps; for if it is allowed, that the frequent hearing of loose conversation naturally prepares the mind for the admittance of vicious ideas, it cannot be denied but books, in which love is the only theme, and intrigues the sole business of the actors, are more dangerous than even bad company; since the recital of lascivious scenes might shock an ear not yet hardened in vice, when the warm representation painted in a novel, and read in the privacy of retirement, cannot fail in exciting desires, and leaving impure traces on the memory.

Novels not only pollute the imaginations of young women, but also give them false ideas of life, which too often make them act improperly, owing to the romantic turn of thinking they imbibe from their favourite studies. They read of characters which never existed, and never can exist; and when all the wit and invention of a luxuriant fancy are stretched, to paint a young man all perfection in body and mind, it is hardly possible for a girl to avoid falling in love with the phantom, and being out of humour with the piece of plain mortality which she afterwards marries, and finds, to her great disappointment and mortification, does not act like the image her fondness had dressed up to her view.

These authors of novels take great pleasure in making their characters act beyond nature. A young man loves the heroine to distraction: she cannot return his passion: she knows a lady who dies for him, though that lady is certain his heart is devoted to another. The heroine is not satisfied with making the man unhappy, by finding his pursuit hopeless, but she uses her power over him, to make him marry the person he cannot love, and with whom he is afterwards miserable. He submits to his hard lot, pleased in having obeyed the commands of the sole arbitress of his fate. In novels, parents are described as cruel and obdurate, thwarting the inclinations of their children; and those children are made to invent numberless ways of deceiving the watchful eyes of their real friends, in order to run to ruin. By reading these books, therefore, young people are taught arts which they never could have dreamed of, and their minds being thus led into a wrong train of thinking, it is no wonder that their maturer age is bent on the pursuit of trifles, if not on vicious indulgencies.

I have heard it said, in favour of novels, that there are many good sentiments dispersed in them. I maintain, that good sentiments being found scattered in loose novels, render them the more dangerous, since, when they are mixed with seducing arguments, it requires more discernment than is to be found in youth to separate the evil from the good, they are so nicely blended; and when a young lady finds prin-

ciples of religion and virtue inculcated in a book, she is naturally thrown off her guard, by taking it for granted, that such a work can contain no harm; and of course the evil steals imperceptibly into her heart, while she thinks she is reading sterling morality.

On the STUDY *of* HISTORY.

YOUNG people generally burthen their memories with a great number of dates, names, and events; and, provided they can but repeat what they have heard or said, they are generally esteemed for their knowledge. A young man, who finds himself applauded on such occasions, is not a little proud of his abilities. As it cannot be expected, that young people should judge of things, like those whom age and experience have taught wisdom, it is not at all surprising if they should conceive a great opinion of themselves, when they see that nothing more is expected from them, and that those, on whom they depend, praise them on every occasion, for the facility with which they speak, and the readiness with which they repeat those things they have been obliged to remember.

The true purpose of history, however, consists not in the remembrance of a number of events and actions, without making proper reflections thereon. This kind of knowledge, which has memory only for its support, merits not the least spark of applause; for knowledge consists in tracing actions to their source. To read history properly, is to enquire into the characters of those we there meet with, and to judge of them wisely and cautiously; to study history, is to study the designs, the prejudices, and the passions of mankind; to discover all the secret springs of their actions, their arts and fallacies, and all the illusions they put in practice to deceive and ensnare the unguarded heart.

Young people should be early, and as it were insensibly, taught to reflect naturally, and without art, upon every thing which they meet with remarkable in the histories they read. Thus they will become men, not parrots, by which last name we may justly call those, who read only for subjects to exercise their memories.

It is an idle argument, that young people are incapable of reflection; they cannot too soon be treated like men; for they are capable of reasoning almost as soon as they are capable of speaking. This opinion of the incapacity of young people for reasoning, is a kind of excuse formed rather for ignorant tutors than their pupils; because these teachers know not how to set about the arduous task of teaching their scholars to reason upon things, they are interested in saying it is impossible: they know not how to teach them to search into themselves, and discover the treasures of light and wisdom, which Nature has there concealed: they turn this wonderful art into mockery and ridicule, though Plato has convinced us it may be reduced to practice.

It too frequently happens, that, though the tutor may be equal to the trust reposed in him, the false glory of parents totally perverts all hopes of success; for reflection enriches not the memory, though it

forms the judgment; it tends rather to make them think wisely than speak much; but parents are always desirous of being themselves judges of the progress of their children; and many of them, being incapable of distinguishing the good qualities of judgment, are perfectly well satisfied with the bare repetition of historical facts.

The principal desire of such parents is, that their children should, in the early part of their youth, be furnished with materials for conversation, and be able to repeat those things, of which the generality of the world may be ignorant, and which are agreeable in themselves, as most historical passages are: whereas the principal end of studying history is to accustom young people to speak little, and reflect much; but never to repeat a fragment of history, merely to shew that they have read it: they should be taught to consider such passages as authorities on which they are to found their reason, or as subjects to exercise it.

This kind of study, I mean that of reflection, consists of natural and familiar considerations, such as every person, when he hears them, fancies himself to have made long before, though perhaps they had never once entered his thoughts; thus they excite not any admiration; and it is therefore no wonder, that the generality of parents, who do not always think properly, should be so anxious to see their children become the objects of applause to those who are as ignorant as themselves. Such parents should be reminded, that this kind of applause is mean and contemptible, and that nothing is more dangerous than to accustom young people to the love of such false glory.

It has been observed, by many judicious and experienced writers, and among them in particular the inimitable Mr. Locke, that the most sensible men have not always the best memories; and this probably arises from their accustoming themselves to reflect properly on what they read; by which means they increase their wisdom and knowledge, rather than improve their memories: they think it of little moment to remember long accounts of sieges and battles, and all those horrible tales, with which weak minds are so much delighted. They meditate on what they read, and thereby discover their own imperfections, become acquainted with the nature of the human soul, and the manner of its acting.

The esteem and veneration, in which succeeding ages have held the fabulous writings of the ancients, have arisen only from the love of virtue, the probity of manners, and the integrity of heart, with which they inspired their readers. The reputation of this species of writing, perhaps, first gave rise to novels and romances, in which, though they neither make stones speak, nor statues walk, they frequently represent characters as widely different from nature as light is from darkness.---The study of history requires some thought and attention, whereas the perusal of novels and romances claims not the least of either; the end of one is to improve the understanding, and correct the various passions of the human soul; that of the other, only to amuse; and happy would it be, if it centered only in amusement.—The more extravagant, absurd, and ridiculous a novel is, the greater is the probability of its success.—As love is the foundation, so is it the superstructure of most novels. But what is that species of love, which is

there generally taught?—Not that tender sympathy of two mutual hearts, whose love is founded on reason, prudence and virtue; but a blind, violent, and impetuous passion, which hurries its unhappy victim into endless woes; teaches children disobedience to their parents, inspires them with self-sufficiency, and encourages them to commence knight errants, at an age in which the rod ought to be applied to bring them to their senses.

It is not, however, at all wonderful, that the youth of either sex, who have not been taught better, should prefer a ridiculous romance to the most important piece of history, since the former tends to encourage them in their extravagant sallies, and the latter to correct them.—Were this class of readers to stumble on the history of the Gracchi, or on the lives of some other remarkable Romans, they would throw them aside, as dull, heavy, and insignificant subjects, and would not give themselves a moment's leisure to reflect on the many useful lessons they might there find: while the more enlightened youth will peruse with advantage the direful effects of unbounded ambition, avarice, and revenge; he will therefore see how vain is the parade of human grandeur, when founded on the basis of tyranny, injustice, and oppression: and if he is not too young to make moral reflections, he will perhaps conclude, that the longest life of real affluence, and peace, and happiness *only* in appearance, is not worth purchasing at the price of infamy.

From reflecting properly on the most singular and instructive parts of history, true morality will be derived, and the heart improved; but when young people read such passages only to retain and to repeat them, nothing more will be learned from them, than a vain conceit of their own exalted abilities. Reason tells the laborious peasant, whom Fortune has never permitted to tread the flowery paths of science, how little literary merit he has to boast of: much more unfortunate is the youth, who, having had the advantages of books and tutors, while he flatters himself with his accomplishments, is so ignorant, as not to know even his own ignorance!

To conclude: the perusal of history not only affords agreeable entertainment, but, when accompanied with reflexion, it also improves the understanding, beyond any other mode in which instruction can possibly be conveyed. In the labours of the faithful historian the intricate mazes of the human heart are exposed to our observation, and we are taught to trace the various actions of mankind to their original sources in the soul.

On LUXURY.—*By* VOLTAIRE.

IN a country where the people should go bare-footed, ought the first person that procured a pair of shoes to be blamed for luxury? Would it rather not be a proof of his good sense and industry?

May not the same be said of him who first wore a shirt? As to the man who first contrived to have his shirt washed, and wore it a second

and a third time, and so on, I look upon him to have been a prodigious genius, and dare say that he was capable of governing a state.

Nevertheless, it is probable that he was considered by those who did not wear clean linen as an effeminate person, who was likely to corrupt the manners of the people.

It is not long since that a Norwegian reproached a Dutchman with luxury. What is become, said he, of those happy times, when a merchant, on going from Amsterdam to the Indies, left a quarter of dried beef in his kitchen, and found it at his return? Where are your wooden spoons and your iron forks? Is it not a shame for a sober Dutchman to lie in a damask bed?

Go to Batavia, answered the man of Amsterdam, get ten tons of gold, as I have done, and see whether you will not want to be a little better clothed, fed, and lodged.

On Exclusive Privileges.

THE more we consider this subject, the more we shall find, that institutions of this kind have originated in a miserable necessity on the part of the government, on the one side, and in the cupidity and avarice of a small part of its subjects, on the other. The government, instead of supporting itself on the broad basis of the people's affections, and of a right and peaceable administration of its affairs, endeavours to strengthen itself by abuses, and to carry on wars, or other needless extravagancies, at the expense of its tranquility and happiness. When measures of this kind are resolved on, application is made to a few wealthy citizens for support; and the people are sold forever to fill up the gap of a momentary pressure.

The ostensible cause of establishing most monopolies hath ever been, the facility they afford government, to borrow—in other words, their convenience in any operation tending to increase the public burdens by the interest afterwards accruing on the debt. Thus the chief use made in England of the East-India company, was to borrow of it; and its charter has been commonly renewed, as often as the directors came down with considerable sums for the treasury upon loan. The bank of England, whatever may have been its uses, as to circulation, considered with respect to the government, served only the same purpose, to anticipate taxes that should never have been anticipated, and to increase burdens which ought never to have been imposed; for loans and anticipations, while they afforded a present convenience, evidently did it at the expense of future strength and security, and were, therefore, among the most ruinous expedients of the state. The South-sea company, once such a bubble, ended also in like manner, by lending twenty-six millions to the government, whose voracious appetite was capable of borrowing all the capitals of all the monopolists; many of whose proprietors are now, in course, saddled on the nation for the interest of the stock. Besides these, they have, in England, an African company—a Turkish company—a Russia company; to which last two, a merchant is obliged to pay a contribution

for liberty to trade to those countries. The Hudson's-bay company continues to monopolize the fur trade of our continent; and, perhaps, we may be indirectly indebted to this obliging monopoly for our Indian war, with all its variegated train of evils, expenses, and misfortunes.

In short, amongst the greatest sufferings endured by the good people of Britain, may be reckoned their numerous incorporations for exclusive and partial privileges of trade; these obstruct the trade's being so productive, or supporting so many hands as it otherwise would do; and occasion an increase of poverty and thieving among the lower classes of the people; to which, in part, may be fairly imputed the frequent executions and transportations we hear of among them, which are often so many efforts of a cruel and relentless mother to destroy her own offspring, after having first rendered their means of subsistence difficult and precarious: for what more wicked can be conceived of in a country, than granting to any few the whole emoluments of a trade, capable of supporting thousands?—This is indeed building aristocracy on the ruin of the poor.

In a word, government has no business either to trade itself, or to grant partial advantages of trade to any of its subjects. It is instituted for the good of the whole—it is paid for by all—all have, therefore, a right to share equally its favour and protection.

The sage Montesquieu very properly condemns the sovereign's either trading himself, or granting exclusive privileges for the purpose. I cannot better conclude this essay than by two quotations from his admirable treatise on the spirit of laws.

"Theophilus seeing a vessel in which merchandise had been embarked for account of his wife Theodora, ordered it to be burned. I am emperor, (said he) and you make me the patron of a galley. How would our poor people gain a livelihood, if we took their callings from them?" He might have added, "Who shall call us to account, if we monopolize? who shall compel us to fulfil our contracts? the commerce we carry on, our courtiers must share, and they will be still more grasping and unjust than ourselves. The people confide in our justice; but can they in our ability, when the very imposts, which occasion their poverty, are the certain signs of ours."

"When the Portuguese and Spaniards swayed in India, the trade of it had some branches so lucrative, that their monarchs were sure to seize upon them: but from that moment their establishments declined in that country. The viceroy of Goa granted exclusive privileges, but no confidence is placed in such companies; their trade is interrupted by the perpetual changes of those who manage it—nobody cares about it, or is anxious in how ruinous a state he leaves it to his successor—the profits centre in the hands of a few—they are not enough extended."

R U S S E L L.

Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

SINGULAR CONTEST *between two* FRENCH LADIES.

THE lady of the auditor of accounts, and that of the treasurer of France, meeting in their coaches in a narrow street in Paris, with a design to go through it, and there not being room to pass each other, there was a necessity for one to put back, to give the other way, which neither would be persuaded to do; so they remained firm in the same place from six o'clock in the morning till noon, when they sent their servants for hay and corn for their horses, and ordered their dinners to be brought into their coaches. The novelty drew a number of gazers, every one being curious to see what would be the issue of such punctilios: at length a cart load of wine coming to a merchant, who lived in that street, and he finding it could not, for their obstruction, get to his house, either one way or other, about four o'clock in the afternoon, went to the commissary of the quarter, (like our justice of the peace) to desire him to remedy the diforder. The commissary, observing the ladies obstinately resolved neither of them to give way, and not being willing to affront them, out of respect to their husbands, found out an expedient to settle the affair without disobliging either, which was, to make both coaches put back at the same time, so that neither of them should drive into the same street again. This accommodation was accepted, and performed to the extremity of niceness: the ladies, being weary of the trouble they had run themselves into by standing on their punctilios, quietly retired, each with the satisfaction that she had preserved her honour.

OBSERVATIONS *upon the* ART *of making* STEEL. *By the Reverend* DANIEL LITTLE, *F. A. A.*

[*From the 'Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.'*]

AS steel is an article of commerce, and of great use both in the arts, manufactures and husbandry of every nation; and as we have the best of iron already manufactured in America, it is thought that the manufacturing of steel of a good quality, deserves the attention and encouragement of those who wish the welfare of the united states. What time I could redeem from other necessary business for several years past, has been employed in such disquisitions and experiments, as might tend to facilitate the art of making steel, and others near akin to it.

Those writers upon the subject which I have met with tell us, that the principal difference between iron and steel consists in this, That the latter is combined with a greater quantity of phlogiston than the former. Plogiston exists in all inflammable substances, and in some that are not inflammable. Charcoal, and the coals of bones, horns and hoofs of animals, have been used as fit substances for communicating phlogiston to iron in making steel.

Steel is ſometimes made by fuſion of ore or pig-iron. The method is ſimilar to that of reducing pig-iron to malleable iron, with this difference, that as ſteel requires more phlogiſton than is neceſſary to iron, all the means muſt be made uſe of that are capable of introducing into the iron a great deal of phlogiſton; that is, by keeping it, while in fuſion, encompaſſed with an abundance of charcoal, &c.

The other method of making ſteel is by cementation, as it is called; that is, to convert bar-iron into ſteel; which is done by a cement made of thoſe ſubſtances which contain the greateſt quantity of phlogiſton. Put the bar-iron with this cement into a veſſel that will bear a ſtrong fire; lute on a cloſe cover, ſo as to prevent the cement taking flame and conſuming; put the veſſel in a furnace where the bars may be kept red-hot till they are converted into ſteel, which will be in a longer or ſhorter time, according to the bigneſs of the bars, and the quantity of cement.

This latter method has chiefly engaged my attention, which method is pretty well known in ſome parts of America, and for many years paſt, ſteel has been made by it in ſeveral parts of the united ſtates. Yet, ſo far as I have been informed, it has generally been of an inferior quality, and very little uſed for edge tools, which I ſuppoſed could not ariſe from the quality of the iron, for we have the greateſt variety, and the beſt ſort, in many parts of the country. I then conjectured there might be found ſome other inflammable ſubſtance for a cement, which, if properly applied, would impregnate the iron with phlogiſton more advantageouſly.—And, after many experiments, I found a particular marine plant that requires no other preparation but drying and pulverizing, and is commonly known by the name of rock-weed, or rock-ware, and is in the greateſt plenty on our rocky ſhores, coves, creeks and harbours of the ſea. In making ſome experiments upon this plant for a flux powder, a ſmall bit of iron was put into a crucible, and filled with the ſaid cement; and, very unexpectedly, after it had been in a little more than a cherry heat for five or ſix hours, it was converted into ſteel, which gave me the firſt hint of its uſe in making ſteel; ſince which I have had repeated experience of its excellency for the ſame purpoſe.

It needs no other preparation than to be cut off from the rocks with a ſcythe or ſickle, ſpread on the dry ſand till the rains have waſhed off the greater part of the ſea-ſalt, then dried and pulverized, then uſed as other cements are in making ſteel; or, inſtead of waſhing off the ſea-ſalt, it is better for ſome particular kinds of iron, to neutralize it by adding a fixed alkali.

To two parts of the plant well dried and pulverized, add one part of good wood-aſhes; mix together and moiſten the whole with water, or rather urine, to the conſiſtence of a very thick paſte.

It is well known that in every new art, and in perfecting old ones, many unforeſeen difficulties ariſe, and ſometimes conſiderable fortunes have been ſpent before the manufacturer or the public have been much benefited. And ſince honeſt, but too credulous minds are often deceived by uncertain proof, and being willing to ſatisfy myſelf and others, by a better teſtimony than my own, I engaged a * gentleman

* Col. Eliot, of Connecticut.

of ability in the steel way for many years, whose furnace was complete and large, to make experiments upon my new discovered substance for a cement, who has written me, that "this steel is preferable to any he had ever made before." After all, I suppose different modes of preparation, and further experiments, will more fully ascertain its utility.

The matter of the furnace must be of such substances as will endure a strong fire without fusion. Asbestos has been used to advantage, but a sufficiency of it is not found in many places. Pipe-clay, with one third part of pond-sand, or, which is better, white stones free from grit, well burnt, and pulverized, instead of sand, some species of slate and tale, may be used with pipe-clay for furnaces and crucibles.

The chest, or interior part of the furnace, for depositing the cement and bars of iron, must be covered so close that the inflammable substance within may not be consumed, but changed like wood in a coal-kiln. The iron to be chosen of the best quality; its toughness and malleability are marks of choice.

Of the ore of iron.—This is often discovered by the magnet, but a great part of the best ore is that which the magnet will not attract, as *Linnæus* and *Macquer* justly observe. When in that state, it often resembles the rust or calx of iron; many tons of which are brought to the iron-works in this neighbourhood, from which the best of iron is made. In its natural state the best magnetic bar will not attract the smallest particle; but when roasted with charcoal it becomes magnetic. This method of knowing whether any earth or stones contain the true ore of iron, may be of use to discover new bodies or beds of ore. The reduction of metals, or restoring them to their metallic state from their calces, by combining them with the inflammable principle in the application of charcoal, may sufficiently show the efficacy of the above method for the discovery of the earth of iron, in those substances on which the magnet has no effect.

On Enthusiasm *of* Character.

THE shades of human character are so numerous, and the advantages resulting from an extensive acquaintance with them, of so much importance, that few subjects, perhaps, are more worthy of attention or speculation; and it would be a task of the highest advantage to society, could we trace the source and causes of the diversities, and point out the particular advantages resulting from each. By the former of these, we should, in some degree, be enabled to train the mind to the fashion most amiable and really advantageous; by the latter, we should have the opportunity of directing to their proper objects of pursuit, the passions and dispositions, as they are displayed before us.

A task like this might afford a noble and fascinating amusement for the sage, to whose eye time and assiduity had unfolded the broad volume of nature, and who was possessed of leisure and opportunity to enter

deeply into the subject; but the humble and nameless essayist, who plans his labours for periodical circulation, is forbidden to enter into so elaborate an enquiry. Now and then, indeed, he may slightly glance upon the subject, and select a prominent feature or two for the amusement of his readers; but he must seldom venture to advance beyond a sketch, or a fragment.

Among the traits of character which, amid the infinite variety I have alluded to, present themselves as proper objects of this cursory mode of animadversion, appears to me, as particularly prominent, that of enthusiasm: a character which the insipid children of fashionable refinement (incapable of feeling its fires) and the plodding sons of laborious diligence (too heavy to pursue its flights) are, at all times, so ready to condemn, but which, in my humble opinion, is certainly entitled to the palm of honour and utility in public life. It is from the energy imparted by this principle that we are to expect the formation and execution of great and noble designs, which soar beyond the ordinary occurrences and virtue of mankind, and leave something to be remembered, and to be admired by posterity.

A man indeed of cool passions, and with a mediocrity of sensibility, (or perhaps without any at all) may, it is true, be a very good philosopher, an almost blameless moralist, and a strict observer of what we generally understand by the rules of right and wrong. But such a character will only shine on trifling occasions, and in ordinary actions and situations. Where justice, (so far as it has been defined, by the laws of civil policy, or the demonstrations of ethical reasoning)—is alone required, he may never, perhaps, be found deficient; he may be generous, wherever any positive precept of religion, or maxim of philosophy can be produced, that may inform him he ought to be so. But he will never extend his views to any considerable exertions of friendship or benevolence; nor is it much to be expected that he should ever be sensible of that noble delicacy—that refined philanthropy, which extends the assistance of generous benefaction, without wounding the feelings of the person benefited, by a mode of conferring the obligation, which must remind him of adventitious inferiority. As far as precept and example can direct, he may be entitled to the praise and gratitude of mankind, and his virtues may keep pace with the general sentiments and ideas of his age and country. But it would be idle to expect from him original speculations in the regions of moral duty, bold attempts to combat the riveted prejudices of the times, correct the hereditary severity of mistaken justice, revolt at the idea of abuses which custom and universal assent had sanctioned, and boldly stand forth, in defiance of the imputations of singularity and frenzy, to brave the malice of venal inhumanity, and plead the cause of an oppressed and unpitied people. For the truth of this I might refer to the elder and the younger Cato, and, in short, to the whole body of the stoic philosophers of antiquity, did not the biography and living examples of modern times furnish more ready, and equally pertinent illustrations.

In short, these cold-blooded reasoners are, in the moral world, what some blindly idolized individuals in the political world, when brought

to the touch-stone of trying circumstances, are found to be, mere men of mechanism and detail.

The enthusiast, on the other hand, the man of strong affections and exuberance of mental sensation, never appears to advantage in the common progress of events. But he will shine with superior resplendence, whenever his energetic feelings are roused into action, and he is placed in the situations which call for exertion—

> 'Beyond the fix'd and stated rules
> 'Of vice and virtue, in the schools—
> 'Beyond the letter of the law!'

In situations of this kind, the heart is wiser than the academy, and warm passions and quick sensibility are better than volumes of ethics, and catalogues of religious maxims: not that we mean to treat with disrespect the lights of revelation, or the helps of philosophy, without the assistance of which the generality of mankind would be left grovelling for ever in the darkness of sensuality, or constantly stumbling, feeble, and relaxed, even in the plain and level path of social life. All I mean to say is, that there are situations in which we may sometimes be placed, nay, to which we ought sometimes to aspire, in which the soul is called upon to soar above the dogmas of the one, and be actuated rather by a feeling consciousness of the genuine spirit, than by a tame obedience of the mere letter of the other.

That I may not be misunderstood, I will illustrate this by an example, which will speak home to the feelings of the present era of humanity. It is certain that the mere letter neither of religion nor philosophy, would dictate any exertion in behalf of that godlike and extensive sympathy, by which many amiable characters are now endeavouring to procure the abolition of a traffic which fattens, if I may so express myself, on human gore, and swells its sails with the sighs and groans of wretchedness and oppression; though, at the same time, the whole spirit of christianity, to those who have sensibility enough to feel its benignant force, calls loudly against the horrors and iniquity of this trade. The mere man, therefore, of ethical detail, who coldly regulates his conduct by verbal precept, could never have thought of becoming the first mover of a measure embracing such noble and extensive principles. No; the man whose humanity, colossus-like, first strode across the wide Atlantic, and from the shores of Afric to those of the western Ind, endeavoured to shed the soothing balm of atonement and peace, must have felt the godlike glow I am describing, and been stamped with characters of enthusiastic virtue, far different from the mechanical honesty of a counting-house, or the half-way justice, that dreads the pending, or the future penalty of a written law.

It must not, however, be concealed, that, as this character has its peculiar excellencies, so also it has its particular defects; which if we did not notice, the moral of my theme would be wanting.

The same energy of mind which urges to the noblest heights of benevolence, and assists towards the sublimest attainments of genius, may also, if not properly directed, hurry us on to the wildest extravagances of passion, and betray into impetuosity and folly. And though I am

ready to declare, that the opinion of Longinus, respecting the works of genius, is equally applicable to human nature, at least to the masculine character; though (since the uniformity of the one cannot be united with the sublime virtues of the other) I scruple not to pronounce, that the ennobled spirit and generous sensibility of the energetic character has, notwithstanding its concomitant faults of exuberant passions, imprudence, and follies, the most decided preference over the mechanical innocence of the colder disposition; yet must the opportunity never be neglected, of reminding characters of this description of the superior necessity under which they labour, of fortifying themselves, with two-fold assiduity, with the precepts of philosophy and the restraints of prudence; since, otherwise, those irregularities which may be pardoned as the alloys, become the principal traits of their dispositions; and generosity be lost in heedless extravagance, and sensibility in voluptuous irritation.

But it has been questioned whether this disposition, however advantageous to society, is even to be coveted by the individual, as a source of happiness equal to the anxiety and infelicity to which it is subject. The sordid children of dulness and insensibility not only delight in exposing the failings and inconsistencies of a character, whose nobler qualities they can never emulate, but they have also rendered it the ill-chosen object of their pointless ridicule, as a frenzy of nature, wounding itself with unnecessary pangs, and appropriating sorrows which happier indifference might with ease avoid; and the irritable nurslings of morbid affectation, to whom, in fact, nothing of sympathy is familiar, but the name, while they sought, by corresponding complaints of the pangs of sensibility, to exalt the reputation of their own feelings, have given apparent support to the unfounded insinuation.

Those, however, who are acquainted with the emotions I have attempted to describe, must often have felt, and they to whom my reasoning has been conspicuous, will be convinced, that such a disposition, though it may be liable to some pangs which mere *animal vegetation*, if I may venture the term, can never be conscious of, has an ample compensation in the pleasures and enjoyments to which none but itself can aspire.

It has often been said, that virtue is its own reward; and this, true as it is of all virtues, is even more particularly so of benevolence. Indeed, as self-love is the grand source of individual security, in that solitary condition which some philosophical visionaries have chosen to denominate the state of nature, so is benevolence the chief fountain of all that more permanent safety, and those more exalted pleasures, of which the social compact has rendered us susceptible; and those who prefer the sordid, to the nobler feelings, had better, for consistency's sake, either return to their savage woods, or acknowledge that, if without the feelings of benevolence, they experience its advantages, there must be an exquisite satisfaction in its full possession, which those who are destitute of it can never know.

Self-love, it is true, administers to the senses; but does not benevolence, still more extensively, to mental gratification? and whose enjoyments are of the longest duration?

The senses, like the dull clay in the hands of the workman, are capable of no pleasures but those immediately impressed upon them; while the mental affections, like ornamented mirrors of exquisite workmanship, are not only adorned with their own impressions, but catch, by reflection, all the pleasure of surrounding objects; and perhaps, in many instances, where sensibility has given its finest polish, reflect the image with a beauty and expression even superior to the original.

Thus then, while the benevolent enthusiast is diffusing happiness, he is, in fact, multiplying his own enjoyments; his highest enjoyments—those, which being implanted in the mind, will bloom (to borrow an oriental metaphor) like the unfading amaranths of paradise, through the eternity of mental existence; while the pleasures of sense, like the sickly blossoms of this sublunary sphere, smile but for a moment, expire, and are forgotten.

On MODESTY.

WE scruple not to pronounce this bashful virtue, for so we call it, the legitimate offspring of a tender sensibility, or the tender effect of that delicate moral feeling, which seems to make a part of our constitution, and which nothing but the tyrant custom, or a long course of oppression and violence, can eradicate or suppress.

Wherever modesty makes her appearance in her native dress, she is sure to create respect and reverence; for in this lovely form, she is always an attendant on merit. Where there is little discernment and less sensibility, where there is a want of real worth, or where native innocence has suffered, modesty has nothing to do; she flies the unfriendly abode, and blushes for those who perhaps never had, or have now lost, the power of blushing for themselves.

The tender offspring of moral sense may be cherished by a consciousness of native dignity, by a love of order and decorum, by that respect which we owe to ourselves and others; but, above all, by the proper culture of that meek and quiet spirit which is, in the sight of God, of great price indeed! We should take care to preserve our native stock, and improve it as much as possible.

"Modesty," says lord Chesterfield, or rather the appearance of modesty, (for his lordship has been thought to deal too much in appearances only) "is a polite accomplishment. It is engaging to the highest degree, and wins the hearts of all our acquaintance."

Though we cannot exactly agree with his lordship in the principle, yet we readily allow it is highly engaging indeed, and ought to make its untutored appearance in the whole of our behaviour.

Nothing arrogant or assuming; nothing impertinent or offensive; nothing indecent or contrary to the rules of decorum, should ever be advanced in conversation. Take care you do not make yourself the heroine of your own story; never talk of yourself at all if you can possibly help it, nor engross a larger share of the conversation than

belongs to you. Give every one leave to speak who may choose it, and be attentive to what is said; interrupt no one while speaking, nor take any advantage of that person whose organs of speech may be less sonorous, or whose lungs may be weaker than your own.

Some will colour their arrogance with, "It may seem strange indeed, that I talk in this manner of myself; it is what I by no means like, and should never do, if I had not been cruelly and unjustly accused; but when my character is attacked, it is a justice I owe to myself to defend it." Others will modestly boast of all their principal virtues, by calling them infirmities, and saying they are so unfortunate as to fall into those weaknesses. "I cannot see persons suffer," says one of this cast, "without relieving them. I cannot avoid speaking truth, though it may be sometimes very imprudent to do so."

"Follow," says Chesterfield, "rather than lead the company; that is, join in discourse on their subjects rather than start one of your own; if you have parts you will have opportunities enough of shewing them on every topic of conversation; and if you have none, it will be better to expose yourself upon a subject of other people's than on one of your own. Whatever perfections you may have, be assured people will find them out; but whether they do or not, nobody will take them upon your own word. The less you say of yourself, the more the world will give you credit for; and the more you say, the less they will believe you."

"There is no one living," says the Spectator, "would deny Cinna, the applause of an agreeable and facetious wit; or could possibly pretend that there is not something inimitably unforced and diverting in his manner of delivering all his sentiments in conversation, if he were able to conceal the strong desire of applause which he betrays in every syllable he utters. But they who converse with him see, that all the civilities they could do to him, or the kind things they could say to him, would fall short of what he expects; and therefore, instead of shewing him the esteem they have for his merit, their reflections turn only upon that which they observe he has of it himself.

"If you go among the ladies, and behold Gloriana trip into the room, with that theatrical ostentation of her charms; Myrtilla, with that soft regularity in her motion; Chloe, with such an indifferent familiarity; Corinna, with such a fond approach; and Roxana, with such a demand of respect, in the great gravity of her entrance; you find all the sex, who understand themselves, and act naturally, wait only for their absence, to tell you that all these ladies would impose themselves upon you; and each of them carry in their behaviour a consciousness of so much more than they should pretend to, that they lose what otherwise would be given them."

Let modesty appear in all your expenses, your equipage, dress, and diversions, as well as in conversation and manners. Never affect any kind of shew or distinction that does not properly belong to you. A fondness for shew of any kind has been generally considered as a certain indication of a weak mind; but whether this be admitted or not, we may venture to affirm, it always betrays a want of that virtue we are now recommending. Modesty never courts the public eye, never seeks her own praise, nor once thinks of that respect and reverence

which she silently inspires. She can hardly appear in public but in that sort of elegant distress which is a sure indication of a truly great and ingenious mind. Cicero tells us, that he never liked an orator who did not appear in some little confusion in the beginning of his speech, and confesses that he himself never entered on an oration without trembling and concern.

A just and reasonable modesty not only recommends eloquence, but sets off every great talent which a man can be possessed of. It heightens all the virtues which it accompanies; like the shades in painting, it raises and rounds every figure, and makes the colours more beautiful, though not so glaring, as they would be without it.

Female modesty is the guard as well as ornament of female virtue. When a woman loses her native modesty, no matter how great, or what becomes of her beauty, she loses all her charms, she loses all her virtue, and is undone for ever. We can therefore never too warmly recommend the preservation and culture of this refined and amiable principle The ladies would do well to consider, that as often as they set off their persons with a profusion of ornaments, dress to the utmost height of the mode, frequent public places, and expose their charms in their full blaze to the eye of every beholder, they put this delicate companion and guardian of their virtue to the severest trials; and who knows, but by and by she may be quite stared out of countenance, take her leave, and forsake them for ever?

Simplicity of dress is the most natural, and consequently the most striking and amiable. To instance in the art of painting. What honour and reputation have been acquired by those of this profession, who have approached nearest to the noble simplicity of ancient workmanship! Its business, you know, is most particularly with beauty, in all her finer forms. This, we presume, was never more successfully studied, or more strikingly exemplified, than in the works of the celebrated Raphael. Who can avoid being struck with the chaste, sober, and unaffected graces of his females! What remarkable plainness! What delightful modesty, even where the colours and the stuffs are intended to be the richest! How different from the painters in the Gothic style, who, not distinguishing between ornament and finery, which is its excess; between beauty and shew, which is the affectation of it, load their females with jewels, trappings, and other embellishments, magnificent indeed, but tawdry.

"The neat appearance," says doctor Fordyce, "of many females belonging to a sect well known, has been frequently remarked, and greatly admired. It would be much more agreeable, could it be disjoined from the stiffness that accompanies it; a defect utterly inconsistent with the rules of true taste. They plead religious principle for the form of their attire. We should believe them, but for the richness of the materials, and the fineness of the texture. Many of that sect are very intelligent: can they persuade themselves, that, through all their affectation of plainness, the world does not perceive the utmost pride of expense?"

"On this article your judgment will be seen; in joining frugality and simplicity together; in carefully distinguishing between what is glaring and what is genteel; in prefering elegance, with the plainest

habit; in wearing coſtly array but ſeldom, and always with eaſe: a point that may be attained by her who has learned not to think more highly of herſelf for the richeſt raiment ſhe can put on."

"If, in ſome of the moſt expenſive parts of female decoration, fewer hands were employed, a much geater number, on the other ſide, would find exerciſe in cultivating an elegant propriety, and a beautiful diverſity through all the reſt. The public taſte would be improved in a thouſand articles. And is there not reaſon to hope, that the appearance, the manners, and the minds of the fair would gain by the change?"

"But when ſhall women in general underſtand thoroughly the effect of a comely habit, that, independent of pomp, and deſpiſing extravagance, is worn as the ſober, yet tranſparent veil of a more lovely mind! Be aſſured, my young friends, it is thus you will captivate moſt, and pleaſe longeſt. By purſuing this plan, you will preſerve an equality in that great and indiſpenſible article of neatneſs. You will be clean, and you will be eaſy; nor will you be in danger of appearing butterflies one day, and flatterns the next. You will be always ready to receive your friends, without ſeeming to be caught, or being at all diſconcerted on account of your dreſs. How ſeldom is this the caſe among the flutterers of the age! I wiſh we could ſay amongſt them only."

ANECDOTE.

IT is a fact, perhaps not generally known, that the late John Paul Jones, at the time that he was attempting to fit out a little ſquadron, during the late war, in one of the ports of France, to cruiſe on the coaſt of England, was much delayed by neglects and diſappointments from the court, that had nearly fruſtrated his plans. Chance one day threw into his hands an old almanac, containing *Poor Richard's maxims*, by Dr. Franklin. In that curious aſſemblage of uſeful inſtruction a man is adviſed "if he wiſhes to have any buſineſs faithfully and expeditiouſly performed, to go on it himſelf: otherwiſe to ſend."—Jones was immediately ſtruck, upon reading this maxim, with the impropriety of his paſt conduct, in only *ſending* letters and meſſages to court, when he ought to have gone in perſon. He inſtantly ſet out, and, by dint of perſonal repreſentations, procured the immediate equipment of the ſquadron, which afterwards ſpread terror along the eaſtern coaſt of England, and with which he ſo gloriouſly captured the Serapis and other Britiſh ſhips of war, returning from the Baltic. In gratitude to Dr. Franklin's maxim, he named the principal ſhip of his ſquadron after the name of the pretended almanac-maker, *Le Bon Homme Richard*, Father Richard.

REMARKS *on the* CONSTITUTION *of the* UNITED STATES, *extracted from a* SERIES *of* LETTERS, *written by* Mr. JEFFERSON.

Some strictures on the political character and conduct of the secretary of state, which lately appeared in one of the Philadelphia newspapers, occasioned the publication of these extracts, together with an introduction, of which the following is a part:

"IT will be remembered, that at the time the constitution was formed, and whilst under discussion in the state conventions, Mr. Jefferson was in France, the minister of America. That of the train of events which brought about the important crisis of a general convention, as of those which followed it, he was an interested, but a distant spectator. The nature of the trust reposed in him by the public, confined him to the spot. The only part he could bear in the cares of that momentous period was, to unite with his fellow-citizens in the most fervent wishes, that their labours might be successful, and redound to the advantage of their common country."

"What his sentiments were upon the subject of the constitution, and that of government generally, as connected with it, will be seen by the following extracts, taken from his letters addressed to a particular friend, at the time of their respective dates, and in the course of a very interesting and confidential correspondence. As he could not have foreseen that, in any possible event, they would be laid before the public, they must be considered as the free and spontaneous effusions of his heart. From that friend I have received them, and will, if any doubt should be suggested of their authenticity, immediately make them accessible to others. To Mr. Jefferson, whose approbation to this measure has neither been asked nor obtained, some apology for the freedom is due: to the confidence, however, which his own conduct has inspired, that it was never his wish, his sentiments, upon this or any other subject of a public nature, should be withheld from his countrymen, it is to be attributed."

No. I.

Paris, December 20, 1787.

"THE season admitting only of operations in the cabinet, and these being in a great measure secret, I have little to fill a letter. I will therefore make up the deficiency, by adding a few words on the constitution proposed by our convention.

I like much the general idea of framing a government which should go on of itself peaceably, without needing continual reference to the state legislatures. I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary, and executive. I like the power given to the legislative to levy taxes. I am captivated by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little states; of the latter to equal and the former to proportional influence. I am much pleased too with the substitution of the method of voting by persons, instead of that of voting by states: and I like the negative given to the execu-

tive with a third of either houſe, though I ſhould have liked it better, had the judiciary been appointed for that purpoſe, or inveſted with a ſimilar and ſeparate power. There are other good things, of leſs moment.

I will now add what I do not like. *Firſt.* The omiſſion of a bill of rights, providing clearly, and without the aid of ſophiſms, for freedom of religion, freedom of the preſs, protection againſt ſtanding armies, reſtrictions againſt monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land, and not by the law of nations. To ſay that a bill of rights was not neceſſary, becauſe all is reſerved in the caſe of the general government which is not given, while in the particular ones all is given which is not reſerved, is ſurely a gratis dictum, oppoſed by ſtrong inferences from the body of the inſtrument, as well as from the omiſſion of the clauſe of our preſent confederation, which had declared that in expreſs terms. It was a hard concluſion, to ſay, becauſe there has been no uniformity among the ſtates, as to the caſes triable by jury, becauſe ſome have been ſo incautious as to abandon this mode of trial, therefore the more prudent ſtates ſhall be reduced to the ſame level of calamity. It would have been much more juſt and wiſe to have concluded the other way, that as moſt of the ſtates had judiciouſly preſerved this palladium, thoſe who had wandered ſhould be brought back to it, and to have eſtabliſhed general right inſtead of general wrong. Let me add, that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to againſt every government on earth, general or particular, and that no juſt government ſhould refuſe, or reſt on inference.

The *ſecond* feature I diſlike, and greatly diſlike, is the abandonment, in every inſtance, of the neceſſity of rotation in office, and moſt particularly in the caſe of the preſident. Experience concurs with reaſon, in concluding that the firſt magiſtrate will always be re-elected if the conſtitution permits it. He is then an officer for life. This once obſerved, it becomes of ſo much conſequence to certain nations, to have a friend or a foe at the head of our affairs, that they will interfere, with money and with arms. A Galloman or an Angloman, will be ſupported by the nation he befriends; if once elected, and at a ſecond or third election out-voted by one or two votes, he will pretend falſe votes, foul play, hold poſſeſſion of the reins of government, be ſupported by the ſtates voting for him, eſpecially if they are the central ones, lying in a compact body themſelves, and ſeparating their opponents; and they will be aided by one nation of Europe, while the majority are aided by another. The election of a preſident of America, ſome years hence, will be much more intereſting to certain nations of Europe, than ever the election of a king of Poland was. Reflect on all the inſtances in hiſtory, ancient and modern, of elective monarchies, and ſay if they do not give foundation for my fears. The Roman emperors, the popes, while they were of any importance, the German emperors, till they became hereditary in practice, the kings of Poland, the deys of the Ottoman dependencies. It may be ſaid, that if elections are to be attended with theſe diſorders, the ſeldomer they are renewed the better. But experience ſhews that the only

way to prevent diſorder is, to render them unintereſting by frequent changes. An incapacity to be elected a ſecond time would have been the only effectual preventative. The power of removing him every fourth year, by the vote of the people, is a power which will not be exerciſed. The king of Poland is removable every day by the diet, yet he is never removed.

Smaller objections are, the appeal in fact as well as in law, and the binding all perſons, legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, by oath, to maintain that conſtitution. I do not pretend to decide, what would be the beſt method of procuring the eſtabliſhment of the manifold good things in this conſtitution, and of getting rid of the bad. Whether by adopting it, in hopes of future amendment, or, after it has been duly weighed and canvaſſed by the people, after ſeeing the parts they generally diſlike, and thoſe they generally approve, to ſay to them "We ſee now what you wiſh. Send together your deputies again; let them frame a conſtitution for you, omitting what you have condemned, and eſtabliſhing the powers you approve." Even theſe will be a great addition to the energy of your government; at all events, I hope you will not be diſcouraged from other trials, if the preſent one ſhould fail of its full effect. The late rebellion in Maſſachuſetts has given more alarm than I think it ſhould have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen ſtates in the courſe of eleven years, is but one for each ſtate in a century and a half; nor will any degree of power in the hands of government prevent inſurrections. France, with all its deſpotiſm and two or three hundred thouſand men always in arms, has had three inſurrections in the three years I have been here, in every one of which greater numbers were engaged than in Maſſachuſetts, and a great deal more blood was ſpilt. In Turkey, which Monteſquieu ſuppoſes more deſpotic, inſurrections are the events of every day. In England, where the hand of power is lighter than here, but heavier than with us, they happen every half dozen years. Compare again the ferocious depredations of their inſurgents with the order, the moderation, and the almoſt ſelf-extinguiſhment of ours. After all, it is my principle, that the will of the majority ſhould always prevail. If they approve the propoſed convention, in all its parts, I ſhall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they ſhall find it work wrong. I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there ſhall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt, as in Europe. *Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good ſenſe we may rely, with the moſt ſecurity, for the preſervation of a due degree of liberty.*"

No. 11.

Paris, July 31, 1788.

"I SINCERELY rejoice at the acceptance of our new conſtitution, by nine ſtates. It is a good canvaſs, on which ſome ſtrokes only want retouching. What theſe are, I think are ſufficiently manifeſted by the general voice, from north to ſouth, which calls for a bill

of rights. It seems pretty generally understood, that this should go to juries, habeas corpus, standing armies, printing, religion, and monopolies. I conceive there may be difficulty, in finding general modifications of these, suited to the habits of all the states. But if such cannot be found, then it is better to establish trials by jury, the right of habeas corpus, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion, in all cases, and to abolish standing armies in time of peace, and monopolies in all cases, than not to do it in any. The few cases wherein these things may do evil cannot be weighed against the multitude wherein the want of them will do evil.

In disputes between a foreigner and a native, a trial by jury may be improper; but if this exception cannot be agreed to, the remedy will be, to model the jury, by giving the medietas linguæ in civil, as well as in criminal cases.

Why suspend the habeas corpus in insurrections and rebellions! The parties who may be arrested, may be charged instantly with a well defined crime; of course, the judge will remand them: if the public safety requires that the government should have a man imprisoned on less probable testimony, in those than in other emergencies, let him be taken and tried, retaken and retried, while the necessity continues, only giving him redress against the government for damages. Examine the history of England, see how few cases of the suspension of the habeas corpus law have been worthy of that suspension. They have been either real treasons, wherein the parties might as well have been charged at once, or sham-plots, where it was shameful they should ever have been suspected. Yet for the few cases, wherein the suspension of the habeas corpus has done real good, that operation is now become habitual, and the minds of the nation almost prepared to live under its constant suspension.

A declaration that the federal government will never restrain the presses from printing any thing they please, will not take away the liability of the printers for false facts printed. The declaration that religious faith shall be unpunished, does not give impunity to criminal acts dictated by religious error. The saying there shall be no monopolies, lessens the incitements to ingenuity, which is spurred on by the hope of a monopoly for a limited time, as of fourteen years: but the benefit, even of limited monopolies, is too doubtful to be opposed to that of their general suspension. If no check can be found to keep the number of standing troops within safe bounds, while they are tolerated as far as necessary, abandon them altogether; discipline well the militia, and guard the magazines with them. More than magazine guards will be useless if few, and dangerous if many. No European nation can ever send against us such a regular army as we need fear, and it is hard if our militia are not equal to those of Canada and Florida.

My idea then is, that though proper exceptions to these general rules are desirable, and probably practicable, yet if the exceptions cannot be agreed on, the establishment of the rules in all cases will do ill in very few. I hope therefore a bill of rights will be formed, to guard the people against the federal government, as they are already guarded against their state governments in most instances.

The abandoning the principle of necessary rotation in the senate has, I see, been disapproved by many; in the case of the president by none. I readily therefore suppose my opinion wrong, when opposed by the majority, as in the former instance, and the totality in the latter. In this, however, I should have done it with more complete satisfaction, had we all judged from the same position."

No. III.

Paris, Nov. 18, 1788.

"AS to the bill of rights, however, I still think it should be added, and I am glad to see that three states have at length considered the perpetual re-eligibility of the president, as an article which should be amended. I should deprecate with you indeed the meeting of a new convention. I hope they will adopt the mode of amendment by congress and the assemblies: in which case I should not fear any dangerous innovation in the plan. But the minorities are too respectable not to be entitled to some sacrifices of opinion in the majority, especially when a great proportion of them would be contented with a bill of rights."

No. IV.

Paris, March 15, 1789.

"I CANNOT refrain from making short answers to the objections which your letter states to have been raised.

1. That the rights in question are reserved by the manner in which the federal powers are granted. *Answer:* A constitutive act may certainly be so formed as to need no declaration of rights. The act itself has the force of a declaration as far as it goes; and if it goes to all material points, nothing more is wanting. In the draught of a constitution which I had once a thought of proposing in Virginia, and printed afterwards, I endeavoured to reach all the great objects of public liberty, and did not mean to add a declaration of rights. Probably the object was imperfectly executed; but the deficiencies would have been supplied by others in the course of discussion. But in a constitutive act, which leaves some precious articles unnoticed, and raises implications against others, a declaration of rights becomes necessary, by way of supplement. This is the case of our new federal constitution. This instrument forms us into one state, as to certain objects, and gives us a legislative and executive body for these objects: it should therefore guard us against their abuses of power, within the field submitted to them.

2. A positive declaration of some essential rights could not be obtained in the requisite latitude. *Answer*: If we cannot secure all our rights, let us secure what we can.

3. The limited powers of the federal government, and jealousy of the subordinate governments, afford a security which exists in no other instance. *Answer*: The first member of this seems resolvable into the first objection before stated. The jealousy of the subordinate governments is a precious reliance; but observe that those governments are only agents. They must have principles furnished them whereon to found their opposition. The declaration of rights will

be the text whereby they will try all the acts of the federal government; in this view it will be necessary to the federal government also: as by the same text, they may try the opposition of the subordinate governments.

4. Experience proves the inefficacy of a bill of rights. True; but though it is not absolutely efficacious under all circumstances, it is of great potency always, and rarely inefficacious. A brace the more will often keep up the building, which would have fallen with that brace the less. There is a remarkable difference between the characters of the inconveniencies which attend a declaration of rights, and those which attend the want of it. The inconveniencies of the declaration are, that it may cramp government in its useful exertions; but the evil of this is short-lived, moderate, and reparable. The inconveniencies of the want of a declaration, are permanent, afflicting, and irreparable; they are in a constant progression from bad to worse. I know there are some among us who would now establish a monarchy, but they are inconsiderable in number and weight of character. The rising race are all republicans. We were educated in royalism: no wonder if some of us retain that idolatry still. Our young people are educated in republicanism: an apostacy from that to royalism is unprecedented and impossible. I am much pleased with the prospect that a declaration of rights will be added; and hope it will be done in that way which will not endanger the whole frame of the government, or any essential part of it."

The LIFE *and singular* PROJECTS *of the celebrated* JOHN LAW, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL *of the* FINANCES *in* FRANCE.

JOHN Law, one of the most singular and extraordinary characters of modern times, was born at Edinburgh, in April 1671, and, on the death of his father, who was a goldsmith, or, more properly speaking, a banker in that city, inherited a respectable landed estate, called Lauriston. It is said, that he made some progress in polite literature, but his inclinations prompting him in a particular manner to those studies, known at present under the name of finance, he became profoundly skilled in every thing relating to banks, taxes, &c. &c. and by means of a branch of knowledge, but little cultivated at that time, he laid the foundation of his future celebrity.

Notwithstanding the seeming dryness of the pursuits in which he had engaged, and which had engrossed great part of his time, such was his care in adorning a person uncommonly handsome by nature, that he was distinguished by the appellation of beau Law.

Having visited London in 1694, his wit and accomplishments readily procured him admission into the first circles, in which he attracted the attention of the ladies, among whom he is reported to have been uncommonly successful. Unhappily, however, on this very account, he was involved in a quarrel with a Mr. Wilson, about the

ſiſter of the firſt earl of Villiers, afterwards counteſs of Orkney, and a duel having taken place, Mr. Law left his antagoniſt dead on the field of battle. Being apprehended and committed to Newgate, ſome circumſtances rendered it unadviſeable for him to await the iſſue of a trial: he therefore attempted, and was lucky enough to effect his eſcape; on this occaſion he is ſuppoſed to have retired to the continent.

In 1700 he ſeems to have returned to Edinburgh, as he appears in that year to have written his "Propoſals and reaſons for conſtituting a council of trade."

In this work he ſubmits to the public a plan for reviving, encouraging, and promoting the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, then, in conſequence of various untoward circumſtances, particularly the miſcarriage of the Darien expedition, reduced to a very low ebb, by conſtituting, by act of parliament, a council of trade, in whom ſhould be veſted the whole of the king's revenues, the biſhops lands and rents, all charitable benefactions and appropriations, one-tenth of all grain and malt raiſed and made in the kingdom, one-twentieth of all ſums ſued for at law, one-fortieth of all ſucceſſions, legacies, and ſales, and ſome other articles too long to be enumerated.

This great income he propoſed to employ (after deducting a ſtated annual ſum for his majeſty's uſe, and for the ſalaries of the members of the council) in promoting, by all manner of ways, the trade, fiſheries, and manufactures of Scotland, building workhouſes, and purchaſing all means and materials for employing, relieving, and maintaining the poor, buying up and keeping at a regular rate the ſeveral products and manufactures of the kingdom, making and maintaining highways, bridges, and harbours, and in other beneficial purſuits. He alſo propoſes that the council ſhould be empowered to diſpenſe with prejudicial monopolies, regulate the weights and meaſures, puniſh fraudulent bankrupts, liberate honeſt debtors who had made a fair ſurrender of their effects, and take up all beggars and vagabonds; and it is further ſubmitted, that all duties upon exports, and upon ſuch imports as are proper to be meliorated or manufactured in the kingdom, ſhould be taken off, one per cent. only excepted; but that the duties on all other imports be doubled.

From the exertions of a council veſted with ſuch powers, and poſſeſſing revenues ſo ample, Mr. Law ſeems to have entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes, that the trade and manufactures of Scotland would ſpeedily have been recovered from the calamitous ſituation in which at that time they were; but the project did not appear in the ſame light to, and conſequently met with no encouragement from, the ſupreme judicature of the kingdom.

This publication, however, occaſioned Mr. Law to be introduced to the firſt duke of Argyle, the marquis of Lorn, lord Archibald Campbell, the marquis of Tweedale, and other noblemen of Scotland.

Under ſuch a powerful patronage, he was induced, in 1705, to preſent a plan to parliament for removing the difficulties the kingdom was then expoſed to by the great ſcarcity of money, and the inſolvency of the bank, preparatory to, and explanatory of which he publiſh-

ed another work, entitled "Money and trade considered, with a proposal for supplying the nation with money."

The object of this plan was to issue notes, which were to be lent on landed property, upon the principle, that being so secured, they would be equal in value to gold and silver money of the same denomination, and even preferred to those metals, as not being liable to fall in value like them.

This plausible scheme was, however, looked upon by parliament as an improper expedient, but the real reason for its rejection is said to have been an apprehension, that all the estates in the kingdom would in a short time have been dependent upon government.

Perceiving all his plans to be treated with neglect, Mr. Law now abandoned his native country, and repaired to Holland, with a view to improve himself in that great school of banking and finance. He afterwards resided at Brussels, where his profound skill in calculation is said to have contributed to his extraordinary success at play.

At Paris, his mind was occupied with higher objects, for soon after his arrival there he presented a plan to M. Desmaretz, comptroller-general of the finances under Louis XIV. which, being approved of by that minister, was laid before the king. "His majesty, instead of enquiring into the merits of the project, asked if Law was a catholic?" and being answered in the negative, said, "that he would have nothing to do with a heretic." This is an instance of the *wisdom* of his majesty!

Mr. Law left the capital of France in 1714, and in the course of his travels won considerable sums at play, a pursuit to which he seems to have been particularly addicted. To Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, to whom he was introduced, he communicated a scheme for aggrandizing the territories of that prince; but his majesty declined carrying it into execution, under pretence that his dominions were too small for the execution of so great a design.

On the demise of Louis XIV. Mr. Law returned to Paris, and gained the confidence of the regent, to such a degree, that he not only admitted him to his convivial parties, but nominated him one of the counsellors of state.

The long and expensive wars of Louis XIV. had superinduced an enormous weight of debt upon the nation, which groaned under an intolerable weight of taxes, imposed for the payment of the interest. All industry was thus checked; trade in a manner annihilated; manufactures, commerce, and navigation had almost ceased; the merchant and the trader were reduced to beggary, and the artificer was compelled, for want of employment, to leave the kingdom. In short, such was the state of affairs, that it was debated in council, and proposed to the regent, to expunge at once the debts of the state, by a national bankruptcy. This proposal he nobly rejected, preferring the more equitable method of establishing a commission called a Visa, to enquire into the claims of the state creditors. By this commission the national debt was at length put into a kind of order, and its amount reduced to two thousand millions of livres, which, at twenty-eight livres the mark of standing silver,

(two pounds ſterling) the then denomination of the ſpecie in France, made above one hundred and forty-two millions ſterling.

Mr. Law propoſed to remedy the evils neceſſarily attendant on ſuch an immenſe debt, by eſtabliſhing a bank for iſſuing notes, ſecured on landed property, and on all the royal revenues, unalienably engaged for that purpoſe.

This ſcheme was approved of, but the conjuncture being thought unfavourable, he could only obtain letters patent, dated May 20, 1716, for eſtabliſhing a private bank at Paris, along with his brother and ſome other aſſociates. Their ſtock conſiſted of one thouſand two hundred ſhares, of five thouſand livres, which, at forty livres the marc, amounted to two hundred and fifty pounds each, and the whole to three hundred thouſand ſterling.

The general bank of Law and company ſeems to have commenced buſineſs under the moſt flattering auſpices; for it was not only favoured with the avowed protection of the regent, but acquired the public confidence, by providing againſt the arbitrary practice then common in France, of varying the denominations of the coin at the will of the monarch. The effects of ſuch an unjuſtifiable meaſure were anticipated by the new company, who engaged to pay to the bearer, "—— livres in coin, of the ſame weight and fineneſs with the coin of the day of the date of each note." Such, in a ſhort time, was the reputation of Law's notes, that they roſe one per cent. above the value of the current coin, and are ſaid to have produced the moſt beneficial effects on the induſtry and trade of the nation.

On the 14th of December 1718, the bank was diſſolved by an arbitrary arret, iſſued by the regent, who, obſerving the great advantages ariſing from it, and perceiving alſo that the people were growing fond of paper money, reſolved to take it into the hands of government.

Such had been the credit of this company, that, at this period, the emiſſion of their notes amounted to no leſs than fifty-nine millions of livres.

(To be concluded in our next.)

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our laſt—page 165.)

1780. AFTER the ſurrender of Charleſton, the Britiſh poſted garriſons in different parts of the country, for the purpoſe of awing the inhabitants into a general ſubmiſſion. Nor was this difficult to be effected, among a people whoſe ſpirits were broken by a ſeries of misfortunes, who were without an army to which the militia might repair, and who could not flee, without leaving their families and effects in the hands of the enemy. In every part of South-Carolina, except the extremities bordering on North-Carolina, ſchemes of

further resistance were abandoned; a few fled, and the rest generally laid down their arms.

In the mean time, the British marched towards North-Carolina, with upwards of two thousand men. This movement obliged several parties, who had collected in the northern extremity of the state, with the expectation of relieving Charleston, to retreat. One party, however, consisting of about three hundred continentals, commanded by colonel Buford, was overtaken by lieut. col. Tarleton, at Waxhaws, and totally defeated. Tarleton's party was about seven hundred in number, and was composed of cavalry and a corps of infantry, mounted on horseback, for the sake of expedition. Tarleton demanded the surrender of Buford and his corps, on terms similar to those granted to the garrison of Charleston, with which they refused to comply. While the flags were passing and repassing, the British had nearly surrounded their adversaries; and no sooner was the negociation at an end, than a furious attack was commenced. The continental party made but a feeble resistance, and soon cried out for quarter; but, although the main body laid down their arms, a few straggling soldiers continued to fire. This furnished a pretext to the British for rushing on with redoubled fury, and putting the unarmed, unresisting Americans to the sword. The carnage was horrible. Five sixths of the whole were either killed, or so badly wounded, that they were obliged to be left on the field. The remainder were chiefly made prisoners.

Shortly after the surrender of Charleston, a hand-bill was circulated among the inhabitants, and, although it was not signed by any person, there was every reason to believe, that it was published by the authority of sir Henry Clinton. It stated that the success of the British was no longer doubtful, and that no danger could arise to any who should now espouse the royal cause. Those who had families were informed, that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia, for the maintenance of peace and good order in their respective districts; but it was expected that those who had no families would cheerfully assist the British troops "to drive their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders;" when on service, they were to be allowed pay, &c. in the same manner as the king's troops. About the same time, a proclamation was issued, by sir Henry Clinton, in which he warned all persons not to oppose the establishment of royal government, under pain of being treated with the utmost severity in their persons, and of having their estates confiscated. In a few days after, he and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for past offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all the rights and immunities they had previously enjoyed, under a free British government—exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures.

The hope of protection and security, without being exposed to the calamities of war, induced many to assume the character of British subjects, while others, from the same motives, became prisoners on parole. A party had always been attached to royal government, though they were obliged to submit to the laws of the state. These

now exulted in the success of the British arms, and were zealous, in the present favourable situation of affairs, to promote a cause which they had so much at heart. Their number, however, was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection. Sir Henry Clinton, not discriminating between royalists from principle, and those who assumed that character with a view to temporary convenience, was led to believe that the state was completely subdued; and that the submission of the inhabitants was to be attributed, generally, to their attachment to the royal cause. Under this impression he wrote a letter to the minister, in which he informed him, that there were few men in the province who were not either prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces; and that vast numbers of the inhabitants came in daily, from every quarter, to testify their allegiance, and to offer their services in support of his majesty's government.

It was not unusual for the British ministry to hear that a large majority of the Americans were firmly attached to the cause of royalty. With information of this kind they had been amused, for several years previous to the commencement of the war, by the governors of the several colonies, and other court favourites, who represented the almost unanimous voice of the people, to be the clamour of a very inconsiderable part of the community, both with respect to numbers and character. This may, perhaps, account, in some measure, for the disrespect with which the petitions and remonstrances of the Americans were treated; and for the folly of ministers, in precipitating the nation into measures, the very reverse of those which justice and policy equally required them to adopt.—Throughout the war, they laboured under the same delusion, with respect to the real sentiments of the Americans. Those royalists who attached themselves to the British armies, or took shelter with them, almost uniformly asserted, that the bulk of the Americans, in most parts of the country, were friendly to the views of the ministry and parliament of Great Britain; and only waited for a convenient opportunity openly to avow their political sentiments, and, if necessary, to take up arms in support of the royal cause. The experience of the British generals, however, did not often establish the veracity of this information. They found that those who changed sides were always willing to be the messengers of good tidings to their new friends; and that they usually described the state of affairs in a manner that better accorded with their own wishes than with truth. It is not, however, improbable, that some believed the erroneous statement they gave to be a just one; for it frequently happens, that men mistake the principles which they find to be prevalent in their own narrow circles of friends and associates, for those of the community at large; and as men are apt to associate most intimately with those whose principles and practice are similar to their own, it was very natural for the American tories to suppose the friends of ministerial measures to be much more numerous, in the united states, than they really were.

But, from whatever cause it might arise, certain it is, that the enemies of America were greatly misinformed respecting the general sen-

timents of the people. They were of opinion that the refractory might easily be subdued, and held in awe, by the assistance of the royalists; and general Howe, in particular, was severely censured for not having availed himself of that assistance, to the extent which it was supposed he might have done.

This system, of subduing one part of the Americans by the other, and of establishing such an internal force in each subjugated colony, as would be nearly, if not entirely, equal to its preservation and defence afterwards, had been so often held out as exceedingly practicable; and, indeed, as requiring only adoption to insure its succcess, that sir Henry Clinton resolved to have recourse to means which were represented as so obvious, and for the supposed negligence of which his predecessors had suffered so much obloquy and reproach. Nor had a more favourable opportunity occurred, since the beginning of the war, for trying the experiment. The inhabitants of South-Carolina, in general, were, at this crisis, without a gleam of hope, that they should ever be able to make an effectual resistance against the arms of Great-Britain. There was no regular army within four hundred miles, to aid the friends of independence, while the British were posted in force all over the country. The armies in the southern states were either captured, or totally defeated and dispersed; insomuch that there was scarcely any regular force, to the southward of Pennsylvania, not even sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Those who should attempt to oppose the re-establishment of the British government, were threatened with confiscation and death; while every encouragement was held forth to induce the people to take up arms, and enrol themselves under the royal banners.—Such was the gloomy state of American affairs, in the southern part of the union, when the inhabitants were required to take up arms in support of the British government.

Specious promises of protection and security having already induced the greater part of the inhabitants to submit as subjects, or take their paroles as prisoners of war, sir Henry Clinton, on the 3d of June, issued a proclamation, setting forth, that it was "proper for *all persons* to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government"—and declaring, that "all the inhabitants of the province, who were prisoners on parole, (those who were taken in fort Moultrie and Charleston excepted) should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their patroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was further declared, that all persons, of the description abovementioned, who should neglect to return to their allegiance, and to support his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels, and be treated accordingly.—Those who had submitted as prisoners on parole, justly complained of this arbitrary change of their condition, from prisoners to citizens. They found themselves brought into a dilemma, which involved them in the necessity either of fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia.—The greater part of those who had submitted as subjects, in hopes of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, were equally astonished and confounded, to find themselves called upon to take up arms in support of royal

government. Though they had submitted from motives of fear or convenience, a large majority retained their wonted affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of bearing arms against them. "If we must fight," said they, "let it be on the side of liberty, our friends, and our country." Many, looking on this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, and reflecting on the vengeance denounced against such as did not return to their allegiance, as British subjects, took up arms, for the purpose of self-defence. But a much greater number, who were too much in the power of the British, to allow them to consult their own inclination, exchanged their paroles for the protection of British subjects; but most of them, with a secret determination to break the compulsory engagement, as soon as a convenient opportunity should present itself. With this coercive measure, therefore, commenced the decline of British authority, in South-Carolina; an effect directly the contrary of what was expected by sir Henry Clinton, who had embarked for New-York, a few days after the date of the proclamation, with the main army, leaving about four thousand men, under the command of lord Cornwallis, for the southern service.

While lord Cornwallis remained at Charleston, devoting his attention to the government and affairs of South-Carolina, and forming the inhabitants into a British militia, the part of the army destined to active service, was advanced towards the frontier of North-Carolina, under the immediate command of lord Rawdon, who, after some time, fixed his head-quarters at Camden. This place, on account of its easy communication with various and remote parts of the country, induced lord Cornwallis to make it a general repository of provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. for the use of the army in its intended operations.—He extended his views to the reduction of North-Carolina, whither he had been pressingly invited, by a considerable number of loyalists, who resided in the back parts of that state. But finding the season of the year unfavourable for active exertions in that climate, and being informed that the country could not furnish an adequate supply of provisions, he requested the loyalists in North-Carolina to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the close of August, or beginning of September, when, he assured them, he would march an army into their country.—But the loyalists, hurried by their impatience, and prompted, as they said, by the severe treatment they experienced, rose tumultuously, and without the previous formation of any plan of acting; the consequence of which was, that they were quickly suppressed, and compelled to consult their safety, by making the best of their way to the British quarters. Col. Bryan, at the head of about 800 loyalists, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin, effected a junction with the 71st regiment, stationed in the Cheraws; but a number of the inhabitants of Tryon county, who took up arms, under the direction of col. Moore, were attacked and defeated by a party of the whig militia, commanded by general Rutherford. Several other parties were equally unsuccessful.

While the victorious British were busily employed in securing their late acquisition of territory, and in planning future and more exten-

ſive conqueſts, the Americans were endeavouring to collect an army to oppoſe them. General Lincoln had early repreſented to congreſs, the neceſſity of taking effectual meaſures, for checking the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, in the ſouthern ſtates; and, during the ſiege of Charleſton, he prevailed on governor Rutledge to go out of town, and uſe his exertions and influence for the ſame purpoſe. That gentleman accordingly intereſted himſelf in obtaining aſſiſtance from congreſs, and from the governments of Virginia and North-Carolina, both of which were impelled, as well by principle as a ſenſe of their own danger, to make the moſt vigorous exertions in behalf of their ſiſter ſtate.

The troops of the Delaware and Maryland lines, amounting to about 1400 effective men, had been ordered to march from general Waſhington's head-quarters, at Morriſtown, near the end of March, to the relief of Charleſton; but, owing to a want of the neceſſary ſupplies, the quarter-maſter-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as ſoon as had been expected. The manufacturers, employed in furniſhing different articles for the army, refuſed either to go on with their buſineſs, or to deliver what they had completed; declaring they had ſuffered ſo much from the depreciation of the circulating medium, that they would not part with their property, unleſs they received immediate payment. By means of great exertions, however, the troops were enabled to ſet out on their march by the middle of April. Proceeding by land to the Head-of-Elk, they there embarked for Peterſburg, whence they again proceeded through the country, towards South-Carolina. This force was at firſt commanded by major-general baron de Kalb; but in the month of June, general Gates was appointed to the command of the ſouthern army. In Virginia, great exertions were made to facilitate the expeditious march of the troops; but in North-Carolina, little or no preparations were made, either for the ſuſtenance of the troops, or the tranſportation of their baggage. The baron was therefore under the neceſſity of halting on Deep-river, the 6th of July, and of continuing in that ſituation till the arrival of general Gates, on the 25th.—During this time, he found great difficulty in procuring daily proviſions for the army; much leſs was it in his power to obtain ſuch ſupplies, as would juſtify his proceeding through the dreary and barren waſte which lay before him. The commiſſaries and quarter-maſters complained, that the want of caſh and of credit were inſuperable obſtacles to the diſcharge of their duty. He was in daily expectation, however, of being joined by a conſiderable body of North-Carolina militia, which had taken the field under general Caſwell; and of receiving, at the ſame time, a ſupply of proviſions. But he was diſappointed in both. Caſwell was engaged in keeping the diſaffected inhabitants in awe; and no part of the promiſed ſupply was ever received. Under theſe circumſtances, a council of war recommended to baron de Kalb, inſtead of attempting to proceed by the direct road to Camden, which lay through a country of pine barrens, ſand-hills, and ſwamps, to file off towards the well cultivated ſettlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws, where abundant ſupplies for the army might be obtained. But general Gates, on taking the command, preferred the direct road to

Camden, to this circuitous route. He conceived it to be most for the interest of the united states, that the army should arrive in the vicinity of the British encampments as soon as possible. The troops accordingly passed Deep-river, on the 27th of July; and proceeded immediately towards Camden.

In the mean time, that tranquility which the British had enjoyed, in South-Carolina, for some time after the reduction of Charleston, met with considerable interruption. As their troops advanced towards the upper part of the state, many of the determined friends of independence, rather than submit as British subjects, or as prisoners on parole, deserted their homes, and took refuge in North-Carolina. Among these was col. Sumpter, a brave and enterprising officer, and an enthusiastic whig. Soon after he quitted his home, a party of the British turned his wife and family out of doors, and burned his house, with all the effects it contained. The ill-judged severity of the British was a leading cause of the opposition which they afterwards experienced. Instead of attempting to concilate the affections of those, from whom fear had extorted a temporary submission, they exasperated them, by the devastation and plunder of their property; insomuch, that vast numbers were disposed to gratify their resentment, as soon as a convenient opportunity should occur. The South-Carolina exiles having chosen col Sumpter for their leader, returned to their own state, and boldly took the field against a powerful and victorious enemy, at a time when the inhabitants had apparently relinquished all thoughts of further resistance. This little band of patriot soldiers took the field under great disadvantages. Many of them were unprovided with arms; and their supply of ammunition was exceedingly scanty. They were under the necessity of getting rude weapons of war made, by blacksmiths, from the iron of farming utensils; and the only way in which they could furnish themselves with bullets, was, by melting pewter furniture, which was given to them for the purpose, by private house-keepers.

This first appearance of opposition roused all the indignant passions of the British leaders, against the inhabitants. Without taking any share of the blame to themselves, for constraining men to submit to an authority, which neither their reason nor affections acknowledged, they charged them with studied duplicity and treachery; and, laying aside lenient measures, for those that were dictated by revenge, confined several of the inhabitants, on suspicion of their being accessary to the recommencement of hostilities. This, added to their insolence and rapine, not only prevented an increase of the real friends of royal government, but disgusted those who had been its firmest adherents.

The first effort of renewed warfare, on the part of the Americans, was made by 133 of Sumpter's corps, on the 12th of July, who attacked and routed a detachment of British regulars and militia, which were posted in a lane, at Williamson's plantation, in the upper part of South-Carolina. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since the beginning of the year. Captain Huck, who commanded the British party, was killed in the engagement. He had discovered a most illiberal inveteracy against the presbyterians, in the

neighbourhood where he was ſtationed. He burned the library and dwelling houſe of their clergyman, and all the bibles he could find, containing the Scotch tranſlation of the pſalms. Inſpired with a deteſtation of this impious and barbarous conduct, the numerous devout inhabitants of the diſtrict, who were alſo ſtaunch whigs, felt themſelves called upon to defend not only their civil liberties, but their holy religion. They accordingly joined Sumpter's party, and oppoſed the enemy, with a degree of ardour bordering on enthuſiaſm. Such was the alacrity with which they turned out, at a time when no effort to oppoſe the Britiſh was made in any other part of the ſtate, that, in a few days after the defeat of Huck's party, col. Sumpter found himſelf at the head of 600 men, who, like their gallant leader, were unanimouſly determined, to ſtand or fall with the liberties of their country. Sumpter's little army being thus augmented, he made a ſpirited attack on a Britiſh party ſtationed at Rocky-mount; but as they were ſecured by works of conſiderable ſtrength, on which he could make no impreſſion without artillery, he was obliged to retreat. He ſoon after attacked and defeated a royal detachment, conſiſting of the Prince of Wales's regiment and a large body of tories, poſted at Hanging-rock. The regular regiment was almoſt totally cut in pieces. From two hundred and ſeventy-eight, it was reduced to nine. The tories, defeated on this occaſion, were a part of thoſe North-Carolinians, commanded by colonel Bryan, who had lately joined the royal army. At the commencement of the action, the Americans were ſo ſhort of ammunition, that not a man of them had more than ten bullets; but in the latter part of it, they acquired a ſupply, both of arms and ammunition, by ſtripping ſuch of the enemy as fell in the beginning.

While Sumpter inſpired the people, as it were, with new life, by a ſucceſſion of gallant enterpriſes, it became generally known, that an army was approaching from the northward, to check the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the ſouthern ſtates. This encouraged the whig militia, in the extreme parts of South-Carolina, to turn out, in ſmall parties, under leaders of their own choice, and attack ſometimes detachments from the royal army, but more frequently parties of their own countrymen, who, as a royal militia, were acting in concert with the Britiſh troops. But as the ſeveral American parties took up arms from the impulſe of their own minds, without a knowledge of each other's motions, or any preconcerted plan of acting in conjunction, no very important advantages were gained over the enemy. A ſpirit of enterpriſe, however, daily gained ground among the people, and many, who had been under the neceſſity of becoming a Britiſh militia, availed themſelves of the opportunity which now preſented itſelf, to throw off the maſk, and avow their attachment to the cauſe of liberty and their country.

(To be continued.)

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

SKETCHES *on* ROTATIONS *of* CROPS.—*Philadelphia.*——1792.—*Price one eighth of a dollar.*

THE author of these "Sketches" has not given his name to the public; but, what is of much more importance, he has furnished the agricultural part of the community with an excellent treatise, on an important subject, that of a judicious rotation of crops. To design such a system of farming, as may not only preserve, but improve the richness of the soil; as may at once increase the farmer's income, and admit of a steady succession of employment, without the disagreeable extremes of excessive hurry at certain seasons, and a total cessation of business at others, are the desirable objects of this, and of every other publication on rotations of crops.—It rests with farmers to second the laudable endeavours of judicious writers, on this and on other agricultural subjects, by listening to reason, and not rejecting theories as absurd, until experience shall have determined with respect to their merits. The author of this pamphlet, however, is not a farmer in theory only; he appears to be well acquainted with the practice, as well as the principles of agriculture. He first gives a description and comparative view of the old and new systems of crops in England. The advantages of the latter are thus briefly stated.

The better course of husbandry, now well experienced and approved of in England, is founded on these principles: To *fallow**, and to have growing on the fallow a *shading* and ameliorating crop; never to sow any sort of corn immediately after corn of any kind; to sow *clover* with or on every field of grain; and by a course of well-chosen crops and the shaded fallows, prevent the soil from resting, hardening or running into weeds and common grasses. Thus entire farms are continued in a constant rotation, under 5 to 6 or 8 divisions; so as with the clean, mellow state of the whole arable, to give a pleasing system of business, which improves the soil, and procures a considerably larger income.

Clover only *one* year on the ground, is the most recent course. When it is continued two or more years, it lets in weeds and some binding of the ground, to a degree which occasioned the saying, that the ground becomes "clover sick." But *yearly* renewing the clover, in the rotation of crops, neither admits of weeds, or a binding of the ground. The clover in this case, being sufficiently thick and well-sowed, effectually shades and mellows the soil, without having time allowed it to decline.

The following detached extracts will doubtless be acceptable to such of our agricultural readers, as may not have an opportunity of perusing the whole treatise. Those who wish to see a more full and connected view of the subject, are referred to the work itself.

* *To* fallow, *is to plough up the ground repeatedly; which* shifts *its surfaces and* lightens *and* cleans *it from wild grass and weeds. One or two fields being so fallowed in each year, as in the new rotations, the whole is broken up and cleaned once in every five or six years.*

Of the AMERICAN OLD SYSTEM *of* CROPS.

WHEN in America a farm is divided into three fields, the common course is maiz*, wheat (or rye,) and rubbish pasture. When in four fields, it is maiz, naked fallow, wheat, and the like mean pasture: or maiz, wheat, lay, or poor pasture during two years. And whilst in some parts of America, the fields are 4 or 5, in other parts the divisions are as low as 2. Altho' 5 are better than 4; and 4 better than 3; yet the best of these admit not of a proper course or rotation of crops, especially when maiz is one of them. So mean are the productions of the 3 and 4 field divisions, when maiz has been continued a crop, that they will not allow of being rated by the acre, near so high as the present statements allow to either mode of the English husbandry, or, as we may believe, to the American husbandry, when practised according to the improved principles of cropping, with or without maiz. Two exhausting corn crops, perpetually taken from 3 or 4 fields, after some years, will scarcely admit of 8 bushels of wheat an acre on common land, one year with another†: but, suppose

No. III.

100 a. maiz, at 12 bushels,	- - -	1200
100 - wheat - 8	- - -	800
100 - lay or mean pasture,	-	....
300 a. in 3 fields,	- -	2000 bs.

No. IV.

75 a. maiz,	
75 - wheat,	
75 - lay,	
75 - lay,	
300 a. in 4 fields.	

If clover seed had been sowed with or on the wheat of No. IV. the lay fields would have given better pasture than when the lay is left to run into rubbish grass and weeds: but either is far inferior to the new courses. No. III. & IV. give light crops, mostly of a cheap corn, very poor pasture, and but little hay (if any) for the emolument of the farmer, the comfort of a stock of hidebound beasts, and the preservation of a soil, which is in an obvious consumption. Under such severe treatment, land is continually losing strength; and it may be, greater productions are here allowed than the old settled maiz farms yield, and than new ones can long continue to yield under the old habits of a less rational mode of farming, if it may be called farming.

We almost universally cultivate one field in maiz, whatever may be in the other fields. The maiz being frequently ploughed (horsehoed,) the ground is thereby kept *clean*, and gives a fallow with a crop: but it is an ill-chosen crop for a fallow, because of its giving only a trifle of *shade* to the fresh exposed soil, and because it is *corn*, to be succeeded by another crop of corn; both terrible exhausters. Some farmers sow wheat on this maiz-field, before the maiz is ripe, on a clean and light soil. Others delay sowing it till the ensuing summer, when the soil being somewhat settled and in weeds, they plough, harrow, and sow it with wheat. Of the two evils, farmers differ in their choice. I have known some of them, who had practised both methods, return to the former, because the latter was, as they judged, more injurious to the soil than the former method.

AMERICAN NEW FALLOW-CROP METHOD; WITH AND WITHOUT MAIZ.

MAIZ, taken into a rotation under the new system of crops, according to the new principles of husbandy, occasions some difficulties, which seem best overcome by in-

* *Maiz, or Indian corn.*

† *A few years since, it was a general belief that six bushels of wheat was the medium crop of a large extent of the country, but it is now evident that, from greater attentions, husbandry has in general advanced so as to give considerably more by the acre, in that district.*

creasing the number of fields. Our husbandmen are so used to this kind of corn, that scarcely any appear disposed to give up the culture of it, for productions which are much milder, in their effects on land.

A Maiz-Course.

No. V.

50 a.	maiz	15 bushels	750
50 -	wheat (or spring barley)	-	750
50 -	clover	-	-
50 -	rye (or winter barley)	-	900
50 -	clover	-	-
50 -	clover	-	-
300 a.	in 6 fields.	-	2400

The great fault in this system is in wheat succeeding maiz, that is corn on corn. Rye or barley might have been in the place of wheat; but these also are corns, which exhaust the soil. Clover after maiz is not likely to succeed, especially when sowed without a *sheltering* crop; and this sheltering crop being from grain, would introduce the mischief incident to corn on corn. But even this faulty system is far preferable to any of our old courses. Had there been only five fields it would have been worse for the soil; because a course of only two fields in clover to three in corn, must in time render the ground weak, and comparatively unproductive.

Better Maiz Courses.

No. VI.

50 a.	maiz	750 Bushels.
50 -	beans	500
50 -	barley	1000
50 -	clover	-
50 -	wheat	750
50 -	clover	-
300 a.	in 6 fields.	3000

No. VII.

43 a.	maiz	15 Bs.	645
43 -	beans	10	430
43 -	barley	20	860
43 -	clover	-	-
43 -	wheat	15	645
43 -	clover	-	-
43 -	clover	-	-
300 a.	in 7 fields.	-	2580

Here the corn crops* are interposed by clover and beans; a pulse which is ameliorating to the soil; especially when growing in rows so near as to *shade* the well ploughed and cleaned intervals: and these crops give three or four ameliorators to three exhausters."

"The greatest quantity of grain produced in a *rotation* is not alone a proof of its being the best system. A large quantity of good meadow will yield much hay. It is a sin against good husbandry to sell off the hay of a farm. Numbers of cattle well fed and well littered, give the manure requisite for invigorating the soil: but numbers of cattle cannot be kept in good condition, *through the year*, unless clover or grass, as well as hay abound."

* *Corn crops. Wheat, barley, rye, maiz, oats, and generally all sorts of grain of which bread is made, are corns.*

Clover-Seed.

This is an important article in the improved ſyſtem of crops: but its bearing ſome price, or coſting ſome labour to obtain it, renders it a bug-bear to common huſbandmen, whoſe habits have diverted them from the large uſe of it. It is indeed abſolutely neceſſary, that it ſhould be a common crop in rotation with other articles of crop. And it is hoped, there are farmers ſpirited and determined enough to defeat the objections; and who will conſider the coſt not chargeable merely to the crop of clover, but to the whole round of crops; the clover being ſo eſſential thereto, that without it, the ſoil, the cattle, and the corn crops would greatly ſuffer; and the farmer's income, his reputation, and his independency would be leſſened. If 4lbs. of clean clover-ſeed, when ſown with ſuch a box as is deſcribed below, clothe the ground as well with plants as 10 or 12lbs. ſown in the common broad-caſt way, of which I have had a little experience, then a buſhel of ſeed will ſow 15 acres; which is a coſt of only 5 ſhillings an acre. Thirty loads of dung per acre *(unbought)* would coſt the farmer four times as much for loading, carrying, and diſperſing them on the field; and, if bought, many times more. He can manure or ameliorate 100 acres with clover more certainly than he can 20 from his dungheap; and moreover in the time that his clover is ſheltering the ſoil, perſpiring its excrementitious effluvia on the ground, dropping its putrid leaves, and mellowing the ground with its tap roots, it gives full food to the ſtock of cattle, keeps them in heart, and increaſes the dunghill. Nor is the amelioration by clover very inferior to that by dung, as this is commonly managed. In ſome reſpects it is preferable. With dung, innumerable ſeeds of weeds are carried out, and ſown on the fields: not ſo of clover-ſeed, when it is well cleaned. Clover is the beſt preparative for a crop of wheat. Dung inclines wheat to run more into ſtraw than full grain. Wheat on clover has the beſt grain and the fulleſt crop.

Sowing Wheat on Clover.

The language of farmers on this head is, that wheat on clover is to be ſown on "*one earth*"—"*one ploughing*." To conform to this idea, I conducted the buſineſs, on 15 acres, in this manner:

1. The clover, having been cut once and then paſtured, was turned in deep, by a plough.
2. The wheat was ſowed, broadcaſt.
3. The harrow followed twice, in the ſame direction in which the clover was ploughed in.
4. The ſown wheat was then rolled.

The crop ſtood well and yielded ſatisfactorily. It grew near two miles from my other field-wheat, on a ſoil not quite ſimilar, ſo that a juſt compariſon could not be made between them. The operations immediately followed each other, without any pauſe between them. The plough, the harrow, the ſeed, &c. were all ready on the ſpot, before the plough proceeded.

Mr. Young was requeſted, in Ireland, to inſtruct the farmers of that country in proper courſes of crops: and when he comes to direct them how to ſow wheat on clover, he only ſays—"The clover is to be well ploughed in, with an even, regular furrow; and the wheat ſown and harrowed well." Which is preciſely the method I uſed; only that, in addition, my ground was then rolled*

One of my neighbours, intending to ſow wheat on clover, ploughed up the clover a week or two before ſeeding-time, and then gave it a ſecond ploughing, a-croſs, and ſowed wheat on it; but whether this was ploughed in or harrowed in, I know not. Vaſt numbers of roots of the clover were left ſtanding erect above ground, all over the field, and had a diſagreeable appearance. Here was ſome unneceſſary labour, a uſeleſs and even an injurious ploughing, whereby the manure from thoſe ſubſtantial

* *The operations may vary, according to circumſtances in the ſtate of the ground and the nature of the ſoil. On a clean mellow earth, I have experienced, in a comparative view, that harrowing in wheat is equal to ploughing it in, on the ſame ſoil, and equally clean and mellow; both being a-fallow, and the work being performed on the ſame day—not ſo of foul or indifferently tilled ground. In ſome caſes the rolling may be diſpenſed with, and would be better omitted; as on heavy ground in a moiſt ſtate of it. It is ſomewhere recommended to plough in the clover ſhallow (3 inches); and that another plough follow close and cover the firſt furrow with 4 inches depth of earth: ſo that the ground is turned up 7 inches in all.*

roots and a part of the green herbage, so turned out by the second ploughing, was lost to the crop.

Another neighbour sowed *wheat on clover* with an intention not only to experience that method of cropping, but also to discover the difference between the produce of wheat sown on clover *pastured*, and on clover *mowed*. In both he obtained great satisfaction. His operations were less confined than mine, which were meant to be few and as simple as might be.

He 1. Ploughed in the clover, deep.
2. Harrowed.
3. Rolled.
4. Sowed wheat.
5. Ploughed it in, *shallow*.
6. Harrowed it, in the same direction.

Half of the wheat so seeded, was on the clover ground which had been twice *mowed* and the clover made into hay; the other half, on what had been *pastured* through the summer. The operations of seeding were at the same time, and in the same manner. The produce from that twice mowed was half as much more in quantity by the acre, to that pastured.——So injurious is the tread of beasts in pasturing, more than any good derived to the soil from scattered dung, here and there dropt and exposed to utter exhaustion by the sun and wind.

Submitting these facts to the consideration of farmers, I have only to recommend, that they endeavour to have their clover grow sufficiently thick on the ground, and that it be suffered to remain only one summer, exclusive of the year when the preceding crop of grain was reaped, and upon which grain-field the clover-seed was sown."

Of Stock.

It is advantageous to a farm, and of some immediate income, to have on it as numerous a stock of cattle as can be kept *well*, and no more than can be *so* kept: It is better to have too few than too many: Yet, in parts of America, farmers exceedingly disproportion their cattle to their provender—they will have numbers of hidebound creatures, of which more die from the mere want of food and shelter, than are sold or eaten: So that less meat and less manure are derived from a great number so poorly kept, than other farmers have from a due proportion in a smaller number well kept. Besides, does not the man feel shame in the cruelty of *starving* and keeping in a state of want and misery, a fellow-creature committed to his care? Is it not a trust to the creature man, from the Father of all creatures?

The live stock is to be as many as can be kept *sheltered* from cold rains and with *abundant winter and summer food*. Of all the kinds, the horse is the most costly and the most injurious to the farm: He bites close, is almost continually treading and poaching the ground, and eats more than the ox as 5 to 3; yet is not, himself, eatable: When he dies, he is lost for ever. The ox is meat: After having given us his labour, he becomes a part of ourselves; we have the value of him for ever in us. Steers are unprofitable: They cost 6 or 7 years keeping, without yielding labour; and are then sold for less than the cost of keeping and fattening them.* Sheep are profitable: but are not here in the design, because they are totally discarded by the farmers of this neighbourhood; and there are circumstances which more particularly affect this than any other parts of the country, respecting them. Sows and pigs, if not also hogs, ought to be kept where there is a dairy, as they make a considerable part of its profit, from the offal milk. Hogs are profitably kept on green clover, and fattened on potatoes and corn.

The quantity of land, alone, is no rule for determining the number of cattle or other live stock: Not only the quantity and quality, but also the situation and the crops will affect the question: and the attentive farmer will determine from his experience, how far he is to enlarge or reduce the number of his live stock.

Cows in milk are not to want water. In this climate, they ought to be watered three times a day. Their water ought to be near; as driving cows any distance, is very injurious to their milk.

* *In a former publication, I endeavoured to prove, that treading the ground, in constant pasturing, is more injurious to the soil, than scraps of dung, dispersed and left exposed to the sun and wind, are beneficial.*

OBSERVATIONS *on* NOVEL-READING; *in an* ESSAY, *written by a* member *of the* Belles-Lettres society *of* Dickinson college, *at* Carlisle.——*Philadelphia*, 1792.——*Price one eighth of a dollar.*

TO those parents, and instructors of youth, who have not sufficiently reflected on the pernicious consequences of permitting young minds to imbibe the principles contained in most of our modern novels, we would recommend a perusal of this essay. The author appears to have made the most of a thread-bare subject. He has stated, in a plain and forcible manner, those effects, which the opinion of moral writers, supported by reason and experience, has long ascribed to a species of reading, which is for the most part unprofitable—frequently injurious. Such of our fair readers as inconsiderately trifle away the precious hours of youth in the indiscrimiate perusal of novels, will find, in the following extract, some incentives to devote their attention to more useful studies.

What a vast difference would there be, if the ladies dedicated that time they so idly throw away on novels, to reading such books as their parents, or some friends who are capable of judging, might recommend to them as most proper and profitable. By this means their minds would be expanded—their ideas enlarged—their judgments ripened and strengthened—and they would experience the most satisfaction in the company of persons of understanding: whereas, while they continue to make novels their favourite employment, they must be in pain, except when surrounded by such as have spent their time to the same purpose, and arrived at the same degree of——*ignorance* with themselves. It would work a reformation on a great many young men, whose idleness and aversion to learning render them odious to attentive students, and off-casts from their society; and instead of meeting with protection among the ladies, and being their particular favourites, as, I must say, they commonly are, they would find themselves despised and ridiculed, and would have no alternative but that of applying closely to their studies, in order to obtain peace of mind, and to reinstate themselves into favour.

It is as lamentable as it is unjust, that this general inattention of females to learning, that this neglect of the improvement of their minds, should entail disgrace on the whole *sex*, and involve it under an imputation of a deficiency in mental faculties. But it is not, my fair readers! yet too late to rescue your sex from this reflection---happily it is in your power, and I pray you to neglect no opportunity, by attention---by application---by the study of *proper books*---by a care of what company you keep---and in particular, whom you admit to your sincere friendship and confidence---to convince our sex that you have been blessed by nature, in, at least, as ample a degree as they.---Nay, by your great improvements and attainments, you might even humble their pride, lessen their mighty ideas of superiority, and put them to the blush on account of the *littleness* of their knowledge, which would otherwise be comparatively *great*; and it is this comparative greatness that renders them frequently very conceited. You would excite in them an emulation to excel. Now this emulation is a virtue, and is a sure road to excellence.

How many valuable ends would by this means be accomplished at once!---You would convince the world of your capacities---you would improve your own minds---and at the same time assist in rendering those of the male sex more accomplished, as well by the emulation with which you would inspire them, as by your sound and instructing conversation.

Besides, as the bringing up of children, and the first principles of their education, are much the care, and in a great measure the lot of the female parent: you would now be capable of discharging your duty in this respect, by training them up in a proper manner, by instilling into them sound principles, and, what is of far more effect, by setting them also a virtuous example;---but when precept and example are compatible, and go hand in hand, they corroborate, they give peculiar force to each other. And the happiness of society much depends on the wise and faithful discharge of this important duty.

THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SONNET.

O THOU dear object of my hapless love!
Long to my heart thy fancied form I've prest;
But, summon'd now to thy abode above,
There, in thy arms, I'll find sweet balmy rest.

Thy former pangs revibrate tho' my soul,
When thou didst smile at agonizing grief;
'Twas Heaven who taught thy feelings to control,
And gave thee resignation for relief!

Now death, to me, would prove a wish'd-for guest
But ah!—to leave thy emblems quite forlorn!—
What friend will cheer and hug them to his breast,
When stern misfortune causeth them to mourn?

My hov'ring soul first views the bliss thou'dst give;
Then clinging infants make me wish to live.

H. K. jun.

Oct. 18, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ADDRESS *to* HUMANITY.

TO thee, Humanity! still let me bend,
And own thee Reason's guide, and Virtue's friend.
What tho' my poverty forbids relief
To him who pines in sickness and in grief,
Thy heavenly dictates still can bliss impart;
For well thou know'st the feelings of my heart.
In ev'ry vein thy kind sensations flow;
I feel thee ever in my bosom glow.
To charm the heart on earth, to thee is given,
Whilst thy mild raptures raise the soul to heaven.
Whatever conflicts in my breast engage,
Shield me from haughty pride and cruel rage;
Teach me with candour through life's scenes to rove,
And clasp my neighbour with fraternal love;
The worthy great to honour, free from fear;
The weak to pity, and the good revere.
When to the vale of life my steps descend,
Humanity! thy votary befriend.
Instruct me every virtue more to prize,
Blest in the converse of the good and wise.
And when my soul prepares to take her flight,
Oh! then the hope of heavenly bliss excite;
Whisper that mildness may expect the skies,
And with the hand of friendship close my eyes.

Philad. Oct. 1792.

CONSTANTIA.

SICK of the world, in prime of days,
Constantia took a serious fit—
Resolv'd to shun all balls and plays,
And only read what saints had writ—
To Bethlehem's walls she would repair,
And be a pensive sister there.
A sailor, loitering from his crew,
As chance would have it, pass'd along—
She told him what she had in view,
And he reply'd——Fair maid, you're wrong,
Let faded nymphs to Bethlehem go,
Where kisses freeze and love is snow.

The barren oak and cluster'd pine
Afford a gloomy, sad delight;
But why that bloom of health resign,
The mingled tint of red and white:
In cloistered cells the flowers expire
That on the plain all eyes admire.

With such a pensive, pious train
Who, but a hermit could agree—
Ah, rather stay to grace the plain,
Or wander on the wave with me:
For you the painted bark shall wait
And I would die for such a freight.

No wandering seaman, she replied,
Can tempt me to forego my plan;
No barque that wafts him o'er the tide,
'Nor many a better looking man:
Go, wanderer, plough your gloomy sea,
Constantia must a sister be.

To gain so fair a flower as you,
The tar returned, who would not plead?
Nor shall you, nymph, to Bethlehem go,
While love can write what you must read:
Come, to yon' meadow let us stray,
I have some handsome things to say.—

Love has his wish when reason fails—
In vain he sigh'd, in vain he strove:
Forsake, said she, those swelling sails
If you would have me—think of love:
Great merit has your sailing art,
But absence would distract my heart.

What else was said, we secret keep;
The tar, grown fonder of the shore,
Neglects his prospects on the deep,
And she of Bethlehem talks no more:
He slyly quits the coasting trade;
She pities her—that dies a maid.

Philad. 1792.

ODE *Sung at the Great Wigwam of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, of New-York, on the celebration of the Third Century of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, on the 12th October,* 1492.

YE Sons of freedom! hail the day
That brought a second world to view,
To great Columbus' mem'ry pay
The praise and honour justly due.
Chorus.
Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

Long did oppression o'er the world,
Her sanguine banners wide display;
Dark bigotry her thunders hurled,
And freedom's domes in ruin lay.
Justice and liberty had flown,
And tyrants call'd the world their own.

Thus heaven our race with pity viewed;
Resolved bright freedom to restore:
And, heaven-directed, o'er the flood,
Columbus found her on this shore.
O'er the blessed land, with rays divine,
She shone, and shall for ever shine.

Hark! from above, the great decree
Floats in celestial notes along;
"Columbia ever shall be free."
Exulting thousands swell the song.
Patriots revere the great decree;
Columbia ever shall be free.

Here shall the enthusiastic love,
Which freemen to their country owe,
Enkindled, glorious, from above,
In every patriot bosom glow;
Inspire the heart, the arm extend,
The rights of freedom to defend.

Secure forever, and entire,
The Rights of Man shall here remain:
No nobles kindle discord's fire,
Nor despot load with slavery's chain.
Here shall the oppress'd find sweet repose,
Since none but tyrants are our foes.

Here commerce shall her sails extend,
Science diffuse her kindest ray;
Religion's purest flame ascend;
And peace shall crown each happy day.
Thrice favored land, by Heaven designed
A world of blessings for mankind.

Then while we keep this jubilee,
While seated round this awful shrine,
Columbus' deeds our theme shall be,
And liberty, that gift divine.
Let the transporting theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The SAD REVERSE.

MILD were the accents of the maid I loved,
And all my friends my youthful flame approved.
No sooner did the priest his task perform,
Than Love's soft sighs were turned to Fury's storm.
Alas! how vain all mortal hopes of bliss!—
The harshest word she ever spoke was "Yes."

Philad. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the first which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

(Continued from our last—page 205.)

(DEBATE *on the* FISHERY BILL---*concluded.*)

MR. *Page.*—No man in this house is more heartily disposed to encourage the fisheries of the united states than I am: nor can any one more sincerely wish to encourage the bold, active, and enterprising adventurers in that branch of our commerce to persevere in it, than I do; being sensible of the importance of their traffic in peace, and of the defence of their country, and annoyance of their enemies in war; but, sir, I much doubt whether congress can give that encouragement to the fisheries to which they are entitled, and which policy would lead the general government to give, were it not restricted by the constitution.

I consider, sir, the constitution as intended to remedy the defects of the confederation to a certain degree; so far only, as would secure the independence and general welfare of the confederated states, without endangering the sovereignty and independence of the individual states.—Congress, therefore, was authorised to pay the debts of the union, and to regulate commerce; partly for that purpose, and partly to prevent improper and dangerous commercial combinations, jealousies and altercations between the states; but congress was not entrusted with any regulation of exports, which could admit of an interposition which might be dictated by partiality; nor was congress permitted to lay any tax, which could by any possibility operate unequally on the states in general. It is said, indeed, that if a drawback be not allowed on the salt used in salting fish, there will be, in fact, a duty on the exportation of the fish; but to this, I think, it may be replied, that the constitution guards the exports of each state against the possibility of a *partial* restriction by congress, or even by the states themselves; that congress cannot lay a duty on the exportation of rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. or any other article exported from any state, because this might be done to the injury of the state where such duty would operate, and to the advantage and aggrandisement of some particular states, its competitors, more favoured by the general government, or possessing more influence in the debates of congress; and that the states are also individually restrained from laying such duties, without the consent of congress, to prevent acts which might produce jealousies, commercial combinations, and perhaps, at length, civil dissensions;—that this restriction, if it be intended to prevent partiality, therefore, cannot extend to authorise drawbacks, which may be productive of partial preferences, and their consequent jealousies; that if drawbacks be granted at all, they ought to be universally extended to every article which is or can be exported from any of the states, having in its composition a dutiable ingredient; that hence ships, and other vessels, &c. should have drawbacks on the sails, cordage, iron, &c. but it may also be said, that as to the duty on salt, that is amply repaid to the merchant by the price annexed to his fish; the sums laid out in salt and fish together form a capital, on which he takes care to have a sufficient profit. The merchants employed in this traffic, if allowed a drawback, would have a preference to other merchants, who import largely, pay heavy duties, and have no other advantage than the usual advance on their goods. The exporter of any article, with a drawback, must have an advantage over his fellow-citizens, who purchase through necessity many dutiable articles, and are obliged to consume them, without any other benefit than the use of them. I mention this, because it has been said (by Mr. Ames) that having made the men of Marblehead pay for salt, they have a right to demand the money expended in that salt, on the exportation of their fish: for it would be as reasonable for the man who had eat his fish, on which his salt was expended, or who had used any other article for which he had paid a duty, to claim of congress a return of his money expended therein, as the exporter of fish; the only difference is, that if both were paid the exact sum so expended by them, the exporter of fish would get twice paid; the purchaser or consumer of his fish would pay him for his salt therein, as if it were substan-

tial fiſh, and the ſtate for it as mere ſalt: here then is a field for partiality, diſcontent, and complaints, which the conſtitution wiſely guards againſt. It cannot, therefore, be to any purpoſe, to tell us that a bounty, or allowance, as it is now called, is preferable to a drawback, as there is not ſo great room for fraud in the one as the other: nor can it be of importance to ſhew that the fiſhermen have not the profit to which they are entitled; that their ſervices in the laſt war deſerve rewards, &c. their country ſhared with them the glory of their gallant behaviour; but they alone received the rewards they aimed at—the 1200 ſhips they took was a compenſation for ſervices, and a reward for thoſe exploits. It is true they annoyed the enemy; it is certain their prizes ſometimes fed, armed, and clothed our armies; but it is not ſaid that they did not receive payment for furniſhing thoſe things.

But here we are aſked, is it not of great conſequence to the united ſtates, to employ thoſe hold, ſkilful ſeamen in our ſervice, that we may enjoy the commercial advantage they give us in peace, and their powerful aſſiſtance in war?—to this I reply, that it ought firſt to be proved that congreſs has the power and authority to give them the encouragement demanded; and even if congreſs have that power, it ought to be ſhewn that it can be extended to the benefit of the ſailors of ſome of the ſtates, and not to thoſe of every ſtate. It may be ſaid, that congreſs may, with as much propriety, give bounties to our hunters in the weſtern country, to raiſe up a nurſery of ſoldiers as a barrier againſt the Indians, and to promote the fur trade, as to give drawbacks and bounties to the fiſhermen of the eaſtern ſtates with a view to encourage fiſheries, and to raiſe a nurſery of ſeamen for their defence againſt enemies who may invade our eaſtern frontiers. Indeed, if defence be the object in view, we might as well give bounties to ſturdy landſmen, to be in readineſs and conſtant training for war.

Indeed, ſir, I confeſs I am not altogether convinced, that if congreſs have this power, it ought to be thus exercised; becauſe it is not clear to me, that thoſe fiſhermen would not be more profitable to the united ſtates, if they were cultivating the lands which now lie waſte, and raiſing families, which would be of ten times more value than their fiſheries. A nurſery of virtuous families, which will produce ſoldiers, ſailors, huſbandmen and ſtateſmen, muſt be preferable to a mere nurſery of ſailors, who generally live ſingle, and often periſh at ſea. I always look upon the loſs of a crew to an infant republic, as the loſs almoſt of a new ſtate.

I ſpeak of this queſtion, however, as a citizen of the united ſtates, as a member of this houſe. Were I to diſcuſs it as a citizen of Maſſachuſetts, and in their legiſlature, I ſhould ſay, as the ſtate is nearly filled with inhabitants, and our fiſhermen increaſe our commerce in peace, protect us in war, and indeed even enrich us by their prizes, it is our intereſt to encourage them to the utmoſt, and to prevent their going into the ſervice of other countries. I might therefore, as a member of the legiſlature of that ſtate, do all in my power to procure bounties for them, and indeed for all the ſailors belonging to that ſtate; but I ſhould not think of applying to congreſs for their aſſiſtance, not only becauſe I doubt their right to afford it, but becauſe I ſhould look upon it as in ſome degree derogatory to the ſovereignty and independence of the ſtate. I ſhould look upon ſuch an interference of congreſs as a ſtep towards ſwallowing up the powers of the ſtate governments, and as conſolidating the different ſtates into one government, which the wiſe and virtuous in every ſtate always proteſted againſt as dangerous to their liberties; the fear of which conſolidation prevented many good men from voting for the adoption of the new government.

The framers of the conſtitution guarded ſo much againſt a poſſibility of ſuch partial preferences as might be given, if congreſs had the right to grant them, that even to encourage learning and uſeful arts, the granting of patents is the extent of their power: and ſurely nothing could be leſs dangerous to the ſovereignty or intereſt of the individual ſtates, than the encouragement which might be given to ingenious inventors or promoters of valuable inventions in the arts and ſciences—the encouragement which the general government might give to the fine arts, to commerce, to manufactures and agriculture, might, if judiciouſly applied, redound to the honour of congreſs, and the ſplendor, magnificence, and real advantage of the united ſtates: but the wiſe framers of our new conſtitution ſaw that if congreſs had the power of exerciſing what has been called a royal munificence for theſe purpoſes, congreſs might, like many royal benefactors, miſplace their munificence, might elevate ſycophants, and be inattentive to men unfriendly to the views of government; might reward the ingenuity of the citizen of one ſtate, and neglect a much greater genius of another—a

citizen of a powerful ſtate, it might be ſaid, was attended to, whilſt that of one of leſs weight in the federal ſcale was totally neglected. It is not ſufficient to remove theſe objections, to ſay, as ſome gentlemen have ſaid, that congreſs is incapable of partiality or abſurdities, and that they are as far from committing them as my colleagues or myſelf—I tell them the conſtitution was formed on a ſuppoſition of human frailty, and to reſtrain abuſes of miſtaken powers: the conſtitution has been ſaid by ſome to be like the anſwers of the oracles of old, capable of various and oppoſite conſtructions; that it has been ingeniouſly contrived like ſome of them to ſuit two events, a republican or a monarchical iſſue; I will not pretend to ſay that this is not in ſome inſtances too juſt an obſervation, nor will I undertake to deny that it was not the intention of ſome of the convention that ſuch ambiguities might be in their conſtitution, to correſpond with the critical and ambiguous ſtate of the American mind, reſpecting government; but I will boldly affirm, that whatever the theories of that day might lead ſome to think, reſpecting the application of monarchical principles to the government of the united ſtates, no one can at this day pretend that they are applicable to their circumſtances, their diſpoſitions or intereſts, or even are agreeable to the wiſhes of the people. Even before the adoption of the conſtitution, when the rights of men had not been ſo thoroughly inveſtigated as they ſince have been, it muſt be remembered, that whole ſtates, and large and reſpectable minorities in other ſtates, complained of and objected to the ariſtocratical and monarchical features of the new government. In vain did the friends of the new government, friends of order, of union, or of liberty, contend that the powers granted by the conſtitution, which appeared ſo alarming, were ſuch as would never be exerted, but when all good men would acknowledge the neceſſity of exerciſing them, and that indeed they would be explained or reſtrained by ſome future amendments—the ſagacious and eloquent Henry ſhook his head at ſuch promiſes, ſighed, and ſubmitted to the will of the majority, a ſmall one indeed, but foretold, from the knowledge of the human heart, what would be done and ſaid in juſtification of every meaſure which might extend the power of congreſs.

Is it politic and wiſe then, Mr. chairman, to exert the power contended for, even if it be authoriſed by the conſtitution? May not the interference of congreſs in the buſineſs of regulating the trade in the eaſtern ſtates excite, if not envy, on account of a ſuppoſed partiality, a jealouſy, leſt congreſs undertake to meddle in the commercial regulations of other ſtates? May not congreſs with equal propriety undertake to regulate the tobacco, the rice and indigo trade, as well as that of the fiſheries? If they intermeddle in the buſineſs of ſailors, why not in that of manufacturers and farmers? Where, I may aſk with my colleague, may they they not go on in their zeal, and I will add, in their laudable purſuit of promoting the general welfare; and how totally may they be miſtaken? If jealouſy of rival ſtates, inſtead of mutual ſatisfaction and pleaſure—if diſtruſt and ſuſpicion of congreſs, inſtead of confidence in their meaſures, be the conſequence, how will the union be promoted, or the general government ſecured? However virtuouſly diſpoſed the preſent members may be, and I am ready to applaud their honeſt intentions, let them conſider, ſir, that they had better ſuppreſs their patriotic emotions, than give a pretext for their ſucceſſors to abuſe the powers which they now wiſh to exert for the public good: I know they will quote the opinion of as wiſe and virtuous a citizen as in the united ſtates: I know his patriotiſm, and know well his true republican principles; but, ſir, with the freedom of a fellow-citizen, I take the liberty of ſaying, that his honeſt zeal, like that of the friends of the bill, has led him into a miſtake*. That able ſtateſman and virtuous citizen, like the eloquent advocates of the bill, has conſidered the acts now quoted, as a full ſanction for the one before the committee; but I am of opinion that thoſe acts had better be repealed, than give a ſanction to the enacting of a law which goes to the eſtabliſhment of bounties or drawbacks, or by whatever other name they may be called, which may be uſed to the partial encouragment of any branch of trade or employment whatſoever. I ſhall therefore vote againſt the bill before us, and to get rid of it, ſhall vote for ſtriking out the firſt ſection, according to the motion now before the committee.

The votes being now taken on the motion for ſtriking out, it was negatived.—Mr. *Giles* then moved, that the words "*allowance* now made," ſhould be ſubſtituted for "*bounty* now allowed."—He obſerved, that he conceived the vote againſt ſtriking

* *Mr.* Jefferſon, *ſecretary of ſtate, in his report on the fiſheries.*

out the first section was a decision in favour of the policy of granting governmental aid to the fisheries; the inquiry now was, on what terms this aid should be granted.

When he first mentioned his doubts respecting the principle of the bill, it was, he said, with diffidence, and those doubts in some measure arose from an idea that the bill contained a direct bounty upon occupation; upon a more minute examination, he thought the term bounty unnecessarily introduced into the bill; and that the object of it could be answered without the use of terms, which might hereafter be deemed to contain a decision upon the general principle of the constitutional right to grant bounties. It was to avoid any thing which might wear the appearance of such a decision, that induced him to make the present motion.

He proceeded to remark, that as great a difference of opinion often existed respecting the precise meaning of the terms used, as the consequences which flow from them after attaining such precision of meaning; it was of importance to the present discussion, that an accurate definition of the terms used in the bill, and of those proposed to be used, should be had.

The avowed object of the bill was not to increase, but to transmute the sum, or a portion thereof, now allowed to the fisheries in lieu of the drawback upon salt, from the merchant, who is now supposed to receive the sole benefit, to the fishermen really employed in the fishing vessels: This is a mere chimerical project, but if it be admitted that this is the object to be effected by the bill, the term bounty is improperly applied.

The great characteristic distinction between bounties and drawbacks, as they essentially relate to the administration of this government, consists in the governmental objects to which they may severally be applied: Drawbacks are necessarily confined to commercial regulations—bounties may be extended to every possible object of government, and may pervade the whole minutiæ of police; they may not only be extended to commerce, but to *learning*, *agriculture*, *manufactures*, and even the *sacredness* of religion will be found too feeble to furnish complete protection from their influence. The people of the united states have always been scrupulously tenacious of a constitutional security, for the most free and equal exercise of this right; but through the medium of bounties, even this right may be invaded, and the only security against such invasion must be *governmental discretion*.

The same characteristic distinction will attend that *species* of bounty which may incidentally result from commercial regulations; and direct bounties upon occupation, founded upon the broad basis of discretionary right: the specification in the constitution, of the right to regulate commerce, may possibly in some cases give rise to this indirect species of bounty, not from any right in the constitution to grant bounties, but as the necessary result from the specified right to make commercial regulations—and this specification can be the only foundation of justification to this indirect species of bounty, but there is no specification in the constitution, of a right to regulate *learning*, *agriculture*, *manufactures* or *religion*, and so far as the sense of the constitution can be collected, it rather forbids than authorises the exercise of that right.

Arguments used to deduce any given authority from the term *general welfare*, abstractedly from the specification of some particular authority, are dangerous in the extreme to rights constitutionally reserved, and ought ever to be viewed with great caution and suspicion; they serve directly to shew that this government is not only consolidated in all its parts, but that it is a consolidated government of unlimited discretion; that it contains no constitutional limitation or restriction. If any given authority be inferred from the term *general welfare* in the abstract, any other authority is equally deducible from it, because the term is applicable to every possible object of government, and differs only in degree, as to the several governmental objects.

He would remark further, that bounties, in all countries and at all times, have been the effect of favoritism; they have only served to divert the current of industry from its natural channel, into one less advantageous or productive; and in fact they are nothing more than governmental *thefts* committed upon the rights of one part of the community, and an *unmerited* governmental *munificence* to the other—In this country, and under this government, they present an aspect peculiarly *dreadful* and *deformed*.

To contemplate the subjects upon which bounties are to operate in the united states, the nature of the government to dispense them, the state preferences which now do and will forever, more or less, continue to exist, the impossibility of an equal operation of bounties throughout the united states, upon any subject whatever, should be consi-

dered; and one of these two effects will necessarily follow the exercise of them—either the very existence of the government will be destroyed, or its administration must be radically changed: it must be converted into the most complex system of tyranny and favoritism.

He observed, that it was not unfrequent at this time to hear of an eastern and southern interest, and he had for some time silently and indignantly seen, or thought he saw, attempts by this mean to influence the deliberations of the house upon almost every important question; so far as he was the insulted object of these attempts, he felt that contempt for their authors, which appeared to him to be the correspondent tribute to the impurity of their designs; yet he thought that this had been the most formidable and effectual *ministerial machine* which had been yet used in the administration of the government. But one great mischief he apprehended from establishing the principle of the unrestrained right to grant bounties, will be, that it will make the difference of interest between eastern and southern, so far as they differ in their respective states of manufacture and agriculture, real, which is now only ideal—It will make that party real, which is now artificial—The jealousies and suspicions arising from *party* will then have a substantial foundation, which now have no foundation in fact, but are now ingeniously stimulated by a few, for the purpose of effecting particular objects; as long as the government shall be administered liberally and impartially, as long as the principle of reciprocal demand and supply between east and south shall remain inviolate, so long there can exist no essential distinct interest between them: but the instant bounties or governmental preferences are granted to occupation, that instant is created a separate and distinct interest, not only between east and south, but between the manufacturer and the cultivator of the soil; there will still exist a community of agricultural interest throughout the united states, and he hoped the time was not far distant, when a common sympathy would be felt by the whole of that class of the community.—For these reasons, he hoped the motion would prevail.

The proposed amendment, to change the word *bounty* into *allowance*, was adopted by the committee, who then rose and reported the bill to the house; and on the following day (Feb. 9th) the same was passed, by a majority of 17—there being 38 *yeas*, and 21 *nays*.

Yeas. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Gregg, Griffin, Hartley, Hillhouse, Huger, Kittera, Laurance, Learned, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Muhlenberg, Niles, Schoonmaker, J. Smith, I. Smith, W. Smith, Sterrett, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Tredwell, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward.

Nays. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Giles, Grove, Heister, Key, Macon, Mercer, Moore, Murray, Page, Parker, Seney, Steele, Sumpter, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, Willis.

On providing for the Defence of the Frontiers.

EARLY in the session, the president communicated to congress an account of two successful expeditions against the Indians, in the months of June and August preceding, by general Scott and colonel Wilkinson, at the head of detachments of Kentucky militia. A more important expedition, however, was still depending—that of general St. Clair, who was to penetrate into the Indian country, as far as the Miami towns, with a considerable army, consisting of regular troops and Kentucky militia. With this force it was scarcely doubted, that he would be able so effectually to intimidate and harrass the hostile Indians, as to put an end to their depredations, and make them glad to sue for peace. If the expedition should even fail of this last mentioned effect, it was hoped that such a chain of forts would be established, as would, in a great measure, restore tranquility to the frontiers, by checking the incursions of the savages. But all these hopes were blasted, by the total defeat of general St. Clair's army, on the 4th of November, in the vicinity of the Miami villages.—Official information of this melancholy and unexpected event was laid before congress, on the 12th of December. Our readers will recollect the various and violent passions and emotions to which this mournful catastrophe gave rise, from one extremity of the united states to the other. All deplored the untimely fall of so many brave men, particularly of several worthy officers, who had done honour to themselves and their country, in the late war with Great-Britain. The deplorable situation of the frontier inhabitants was also a subject

of general ſympathy;—it was feared, that the victorious ſavages might ravage and depopulate the defenceleſs ſettlements, and give a full looſe to their inſatiable thirſt for blood, and their love of plunder. It was apprehended, that the ſmall military force which remained, might not be able to defend the forts occupied by them; eſpecially if, as was ſuſpected, the Indians had aſſociates, or leaders, who could manage the artillery, which had fallen into their hands in the engagement.—Fortunately, theſe fears were not realized. The Indians, whether from neceſſity, from accident, or from choice, made a much more moderate uſe of their victory than could reaſonably have been expected. Beſides, meaſures were taken, by the governments of Pennſylvania and Virginia, for the tempory defence of their reſpective frontiers.

When the deſeat of general Harmer, in the preceding year, was taken into view, with the failure of general St. Clair's expedition; when it was conſidered that the united ſtates were involved in a war, from which they could not eaſily extricate themſelves; that the demands and exertions of the enemy would riſe in proportion to their ſucceſs; that, if an accommodation were at all attainable, it muſt be accepted on diſadvantageous and humiliating terms; that the proſecution of the war would either burthen the people with heavy additional taxes, or interfere with the eſtabliſhed revenues, to the great injury of the national credit; that the waſte of blood and treaſure neceſſarily attendant on the proſecution of the war, would be certain and great, and that the conteſt might be tedious, before it could be brought to a ſucceſsful iſſue—— When the people had reflected on theſe circumſtances, they began to look back to the origin of the war; and many were loud in cenſuring the meaſure, as being founded in the moſt flagrant injuſtice, on the part of the united ſtates; and as being, in itſelf, highly impolitic. The officer at the head of the war-department ſuffered ſeverely in the public prints, while the minds of the people were thus irritated. He was charged with having wantonly precipitated the nation into this ruinous and diſgraceful war; and it was aſſerted, that peace might have been eſtabliſhed with the Indians, had proper ſteps been taken for the purpoſe.

On the other hand, it was contended that the depredations and enormities of the Indians had been ſuch, and all attempts to treat with them, or to eſtabliſh a permanent peace, had proved ſo fruitleſs, that war was unavoidable; that the meaſure had already been ſanctioned by the repreſentatives of the people, who had authoriſed the raiſing of an army for the purpoſe; that no ſuch complaints as thoſe now prevalent were made, at the beginning of the war, and, it was fairly ſuppoſeable, never would have been made, had the late expedition proved ſucceſsful.—The vigorous proſecution of the war was urged, as a matter of expediency, apart from all conſiderations of the juſtice or policy of its origin.

While the minds of the people were in this ſtate of agitation, the buſineſs was undergoing a diſcuſſion in congreſs, where the ſame diverſity of opinion appears to have prevailed. On the 25th of January, a bill providing for the more effectual protection of the frontiers, was preſented in the houſe of repreſentatives, by a committee appointed for that purpoſe. This bill was the ſubject of a very lengthy and intereſting debate, for ſeveral days; during which, however, the doors were open only a part of one day. The following is the ſubſtance of that day's debate, on a motion for ſtriking out the ſecond ſection of the bill, which contemplated the raiſing of three additional regiments of infantry.

In favour of the motion, and againſt the propoſed augmentation of the military eſtabliſhment, it was urged,

That the Indian war, in which the united ſtates are at preſent involved, was in its origin, as unjuſtly undertaken, as it had ſince been unwiſely and unſucceſsfully conducted;—that depredations had been committed by the whites, as well as by the Indians; and the whites were moſt probably the aggreſſors, as they frequently made encroachments on the Indian lands, whereas the Indians ſhewed no inclination to obtain poſſeſſion of our territory, or even to make temporary invaſions, until urged to it by a ſenſe of their wrongs; a proof of this unencroaching diſpoſition on their part, plainly appeared in their conduct, after the victory they lately obtained over our troops; for, when flushed with ſucceſs, they might have ſwept the country before them, and penetrated as far as Pittſburgh, they contented themſelves with the advantage they had gained over their invaders, and did not attempt to invade our territories in return, although there was no where at hand a ſufficient force to check their career.

The mode of treating the Indians, in general, was reprobated, as unwiſe and impolitic; the Indians are with difficulty to be reduced by the ſword, but may eaſily be gained by juſtice and moderation: and although their cruelties are alleged as reaſons for a different conduct, and the ſufferings of the white people pathetically deplored, theſe narratives are at beſt but exparte evidence;—we hear nothing of the ſufferings of the Indians.

Peace may be obtained from the Indian tribes, at a much leſs expenſe than would be neceſſary for the expenſe of the war:—to perſevere in hoſtilities, would be waſting the public money to a very bad purpoſe indeed; for ſuppoſing our arms crowned with victory, what are the advantages we may expect to reap from our ſucceſs?—we can only gain poſſeſſion of their lands—a poſſeſſion, that muſt long continue unproductive of the ſmalleſt benefit, as we already poſſeſs land ſufficient; more, in fact, than we will be able to cu tivate for a whole century to come.

Inſtead of being ambitious to extend our boundaries, it would anſwer a much better national purpoſe, rather to check the roving diſpoſition of the frontier ſettlers, and prevent them from too ſuddenly extending themſelves to the weſtern waters; if kept cloſer together, and more nearly connected with the old ſettlements, they would be more uſeful to the community at large, and would not ſo frequently involve us in unneceſſary and expenſive wars with the Indians: but if permitted to rove at pleaſure, they will keep the nation embroiled in perpetual warfare, as long as the Indians have a ſingle acre of ground to reſt upon.

If the citizens of the united ſtates were recalled within their proper boundaries, there they might, for years to come, cultivate the ſoil in peace, neither invaded nor invading. As the country advances in population, and our limits are found too narrow, it will then be ſoon enough to contemplate a gradual extenſion of our frontier: but, in the mean time, it is an idle profuſion of blood and treaſure, to carry war beyond our preſent line of forts; it is only expoſing our arms to diſgrace, betraying our own weakneſs, and leſſening the public confidence in the general government, to ſend forth armies to be butchered in the foreſts, whilſt we ſuffer the Britiſh to keep poſſeſſion of the poſts within our territory.

As long as Britain is ſuffered to retain thoſe poſts, we can never hope to ſucceed againſt the Indians; nor ought we to trace our late misfortune to any other ſource than her ſtill holding them in her poſſeſſion: were they in our hands, the Indians could not carry on their operations againſt us, with the ſame degree of vigour as they now do; for it is from thoſe forts that they obtain their ſupplies of arms and ammunition, with which they can be, at all times, plentifully furniſhed, as long as things continue on their preſent footing.

Until thoſe poſts are in our poſſeſſion, it will be in vain to ſend our armies into the wilderneſs. A body of five thouſand men, ſent out againſt the Indians, under the preſent circumſtances, would be as effectually defeated as the ſmaller ones have already been: in thoſe wilds, our troops have no friend at hand, to furniſh them with ſupplies, or to give them intelligence of the approach and operations of the enemy; whereas the Indians, receiving both aid and information from their friendly neighbours, can preconcert their plans, and chooſe, according to their own convenience, the place and the hour of attack, as they did before.

It was here obſerved, by a gentleman on the other ſide of the queſtion, that we ought undoubtedly to get poſſeſſion of thoſe poſts; and that we might have long ſince obtained it, if we had only laid a ſeaſonable embargo on all the Britiſh ſhipping in our ports; though he doubted, whether it would at preſent be worth while to take ſuch a ſtep, as the Engliſh have loſt ſo great a portion of our carrying trade, in conſequence of the additional tonnage laid on their veſſels.

In favour of the motion, it was further urged, that ſuppoſing the war to have been originally undertaken with juſtice on our ſide—ſuppoſing alſo, that the national honour and intereſt called for a continuance of hoſtilities; yet, as it was by no means either neceſſary or prudent to invade the Indian territory, as this had been attempted in two ſucceſſive campaigns, and the event had, in both inſtances, been ſuch, as to afford no very flattering proſpect from a third expedition of the ſame kind, it was thought much more adviſeable to content ourſelves with defending the frontier; and this might be done, without making ſo great an augmentation in the military eſtabliſhment.

The only uſe of regular troops on the frontier, is to garriſon the forts, and to have a ſtanding force in the neighbourhood, to form a ſtation, to which the military may

resort, either for protection or supplies: but as to active service, the frontier militia and rangers were pronounced to be by far preferable to the regular troops, as being more expert woodsmen, and better habituated to the Indian mode of fighting. To defend the forts, a small number of regulars would be sufficient; the present establishment of two regiments would, if completed, be amply adequate to the purpose; and when assisted by such forces as might at all times be collected on the frontier, would be able to repel every inroad of the enemy.

Experience has proved, that the sudden and desultory attacks of the frontier militia and rangers, are ever attended with better success than the methodical operations of a regular force; the former are better calculated for expedition and surprise, making unexpected sallies, scouring the country in small bodies, harrassing the Indians, and intercepting their straggling parties, while their motions are unobserved; whereas, when a body of regulars take the field, encumbered with baggage and heavy artillery, the unavoidable slowness of their movements affords the enemy an opportunity of watching all their operations, collecting their whole force, and skulking in the woods around them, till they can seize the favourable moment to strike a sudden blow, which they generally do with success, but which they could never attempt, if exposed every hour to the unforeseen attacks of our woodsmen, who would keep their attention constantly engaged in all quarters, and thus prevent them from uniting in large bodies.

It was further observed, by some gentlemen who even admitted the propriety of invading the Indian territory, that to effect this with success, it was by no means necessary to make such an increase in the military establishment, as that contemplated in the bill: the miscarriage of the former expeditions could not (they said) be alleged as a sufficient reason; for it is well known, that the former establishment was far from being complete: the regulars, intended for the service of the last campaign, were to have been above two thousand two hundred; the president was besides empowered to raise two thousand five hundred levies, in addition to the regulars; and these would together, have constituted an army of about four thousand seven hundred men: had such a body been employed, we might reasonably have expected much better success against the Indians, whose numbers were so far inferior, the whole force of the Wabash tribes not amounting to above eleven or twelve hundred warriors, who never could keep the field for any length of time, but must be soon obliged to disperse, without venturing an attack upon an army of such superior strength.

Instead of this, our army consisted of only about twelve hundred men, and of these not above four or five hundred were regular troops: besides, had even this force been sufficient if employed in season, the delays that had taken place in the execution of the plan, would alone have been sufficient to defeat the intended purpose. During the winter, the law was passed for raising the additional troops, to carry on the war with greater vigour; the whole summer was spent in the business, and the few men that we did enlist, were not raised till late in the fall; collected at length at the head of the Ohio, they fruitlessly loitered away their time, till they finally erected a monument to our eternal disgrace and infamy.

Whatever troops are to be employed, ought to be raised with diligence and dispatch, if we wish to avoid a similar miscarriage in our next attempt: the army ought not to enter the Indian country, till their whole force is complete—difficulties, however, and delay, equal to those of last year, may be expected in enlisting the men, and we shall have the officers in pay a considerable time, without any soldiers: perhaps the former pay of the troops was too low; and proper effective men were unwilling to accept of it; if so, let it be raised; let the men be well clothed and fed; and they will more readily engage in the service; probably, also, the term of three years was an objection with many, who would otherwise have joined our standard: if enlisted only for six months, the ranks will be sooner filled; and this ought to have considerable weight with those who advocate the augmentation of the military establishment, as they cannot but know, that if we set about enlisting the number of men contemplated in the bill, and in the manner there prescribed, they cannot be raised time enough to render any service in the next campaign.

The information contained in the report on the table was not, it was said, to be implicitly relied on: that report was made by a man, who had not personally visited the frontier: others, who had been on the spot, were of opinion, that if two thousand levies had been raised last year, they would have been sufficient, not only for the defence of the frontier, but even for any offensive operations, that might have been

thought neceſſary : ſuch troops, collected in the vicinity, are more competent to the undertaking, than the troops now in contemplation ; whenever they were tried, they behaved as well as the regulars, and in the action under general St. Clair, they gave equal proofs of their valour.

The expenſe of ſuch an army as the bill contemplates, is an object well worthy of ſerious conſideration, eſpecially at the preſent moment, when there is ſcarcely a dollar in the treaſury. Gentlemen would alſo do well to advert to the progreſs of this buſineſs, and conſider where they were likely to ſtop, if they went on at their preſent rate : at firſt, only a ſingle regiment had been raiſed, and the expenſe was about 100,000 dollars ; a ſecond was afterwards added, which ſwelled the expenſe to about 300,000 ; and now a ſtanding force of 5168 men is contemplated, at an annual expenſe of above a million and a quarter. Can this be juſtified in the preſent ſtate of our finances, when it is well known, that the ſecretary of the treaſury, having been requeſted by the members from a particular ſtate, to build a light-houſe on a part of their coaſt, declined the undertaking, and alledged the want of funds, as the reaſon ?

Our reſources, however, might be made to anſwer for the ſupport of ſuch a force as that which was intended for the ſervice of the preceding year, and there would be little complaint or diſſatisfaction among the people : very few murmurings were heard againſt the former eſtabliſhment ; but ſuch a one as is now contemplated, will be thought extravagant, and will breed diſcontent among the citizens of the united ſtates.

Apprehenſions, it is ſaid, are entertained, that the object contemplated in raiſing theſe additional troops, is not ſo much to puniſh and force the Indians, as to have a regular ſtanding force, equal to what the Britiſh have on this continent. This is ſaid to amount to about ſix thouſand men, including thoſe in Canada : but it is to be remarked, that the Britiſh nation has not above *one* thouſand men within the limits of the united ſtates ; and yet, with this handful of troops, they not only keep the Indians in awe, but even, in oppoſition to the wiſhes of the united ſtates, retain poſſeſſion of thoſe poſts, which ſhould have been ceded to us purſuant to the terms of the treaty : why then is it neceſſary, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing poſts and garriſoning them, to increaſe the ſtanding force to ſo large a number, as that contemplated in the bill under conſideration ?—During our late arduous ſtruggle for liberty, when we had to cope with the moſt powerful nation under heaven, the commander in chief had never at any one time above ten thouſand men, under his own immediate command ; and if, with ſo ſmall a force, we were able to effect ſo glorious a revolution, there can be no neceſſity of going ſuch lengths at preſent, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing a military character—it is ſtrange policy indeed, to raiſe five or ſix thouſand men, to oppoſe a handful of Indian banditti, whoſe utmoſt amount does not, from the documents on the table, appear to exceed twelve hundred.

We are preparing to ſquander away money by millions ; and no one, except thoſe who are in the ſecrets of the cabinet, knows for what reaſon the war has thus been carried on for three years :—but what funds are to defray the encreaſed expenſe of maintaining ſuch a force as is now contemplated ?—The exciſe is both unpopular and unproductive :—the impoſt duties have been raiſed as high as is conſiſtent with prudence :---to increaſe them would be but to open a door for ſmuggling, and thus diminiſh their productiveneſs : and if thoſe ſources of revenue fail, if our finances be thus exhauſted in unneceſſary wars, we ſhall be unable to ſatisfy the public creditors, unleſs recourſe be had to new taxes, the conſequence of which may, with juſt reaſon, be deplored ; whereas, if we but keep our expenſes within bounds, if we nurſe our finances, we ſhall be reſpectable among the nations of the earth, nor will any nation dare to inſult us, or be able to do it with impunity.

At an early ſtage of the debate, an honourable gentleman had ſuggeſted, that, inſtead of paſſing a law for raiſing, at all events, the additional regiments, which, for his part, he did not think neceſſary, the houſe (if they finally determined the preſent eſtabliſhment to be inſufficient) would perhaps do better to appropriate a certain ſum of money, to enable the executive to call in ſuch additional aid, as circumſtances might require.

To this it was objected, that it is the duty of the repreſentatives of the people, in all appropriations of the public money, to make them for certain ſpecific purpoſes :---to act otherwiſe, on the preſent occaſion, would be ſetting a precedent, that might, in its conſequences, prove highly injurious ; for, although the greateſt confidence may ſafely be repoſed in the virtue and integrity of him who now fills the preſidential chair,

it is impossible to foresee what use may hereafter be made of the precedent by his successors, or how far it may be carried.

That as to the justice of the war carried on against the Indian tribes, that was a question which could not admit of a doubt in the mind of any man, who would allow that self-preservation and indispensable necessity, are sufficient causes to justify a nation in taking up arms :---if the present war be not in every respect justifiable, then there never was, nor ever will be a just war : it was originally undertaken, and since carried on, not for the sake of conquest, but to defend our fellow-citizens, our friends, our dearest connexions, who are daily exposed, in the frontier settlements, to all the rage of savage barbarity, to which they, with their wives and children, must soon fall victims, unless we speedily fly to their assistance :---and although there are some people, who utterly deny the justice of any war whatever, this doctrine, however fine in theory, will hardly ever obtain in practice : for, is it to be imagined, that any set of men are of such a passive disposition, as calmly to look on, whilst their friends and relations are butchered before their eyes, and refuse giving them every assistance in their power ?

The murders and depredations, which have, for years past, been repeatedly committed by the savages, loudly call for redress :---from various documents, of unquestionable authority, now in the hands of the secretary at war, signed and attested by the executive and legislature of Kentucky, by the district judge, and the captains of the militia, it appears, that from the year 1783 to 1790, there have been, of the inhabitants of that district, or of emigrants on their way thither, no less than fifteen hundred persons, either massacred by the savages, or dragged into captivity ; two thousand horses taken away ; and other property plundered or destroyed, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars ; and there is good reason to suppose, that on the other frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the number of persons murdered or taken prisoners, during the above mentioned period, would furnish a list of one thousand or fifteen hundred more.

The white people, it is true, have sometimes committed depredations on the Indians ; but the instances have been rare of their making unjust attacks upon the savages, nor did they, on those occasions, commence hostilities against them, till exasperated by the strongest provocations, that could possibly stimulate the human heart : this circumstance may be justly allowed as some palliation of the offence :---even in these instances, however, a few individuals only were concerned ; and when the affair came to the knowledge of the state, ample reparation was made to the injured party :---the general government too had shewn an equal disposition to do justice to the Indian tribes ; witness the affair of the Cherokees : for, as soon as congress had heard their complaints of an encroachment made on them, by some people from the frontier of Carolina, immediate orders were issued for obliging the intruders to evacuate the Indian territory.

But, notwithstanding the disposition that prevails, as well in the legislatures of those states whose frontiers are most exposed, as in the general government, to cultivate peace and amity with the neighbouring Indians, that desirable object is become utterly unattainable in the present posture of affairs :---The frontier Indians have killed a number of whites ; the whites, in their turn, have made retaliation ; both parties are in the highest degree exasperated against each other, and likely to continue so, in spite of every endeavour that can be made to effect a reconciliation : with minds thus irritated, it is vain to hope for peace, as long as they continue in each other's neighbourhood ; it is therefore necessary to form a strong barrier, to keep them asunder ; unless indeed the advocates for a cessation of hostilities, would oblige the frontier settlers to abandon their lands :---but by what new-invented rule of right, should the inhabitants of Kentucky, and the other frontier settlers, be laid under a greater obligation, than any other citizens of the united states, to relinquish a property legally acquired by fair purchase ?---were it even proposed to pacify the savages, by purchasing the lands anew, such a measure would answer no other purpose, than that of procuring a temporary peace, which would soon again be interrupted by a war, that would produce the necessity of again having recourse to the same expedient : we should have to purchase the lands, again and again, without end ; by thus squandering the public money, year after year, we should only swell the national debt to an amount, that we cannot possibly foresee :---better at once to make a vigorous effort, to act in a manner becoming the national dignity, and to maintain our ground by war, since we cannot obtain a durable or an honourable peace.

Attempts have, at various times, been made to effect treaties of peace with the Indian tribes, with whom we are now at war :---and although thefe efforts have conftantly proved ineffectual, they yet fhew that neither the united ftates, nor the ftate of Virginia, were backward to adopt conciliatory meafures, and to do away that animofity which had commenced on the part of the favages, at an early period of the late war with Britain, and had continued to break out at intervals ever fince. In the years 1783, 84, 85, 87, 88, and 90, offers of peace were made to them : on the laft mentioned occafion, when a treaty was propofed at the Miami village, the Indians at firft refufed to treat : they next required thirty days to deliberate—and in the interim, the inhabitants of Kentucky were exprefsly prohibited, by the prefident of the united ftates, to carry on any offenfive operations againft them ; yet, notwithftanding this forbearance on the part of the whites, no lefs than 120 perfons were killed or captured by the favages, and feveral prifoners roafted alive, during that fhort period, at the expiration of which, the Indians refufed to give any anfwer at all.

On another occafion, the Indians, not content with rejecting our offers of peace, proceeded even fo far as to infult us, by telling us we had lands within the Britifh pofts, and afking us, why we did not go and take poffeffion of them?---Is this language to be ufed within the united ftates? No! we *are* able, abundantly able to do it, whenever we pleafe ; and if we would but retrench our expenfes, in fome inftances, which might well admit of a reduction, our ability would ftill encreafe ; our finances are not quite fo infufficient as fome gentlemen feem to imagine, nor fo eafily deranged --we are ftill able to prove that the boafted efficiency of the general government is fomething more than an empty name---we can yet raife both men and money, fufficient to defend the nation from either injury or infult.

It is now too late to inquire, whether the war was originally undertaken on the principles of juftice, or not ; we are actually involved in it, and cannot recede, without expofing numbers of innocent perfons to be butchered by the enemy : for, though we fhould determine to difcontinue the war, can it be fain that the favages will alfo agree to a ceffation of hoftilities?—it is well known that they are averfe to peace, and even the warmeft advocate of pacific meafures, muft therefore allow, that the war is a war of neceffity, and muft be fupported; we cannot, without impeachment both to our juftice and our humanity, abandon our fellow-citizens on the frontier to the rage of their favage enemies : and although the excife may be fomewhat unpopular, although money may ftill be wanted, what is the excife, what is money, when put in competition with the lives of our friends and brethren?

A fufficient force muft be raifed for their defence : and the only queftion now to be confidered is, what that force fhall be : experience has proved, that the force employed in the laft campaign was inadequate : it is true, the eftablifhment was not complete: but who will venture to affert, that, if it had been complete, it would have been fufficient for the intended purpofe? Are gentlemen, who affert this, fo well acquainted with the circumftances of the enemy, as to be able to give an accurate ftatement of the amount of their forces on the frontier? There are higher opinions in favour of an augmentation of the army, than can be adduced againft it—opinions, given by men of judgment and experience, who have themfelves been on the fpot, and are well acquainted with the fituation of affairs in that quarter :—thefe gentlemen, who muft be allowed to be competent judges, are decidedly of opinion, that the prefent eftablifhment, though completed to the laft man, will not furnifh an adequate force to carry on the war with effect; and that it will be a hopelefs attempt, to open another campaign, with lefs than about five thoufand regular troops, the number contemplated in the bill.

Nor ought that number to be deemed extravagant, under an idea, that we have only a contemptible handful of banditti to contend with : their numbers were, laft year, from authentic documents, ftated at about twelve hundred warriors, from different tribes;-- fuch was the oppofition then contemplated,---but it is impoffible to afcertain what acceffions of ftrength they have fince received, or even what force they had engaged in the late unfortunate action ; as the very men, who were in the engagement, do not pretend to form any juft or accurate eftimate of the number of their affailants : but there is good reafon to fuppofe, that they had previoufly entered into an affociation with various tribes, that have not as yet come within our knowledge : the bows and arrows, ufed againft our troops, on that occafion, afford a convincing proof, that they had foes to encounter, from diftant nations, as yet unacquainted with the

use of fire arms---nor does the account of the bows and arrows depend, for its authenticity, on newspaper evidence alone; gentlemen of unquestionable veracity, who were personally engaged in the action, have declared, that they had themselves noticed the arrows flying.

When we consider the warlike dispositions of the Indians in general, and the alacrity with which the victors are ever sure to be joined by numerous allies, we have every reason to expect a much more formidable opposition in the next campaign :---it is well known, that the savages place all their glory in deeds of war; and that, among them, a young man cannot make his appearance in company, till he has signalized his valour by some martial achievement;---when, to this powerful incentive, a new stimulus is added, by the trophies obtained in the late action, it is presumable that numbers will crowd to their standard; and it strongly behooves us to prepare in time for a much more vigorous effort, than any we have yet made against them.

The objections drawn from the increased expense, must entirely vanish from before the eyes of any man, who looks forward to the consequences of one more unsuccessful campaign;---such a disaster would eventually involve the nation in much greater expense, than that which is now made the ground of opposition;---better, therefore, at once, to make a vigorous and effectual exertion to bring the matter to a final issue, than continue gradually to drain the treasury, by dragging on the war, and renewing hostilities from year to year.

If we wish to bring the war to a speedy and happy conclusion, and to secure a permanent peace to the inhabitants on the frontier, we must employ such troops, and adopt such measures, as appear best calculated to ensure success;---if we delay our determination, until the force of the enemy be ascertained, we can make no provision at all; for the nature and circumstances of the case preclude us from the very possibility of obtaining a knowledge of their strength and numbers---but are we, mean while, to remain inactive and irresolute, and make no efforts to repel their intended attacks? No! Whatever their numbers may be, prudence calls aloud for provision of some kind: and if experience is to have any weight with us, the example of the French, and of the British, points out the true mode of securing our frontier, and rendering it invulnerable to an Indian foe: let us occupy posts in the vicinity of the enemy; let them be properly garrisoned, and well provided, and the business is done.

These will afford an opportunity of trading with the friendly tribes, and will prevent all intercourse between the whites and the Indians, except under proper regulations; should hostilities be meditated by any tribes, who are not in amity with us, early intelligence of their movements can be obtained: their marauding parties may be beaten off on their approach, or intercepted on their return;---opportunities may be taken of separately attacking the hostile tribes; their old men, their squaws, their children, will be exposed, a great part of the year, whilst the others are out hunting;---in short, if fear, hope, interest, can be supposed to have any influence on the Indians, this mode of defence must be allowed to be preferable to any other, as giving the fullest scope to the operation of all those motives.

A different mode has been long pursued in Virginia, and adopted by the inhabitants of Kentucky; but its success has not been such, as to offer any inducement to the general government to follow the same plan:---Rangers have there been employed for a number of years, to scour the frontiers; and those rangers, too, were expert woodsmen, perfectly inured to the Indian mode of warfare; yet, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, the savages still found means to commit all the murders and depredations already enumerated;---'tis true, however, that a frontier militia-man, trained up in the woods, may be, in many respects, preferable to a regular soldier, who has not the same knowledge of the country, and of the mode of fighting;---but with equal experience (and proper men, possessed of that experience, may be enlisted on the establishment) regular troops will be found infinitely superior to any militia upon earth.

Every man who has ever seen militia in the field, cannot but know, that a very trifling disaster, or a slight cause of discontent, is sufficient to make them disband, and forget all subordination, so far as even to neglect the means of self-defence;---whereas, regular troops, under proper discipline, and acting with greater steadiness and concert, are much more to be depended on, especially when the object of attack is distant, and great fatigue is to be undergone. The militia, in whatever mode they may be called out, will hardly be men of a proper description;---if large pay be offered, the temptation will equally prevail upon those who are unfit for the service, as it will

upon good effective men :---Besides, some of the states have no militia laws ; and even in those states which have such laws, they are gone into disuse ; no dependence can therefore be placed on militia, under any laws now existing ;---there is, indeed, a general militia law now before the house ; but if it ever passes, it certainly cannot be passed in due season to answer the purpose of providing for the immediate defence of the frontier—regular troops must be raised, or nothing effectual can be done :—and if, to avoid the expense, we refuse the only aid that may prove of any real service, we render ourselves responsible for the consequences of this parsimonious policy, which may be attended with the ruin and destruction of our fellow-citizens in the western country.

The question, on the motion for striking out, being put, it was determined in the negative—yeas, 18; nays, 34.

The bill was passed on the 1st of February—yeas, 29 ; nays, 19.

Yeas. Ames, Baldwin, Barnwell, Benson, Brown, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Giles, Hartley, Huger, Kitchell, Kittera, Learned, Madison, Moore, F.A.Muhlenberg, Murray, Page, Seney, W. Smith, Sterrett, Silvester, Tredwell, Tucker, Wadsworth, Wayne, and Moore.

Nays. Ashe, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Grove, Hillhouse, Jacobs, Macon, Niles, Parker, J. Smith, I. Smith, Steele, Sumpter, Thatcher, Ward, and Willis.

The senate amended the bill, in sundry particulars. To some of these amendmendments the house of representatives disagreed ; and the senate would not recede from them. A conference was then held, between committees of both houses ; an accommodation took place, and the bill was enacted into a law.

WHILE the bill providing for the more effectual defence of the frontiers was depending before congress, the secretary of the treasury was required, by an order of the house of representatives, to lay before that house such information, with respect to the finances of the united states, as would enable the legislature to judge, whether any additional revenue would be necessary, in consequence of the proposed increase of the military establishment. He accordingly gave a statement of the products of the revenues, and of the appropriations thereof to different objects ; from which it appeared, that there would remain a considerable deficiency to be provided for.

A few days after the passing of the bill, the following motion was laid on the table: ---"*Resolved*, That the secretary of the treasury be directed to report to this house, his opinion of the best mode for raising the additional supplies requisite for the ensuing year."—This motion was warmly discussed for two successive days. The debate was interesting and well supported. Much was said of the baneful effects of ministerial influence ; its unvaried tendency to sap the foundations of liberty, in every country where it is suffered to exist ; and the dangerous consequences to be apprehended by the people of America, if the house of representatives, in whom the constitution vests the sole power of originating bills for raising revenue, should so far surrender that power, into the hands of any executive officer, or head of a department, as to make him the oracle to dictate all their schemes of finance, and prescribe ways and means of drawing money from the pockets of their constituents.---The following speeches contain the substance of the most material arguments employed in this lengthy and animated debate.——

MR. SEDGWICK said, that when the law was passed, constituting the department of the treasury, and making it the duty of the secretary to report to the legislature, plans for the management and improvement of the revenue ; he had fondly indulged the hope, that a great principle in the administration of the government had been so far settled, that it would not have been called in question at so early a period. The principle he then, and still understood to be, that a great officer should, by appointment for that purpose, and an adequate salary, be responsible to the community, to produce to the consideration of the national legislature, such systematic arrangements in the intricate business of finance, as should give the highest assurance of the support of public credit, with the least possible burden to the citizens of America. That if this great principle remained still to be determined, he ardently wished that we might profit by the experience of other nations, and by our own—that he knew of no nation

that suffered under the weight of a public debt, but had found it indispensable to its welfare, to appoint some officer, whose duty it should be to superintend this important branch of business; and that without such appointment, it was impossible for him to conceive that an orderly administration of the finances could be effected. It was not long since, that all America had attempted to provide for the public exigencies, by the indigested schemes of legislating financiers. The effects are remembered by all—the revenue was incomparably less productive, and yet the people infinitely more burdened than at present. These facts would render any other arguments superfluous, with those who believed that experience was the best guide to well founded political conclusions. But, on the other hand, if gentlemen were disposed to calculate on the data afforded by imagination, and to build systems on arguments a priori, not only unsanctioned by experiment, but in opposition to all experience; we might render the debts we owed, which had been justly stiled the price of liberty, and for which therefore, we were under the highest obligation to provide, an intolerable burden. For he would run the venture to pronounce, that the measures which would result from such a desultory mode of procedure, would create grievous exactions on the people, disappoint the expectations of government, and prove inadequate to the support of public credit.

By these observations, he did not mean to derogate from the respectability of the character of the house collectively, or of any individual member of it. There might be many who had sufficient talents ably to preside in the management of our finances, provided their minds were confined to the contemplation of that subject alone. But it should be remembered, that while separated, in the recess of the legislature, the avocations of professions, or other business, left to most of the members but little leisure for the investigation of political questions; that while in session, they were obliged to pay attention to every subject of legislation committed to the national government; that, considering the limited faculties of the human mind, he did not think gentlemen should feel themselves wounded in reputation, by the supposition that they were not collectively, minutely acquainted with every branch of science, a knowledge of which might be involved in the subjects of our legislation. Without such an extent of information and science, a man might be an excellent legislator. Otherwise the business of popular legislation must a together cease, or be very badly managed. It would not produce the smallest uneasiness in his mind, to have it universally known, that he pretended not to the deep knowledge of jurisprudence of the attorney-general—the acquaintance of the secretary of state with the political interests and relations of the community—or the profound knowledge of the secretary of the treasury, of the intricate subject of finance. Yet he felt some degree of confidence in the ability which he possessed, of judging of the expediency of adopting such measures as those officers should recommend.

He observed, that the house, ever since the organization of the executive departments, had acted as if convinced of the justness of this reasoning, by their frequent references to the heads of those departments. That, particularly, when it had been suggested, that the judicial system required amendment, the subject had been referred to the consideration of the attorney-general. That when the commerce commerce of the country came under deliberation, it was referred to the secretary of state. That these subjects comprehended the most important and dearest interests of the people. That he heartily concurred in those references, and would take the liberty to add, that they had the support of the gentlemen who were now so strenuous in opposition to the present motion. That if the house was then right, those would not be wrong who were in favour of this question.

He observed further, that gentlemen, in the two cases which, in argument, they had supported, had given very opposite opinions of the collective character of the members of the house: when they were considering them solely devising the ways and means necessary to supply the deficiency of the revenue, they gave them all the qualities of profound financiers; but when they were to consider the reports of the secretary, they became at once transformed into resistless dupes, incapable of manly investigation, and quietly sailing down the stream of ministerial influence. Did gentlemen feel, he asked, in the latter instance, the want of that dependance of spirit, which is necessary, to enable them to investigate and decide for themselves? If so, they would want much of that greatness of character, which would enable them, in the former case, to act for the public benefit.

He concluded by obferving, that it appeared to him, that gentlemen who fo ftrenuoufly oppofed the prefent motion, would, if they fhould fucceed in their wiffhes, deftroy moft of the benefits intended by the inftitution of the office of fecretary of the treafury, and wholly fcreen the officer from every fpecies of refponfibility.

Mr. *Page*—I fhall always vote againft a motion for applying to the fecretary of the treafury, for information refpecting the *means* of procuring the fums of money neceffary for the exigencies of government.

It is no argument to me, to be told, that the act which eftablifhed the department, at the head of which that officer is placed, authorifes that motion. That act may be pleaded as obligatory on the fecretary, to reply to fuch enquiry, when made by congrefs, but not to induce this houfe to make fuch enquiry. When that act, which is now urged in juftification of the motion before the houfe, was under the confideration of the houfe which formed it, I raifed my feeble voice againft it—I endeavoured to fhew that the powers given to an officer, who was appointed by the prefident and fenate, and removable by the prefident alone, were fuch as were utterly incompatible with the principles of the conftitution, and perhaps with the letter of it, as that does not permit even the independent fenate, the repreftentatives of the legiflatures of the feveral ftates, to originate a money bill.

I contended, fir, that it was the peculiar duty of this houfe, to originate money bills, and to devife ways and means, as they are called—I am ftill moft decidedly of the fame opinion; and I think, with the member from Pennfylvania, (Mr. Fitzfimons) that fuch a reference to the fecretary of the treafury, is a dereliction of our duty; and an abandonment of the truft repofed in us: and that many other references muft have the appearance of an unbecoming indolence—I am alfo of opinion with the member from Georgia, (Mr. Baldwin) that if ever we make a ftand, it fhould be on this ground.

I will add, that it is high time to make that ftand.---For a bill having paffed, which was oppofed as dangerous to the conftitution, and utterly incompatible with the principles of a free government, and indeed as inconfiftent with the plain conftruction, and I may fay, the very letter of our own conftitution; and that bill being now appealed to, as a juftification of a motion which can be fupported on no other principles, but fuch as may be ufed to fubvert our government, and to introduce a monarchy, as unlimited as that lately abolifhed in France---(for furely if more wifdom can be found in a few heads of departments, than in the whole repreftentative body of the people---and if thofe heads can be made refponfible, whilft the repreftentatives are free from refponfibility, and difpatch and energy can be obtained without the expenfe of a congrefs, or of this houfe at leaft; I fee not why the people might not make a favourite prefident as abfolute as the kings of France have been, and call on congrefs, like the parliaments of Paris, only to regifter his edicts.) I fay, as this is the cafe, it is high time to make a ftand---But we are told that the heads of departments are recognized by the conftitution, and the bufinefs now required of one of them fanctioned by law---and we are alfo told of precedents, eftablifhing and authorifing this mode of proceeding---it is furely then high time for every member, who views that law, and fuch proceedings under it, in the light I do, to join with the member from Georgia, and make a ftand, as he called it---And I truft, fir, that rather than fuffer that law to be thus reforted to, they will unite to amend or repeal it.

I repeat it, fir, here we fhould make a ftand; for, however well intended fuch meafures may be, and the arguments in fupport of them, their tendency is mifchievous, and ought to be oppofed by every friend to a free government.

The bills eftablifhing the departments of government, have ftrong monarchical features; and have too often led congrefs into the fteps of monarchical governments. The republican part of the Britifh government rely on a committee of ways and means---the heads of departments being members of the houfe of commons, are always forward to take the lead in the plans or projects of the crown---and they have fo ingeniouffy involved the plans of finance, that few underftand the myfterious bufinefs, and therefore it is in the minifter's hands alone.---Sir, the houfe of commons always feverely fcrutinize their plans, and are not fo obfequious to their miniffers, as fome gentlemen are difpofed to be to our fecretaries.

But what would Englifhmen fay, if their parliament were to pafs fuch a bill as this now referred to; and fhould call on a man, not a member of either houfe, but appointed by the king, with the advice, indeed, of the houfe of lords, removable however by

the king alone; to lay before the house of commons a plan of ways and means? Would the people of England be satisfied with the strange story of his responsibility, and of his superior abilities? But what is this responsibility so much talked of? The president may dismiss the secretary from his office, or this house may impeach him---but when the president and congress both are his accomplices, who will dismiss, or who impeach? and where then is the responsibility?

We are asked, indeed, are you afraid of truth, and unwilling to receive instruction? I answer, no---Truth is our great object, and just information our only aim---but to get at truth, respecting the most likely means of raising a revenue, with as little inconvenience as possible to our constituents, was, I conceive, a principal object in the view of the framers of our constitution, when they instituted this house of representatives. In this house alone I should search for truth, respecting this important question ---from the representatives of the states I should expect to receive all the necessary information respecting it: and if the secretary be possessed of vouchers, or further information, the house should call for it.---In the committee of the whole, every enquiry should be made---resolutions be proposed, examined, amended, and when maturely considered and approved by the house, where all the further information which the heads of departments can give may be called for, our business would be done. This is the way for congress to get at information, and to arrive at truth.

It is ungenerous to hold up a secretary as responsible for errors adopted by congress; and it is unreasonable to impose upon him a task which, although our peculiar duty to perform, we shrink from. The multitude of references already made to the secretary of the treasury, and the necessary length of some of his reports, leave him no leisure to attend properly to the different branches of his own department.

But what information do we ask? We know the estimate of expenses for the present year---we have estimates of the probable amount of the revenue---and we have called for a report of the amount of surpluses, if any, in the treasury. We can then, as well as the secretary, determine whether any additional revenue will be necessary; and if so, we alone ought to devise the ways and means of raising it. If dispatch is necessary, it is better to determine here, at once, what is to be done, than apply to the secretary, whose plans we may, after long debates, reject ---As to the secretary of the treasury, I acknowledge his abilities; I know too that some of his reports do honour to his heart, as well as to his head---his gallant behaviour in the late war, has commanded my highest respect and esteem---but I owe too much respect to our country, to agree to the resolution before you——I wish, therefore, that this house would refer only such cases to him, as they cannot decide on, without official information in his hands---and that, in the present case, the house would, in a committee of the whole on the state of the union, take under their consideration the means of raising the supplies which may be found necessary, for the support of government, and the protection of the frontiers.

Mr. Murray observed, that on such a question, his object should be to pursue what appeared to him the wisest mode of raising taxes—In agreeing, however, with the resolution and its reference, he could neither see danger in the precedent, nor surrender of the constitutional right in the consequences—as to the privilege of originating money-bills—when ways and means are to be sought for, his first object should be to gain all the information the delicacy of the case demanded——The duty of exploring the resources of a country, as yet untried in many of its objects of taxation, was certainly the business of the house of representatives—but why they should refuse to themselves an opportunity of gaining additional knowledge, beyond what the leisure of any one here, or the abilities of few could collect, was extraordinary.—He wished for a reference to the secretary in the first instance, because it would not very well comport with the dignity of the house, to refer to him in the second instance—If, on trial, there should appear either a crudity or a conflicting of systems; and if, as would most probably be the case, partiality in the mover of any undebated set of resolutions, should show itself, the house must either make the most of the plans proposed, or, in the very last resort, call on the officer of government to suggest his opinion on the subject.—The subject was extremely intricate—but part of the intricacy of taxation and finance was removed, by the well arranged order in which he presumed the documents relative to the department were preserved.—An act of congress has already delineated the duties of the various departments—to the secretary of the treasury it belonged to collect information respecting the objects of taxation—to

invent, or adopt and propose schemes by which the revenues were to be improved—to digest ideas on the political economy of the country, and to superintend its finances—In such a department, he must think that a mass of information existed on the various resources of this country, and their probable productiveness, which was not necessarily to be expected elsewhere—He wished to avail himself of this information, on which he would exercise his right of judging, altering or rejecting; and he wished to obtain it in the mode most congenial with his own mind, an open responsible communication to the whole house.—He was certain that, though in no habits of intimacy himself, that could justify a private communication with the secretary, or warrant from the secretary an unsolicited opinion to him, the opinions and ideas of the secretary would, in some way or other, most assuredly find their way into the house---He wished to see no ministerial out-of-door influence---The wholesome influence of superior judgment, and of well-digested opinion, he did not fear; on the contrary, that superiority was the only one to which he could bow; and the only way in which the unmixed benefit of such an influence can be felt, was that way in which the law respecting the heads of departments contemplated the subject.--From this mode of communicating all the knowledge of the treasury department, two benefits would be derived---The secretary would send to us his best opinions on the subject, and in a way of which the whole house, and the public itself, could avail themselves in forming a judgment---and private influence, partially, and irresponsibly given to individual members, would be rendered useless.---He begged leave to remark, that the objection to this mode, that the power and right was in the house of representatives to originate money-bills, could not have much weight---The house of representatives, of right, and by the constitution, were properly constituted the sole origin of money-bills---But this reference does not deny the right, nor can it weaken its operation---A bill does not originate till the house has *agreed* to some principles or resolutions; or a committee reports a bill by order:---principles then, established by vote, resolutions, or leave, are the only ways in which, in a legislative sense, any thing can be known to this government to *originate* in the work of legislation—He who has not a seat here, of whom, for the sake of multiplied information, we require controlable opinion, does no more *originate* the legislative work of the house, than the author of a work on finance, from whose opinions we form a scheme of revenue, can be said to tax the people. There is certainly this good attending a reference in such cases—a greater chance for simplicity in the system of finance, and greater stability—The opinions thus obtained, are not obligatory farther than as they appear founded in wisdom—we can alter, add, or reject---a complete control is in our power.---It is thus we shall unite the efficiency and regularity, which are the only good parts of bad governments, with the control and right of rejection which belong to the most free. Gentlemen, after all, will not be precluded from furnishing the house with the result of their individual labours and talents.---Some gentlemen had agreed, that if a committee were to submit a plan to the house, that committee might obtain all the intelligence necessary from the secretary---This would, he thought, be better than obtaining information secretly by individuals; but would be very objectionable, and attended with this inconvenience--that the opinions of the secretary, on which the committee might make their report, would be but partially known to the house, and would come into it unaccompanied by the high responsibility which a formal report from the officer, made in the face of the world, would give them.---He said he would vote for the reference, because he wished, on so tender a subject as that of taxation, to have all possible information---because he felt his right to reject opinions to which he might not be able to subscribe; and because he thought the house onght not to look for official information, in any other mode, than that, in which they might rightfully exert their impartial judgments, in its admission or rejection.

(To be continued.)

The CHRONICLE.

ABSTRACT of FRENCH INTELLIGENCE.

WE mentioned, in our last, that M. Petion, mayor of Paris, had appeared at the bar of the national assembly, at the head of the envoys of the commonality, on the 4th. of August, and demanded that the king should be suspended, and a national convention called, for the purpose of choosing a new king, or executive magistrate. At the same time, a decree of accusation against M. la Fayette, charging him with high treason, was depending before the assembly. All waited, with anxious attention, the decision of the assembly, respecting M. la Fayette; as being a measure which would determine the comparative strength of the Jacobin and constitutional parties. At the close of the debate on this decree, there appeared 224 members in support of it, and 400 against it. This decision was so unpopular, that the majority, on quitting the hall, were grossly insulted and abused, by a large mob assembled about the door.

It was now feared by the Jacobin leaders, that the same majority, who had voted in favour of M. la Fayette, would also oppose the suspension of the executive powers of the king. Measures were therefore taken for accomplishing by force, what could not be hoped from the calm decrees of the legislative body; and a plan was formed for uniting the whole force of the Jacobin party, so as to enable them to act in concert, immediately upon the ringing of the tocsin, or alarm-bell, which was fixed for midnight, between the 9th and 10th of August, in case the assembly should not decree the king's suspension, in their sitting of the 9th. The more effectually to ensure the success of this plan, the police of the city was totally subverted by the respective sections, and a new system introduced, in which only three members of the preceding body were retained. As the national guards had, in the disturbances of the 20th. of June, given strong appearances of attachment to the king, a new commander, (M. Santerre) was appointed. Detachments were made from the national guards, of men who could be depended on; and these with a battalion from Marseilles, and a large body of federates from the different sections, constituted a powerful force, which was to be under the immediate command of M. Santerre, who was not to obey the existing superior officers.

All things being thus in train, a rumour of an intended attempt to carry off the king, was spread among the people, on the evening of the 9th. Upon which all the avenues leading to the Thuilleries were immediately crowded with an enraged populace. Under the pretext of quieting the apprehensions of the people, detachments of the national guards were posted in the several avenues around the palace.——In the mean time, the friends of the constitution and of the king, though they did not know that the other party had managed matters with so much system, were informed of the intention to excite a tumult, by ringing the alarm-bell at midnight. A force which was deemed adequate to the defence of the palace, was accordingly stationed there. Some courtiers, however, were arrested in disguise; and this circumstance served not a little to give a keener edge to the fury of the people. The tocsin was rung, the drums were beat, and the avenues to the assembly and the palace were crowded with an incensed multitude, who demanded vengeance on the traitors that had been apprehended. The unfortunate victims, some with a mock-trial, and others without any such form, were immediately put to death. Before nine o'clock on the morning of the 10th. the palace was invested with an astonishing and outrageous multitude, calling out for the dethronement of the king; who had fled, in the mean time, with the queen and royal family, to the national assembly, for protection. They were placed, during the remainder of the day, in a box, which had been occupied by the short-hand writers; while the assembly continued their deliberations, and scenes of horror surrounded them. An attempt was made to force the palace. A regiment of Swiss guards, stationed there, endeavoured to defend it. They fought with the utmost intrepidity,

and killed ſeveral hundreds of the aſſailants. But the attack being continued with fury; and ſeveral pieces of cannon, loaded with grape-ſhot, being employed againſt them, they were obliged to yield to ſuperior force. A few eſcaped the general maſſacre, and were made priſoners; but theſe ſoon after fell a ſacrifice to the rage of the populace, as did many others who were ſuſpected of attachment to the king. The number of the Swiſs who fell on this occaſion were about 700, but the whole number of the killed is ſaid to have conſiſted of ſome thouſands.—While theſe ſcenes of horror were going forward, the aſſembly decreed the ſuſpenſion of the king, and ordered that he ſhould be kept in confinement, under the care of the commander of the national guards, and the mayor of Paris, till a national convention could be convened; and that, in the mean time, the executive power ſhould be veſted in ſix reſponſible miniſters. A decree of accuſation againſt M. la Fayette was again brought forward, and ſanctioned by the aſſembly. By this decree any perſon was authorized to bring him to Paris, living or dead. M. la Fayette was ſoon informed of this decree. He ſounded the inclination of his army, and found the men generally diſpoſed to be governed by the will of the national aſſembly. To tarry till the news of the decree againſt him reached the army, would have been inevitable deſtruction. He, with a number of officers, ſet out for Holland, in the character of French emigrants; but in paſſing through the territories of the principality of Liege, the whole party were made priſoners, and confined in Namur.—It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, although the decree of ſuſpenſion appears to have been extorted from a majority of the aſſembly, by the Jacobin faction in that body, ſupported by a tumultuous aſſemblage of Pariſians, yet this decree, like almoſt every other meaſure of the aſſembly, has been loudly applauded throughout the nation. The king, it is true, had long loſt the confidence of the people, who have been accuſtomed, for ſome time paſt, to look to their repreſentatives, for the political ſalvation of France. The aſſembly have publiſhed a lengthy vindication of their conduct.

Accounts from London, to the 8th of September, ſtate, that the Duke of Brunſwick, after taking ſeveral fortified places, had marched with his army towards Paris. —In conſequence of his ſucceſſes on the frontiers, Longwi, and ſeveral other places having fallen into his hands, the national aſſembly paſſed a decree, expreſſing in ſtrong terms, the danger of the country, and calling on the citizens to arm, and turn out to reinforce the army—Sixty thouſand armed men were to be raiſed immediately—this decree provided for a general alarm—the tocſin was rung, and the *general* beat in all the ſections. The citizens immediately repaired to the camp de Mars, to ſelect their volunteers, and make their arrangements to comply with the decree for reinforcing the army.

It being ſuggeſted, that, previous to going to the frontiers to fight the enemy without, it was proper to take care of the enemy within—the idea was immediately communicated from man to man, and the whole body immediately divided themſelves into parties, and ſpread themſelves all over the city---they broke open the priſons, and put all the priſoners to death; among whom were upwards of one hundred of the non-juring clergy, including one biſhop, col. Montmorin, &c. &c.---The garriſon of Longwi conſiſted of 1800 men, who were all made priſoners of war.---Part of the Auſtrian army were beſieging Verdun.

An account was circulated in Paris, at the time of the maſſacre, which added greatly to the fury of the populace, namely, that four thouſand men, belonging to the army of M. Dumourier, ſent to reinforce the garriſon of Verdun, had been treacherouſly led into an ambuſcade, and cut to pieces.

Among the victims in the priſon called the Abbaye, were all the queen's ladies, as Madame Lambelle, half ſiſter to M. D'Orleans, Madame de Tarrante, &c. &c. ---M. Montmorin was ſlain between two members of the national aſſembly, who were ſent to check the people. From the priſons the populace proceeded to the houſes of ſuſpected perſons, and wherever they found *depots* of arms, or any papers that diſcovered a correſpondence with emigrants, they ſlaughtered the owners.---The moſt moderate accounts ſtate the ſlain to be about 4000; the higheſt eſtimate is 7000.---The national aſſembly, the public offices, and the treaſury, during theſe horrors, remained unviolated.---The temple, the reſidence of the king and his family, was not attacked ---the guard had been doubled, and it was hoped it would remain in ſafety.---Though it was apprehended by many, that when the news of the capture of Verdun ſhould

arrive, the populace, exasperated by this new disaster, would destroy the royal family.

Earl Gower, the British ambassador, is arrived in England, from Paris.--The Marquis de la Fayette is gone to Luxembourg, by order of the Duke of Brunswick. ——M. Luckner is reinstated in his command, as generalissimo of the French armies.

P H I L A D E L P H I A, *October* 3.

NOTHING shows, in a stronger light, the rooted inveteracy of the Indians, than their putting to death every flag, that has been hardy enough to approach them. Captain Snake, a chief belonging to the Munsee (friendly) tribe, was sent, some time since, with a message to the hostile nations, but was killed at one of the Delaware towns, the moment he made his business known.

At the anniversary commencement at Princeton, the 26th ult. the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on 36, and that of Master of Arts, on eleven gentlemen.

6th. Mr. *Spilker*, the celebrated English foot-traveller, who is now engaged in exploring the interior of America, and means to proceed, if possible, from sea to sea, arrived at Augustine, in East-Florida, about the first of July, and requested leave of the governor to explore that province, for the purpose of botanical researches. Although otherwise treated with civility, his request was refused, under pretence of rigid orders to suffer no strangers to come there, except for the purpose of settling under the Spanish government.

By a letter from capt. John Rogers, to governor Lee, of Virginia, dated August 5, 1792, in the territory south of the Ohio—it appears that a series of most cruel murders and depredations have been committed on the frontiers in that quarter; and principally by the Creeks. The number of men, women and children killed since January 1, 1792, amounts to 63, and the number of horses stolen, to 400. There was a treaty to be held the 6th of August, in the district of Mero—600 of the Chickesaws, and 110 of the Chocktaws, had arrived on the ground.

By a return made to his excellency the governor, there has been exported from this city, during the months of July, August, and September, 89,729 barrels of flour, and 2,331 barrels of middlings.

10th. A French gentleman, recently from the Wabash, informs that the Indians are employed in removing their families beyond the waters of the Mississippi, in order that the warriors, upon their return, may be less incumbered for battle.

It is a fact, that the demand for printing-paper has become so extensive in this city and state, and from other states that depend upon the Pennsylvania mills for a supply, that it can no longer be answered. It is hoped that a regard to the interests of literature in the united states, will induce the legislature to take some steps towards remedying this evil. Perhaps it will be found, that the taking off the present duty on foreign paper will be the only means, for some time to come, of procuring a sufficiency of this very necessary, and indispensable article.

A large, commodious, and elegant state-house has been lately erected at Trenton, in New-Jersey, for the accommodation of the legislature and public offices of that state. It is said to be almost finished, at least so far as comfortably to receive the two houses at the October session. The building is one hundred feet long by fifty wide, with a semi-hexagon at each end, over which is to be a balustrade.

Mr. *John Churchman*, author of the ingenious new Magnetic theory, having failed in his applications, in this country, for the means of enabling him to prosecute his discoveries, by making a voyage to Baffin's-bay, lately embarked, at Baltimore, for London, it is said, with a view to apply to the *Literary Societies* there, to countenance him in his future endeavours for the above purpose.

13th. A number of artists are arrived at Boston, from Amsterdam, who are to be employed in the manufacture of glass, in the glass-house in that town.

A Richmond (Virginia) paper of October 5th, informs, that the four horses belonging to the mail-stage were drowned the preceding day, in attempting to ford Pamunkey-river—the passengers crossed the river on a temporary bridge erected for foot passengers—the driver narrowly escaped drowning.

17th. On the 26th of September happened a severe frost in Elizabethtown (Maryland) and its vicinity, which totally destroyed all the tobacco that was in the fields. The loss is said to be severely felt by the people in that part of the country.

On the 3d instant was celebrated in New-York, the completion of the third century since the discovery of America by *Columbus*. On this occasion a monumental obelisk was exhibited by the Tammany society at their great wigwam; where an animated oration on the great nautical hero, was delivered by *J. B. Johnson*, esquire.

Information has been received from governor Blount, (territory south of the Ohio) that the Cherokees of the five lower towns on the Tenesee, had declared war against the united states, on the 11th of September, and that from three to six hundred warriors had set out upon an expedition against the frontier settlements. In consequence of this intelligence, one regiment of the militia of Washington district was ordered out. —On the 15th of September, however, news was received, that some leading men had prevailed with the Cherokee Indians, that had collected to go to war, to disperse and go to their homes.

A gentleman at Fort Franklin, in a letter, dated Sept. 27, writes thus to his friend in this city: "We are in great expectations of a peace by spring. Cornplanter, with 130 warriors from the Seneca tribes, from the Munsies, the Massasagues, &c. set off about twenty days ago, for the hostile tribes, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain a permanent peace. If he does not meet with success, we may expect a bloody war."

The Nantucket whaling vessels have been remarkably fortunate the last season in taking fish. One ship only, brought in 1300 barrels of oil, and 7000 wt. of bone. It is remarkable that the English and Nova-Scotia fishermen have, during the same season, met with but very little success.

A petition has been drawn up at Winchester, in Virginia, to be presented to congress early in the ensuing session, requesting them to take into consideration the impropriety of officers acting under the excise laws being proprietors of stills, or any way interested therein.

A letter from a gentleman in Charleston, (S.C.) dated Oct. 1, mentions two frosts having happened in the neighbourhood of the Wateree river, previous to that date; a circumstance extremely uncommon in Carolina.

The following is extracted from a letter received on Monday from Charleston—"Capt. Robert Maxwell and a Mr. Spears, an Indian trader, are arrived here with dispatches from gen. Pickens and col. Anderson, to the following purport: "That a general Creek war may shortly be expected to take place; that the four lower Cherokee towns are hostilely disposed, and will act in concert with the Creeks. A body of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Shawanese, in all about five hundred men, are now out, and it is supposed will fall upon the settlements at Cumberland or Holstein. Col. Anderson has erected four block-houses on the frontiers. An old trader, by the name of Ramsay, with another trader, hath been killed in the Creek nation, and a Mr. Shaw, an agent from congress, narrowly escaped the same fate; and which was prevented by some Indian women, who gave Mr. Shaw timely notice thereof, so that he made his escape. General M'Gillivray is now at Pensacola—It is the opinion of the back country, that every Indian tribe, from Lake Erie to the gulph of Mexico, will, in the course of this winter, be in a state of warfare with the united states."

The grand jury of Charleston district, (S C.) recommend, in a late presentment to the legislature, to inflict some other punishment than a *fine* upon those masters, &c. who are guilty of murdering negroes.

The number of persons lately inoculated in Boston, is stated in one of their papers at nine thousand three hundred and eighty-four, of whom one hundred and ninety-eight died, which is in the proportion of about *one* to *forty*.

20th. We hear from Newark (N.J.) that on Friday the 12th instant, Nicholas Low, Esq. was chosen governor of the Jersey manufacturing society; and that John Bayard, Esq was chosen deputy-governor of the said society.

A Virginia paper mentions an extraordinary instance of longevity, in a person now living in Prince-Edward county, in that state. His name is John Holloway, who was born in the year 1670, consequently now 122 years of age. He is said to enjoy good health and spirits, and a remarkably cheerful temper. His mode of living has nothing singular in it, except that he often drinks freely of spirits, and is very fond of sweets, particularly honey. He lately lost a wife, near one hundred years of age, whom he married, a widow, in his seventieth year, who, though childless before, bore him a son within one year after their marriage. Old Mr. Holloway can now, with-

out fatigue, walk twelve miles a day, and, from all appearance, may yet for several years, bid defiance to the scythe of time.

[*Extract of a letter from New-Jersey, October* 15.]

"On the 10th of May last, the wife of Mr. Griggs, of Middlesex county, New-Jersey, was delivered of three children; two females and a male—I have seen them, and think they are as fine children as I have generally observed of the same age, when only one at a birth."

On the 11th instant, the house of representatives of Virginia, unanimously resolved to instruct the delegates from that commonwealth to the senate of the united states, to use their interest and exertions to have the doors of that honourable body opened to the citizens of the union.

Extract of a letter from a citizen of Cinninnati, Sept. 9th 1792.

"The day before yesterday general Wilkinson returned to this place, from a visit to the out-post, and an extensive excursion, to general St. Clair's field of slaughter, and around the head waters of the Big Miami---I am informed that he has discovered two pieces of the brass ordnance lost on the 4th of November; that he explored the country in front of the field of battle, within eight miles of the old Miami village, which turns out to be sixty miles from the field; He has also explored the country to the east of general St. Clair's trace; from whence it appeared that the governor bore much too far to the westward."

27*th*. The army under general Wayne had not gone down the river Ohio, from Pittsburgh, on the 4th of october; the water being so low as to prevent their passage. It is probable, therefore, that the operations of the troops will be retarded to a tedious and laborious winter campaign.

Mr. William Longstreet, of Augusta, in Georgia, has lately completed the model of a new invented steam engine, calculated for moving all kinds of heavy machinery. This engine is so constructed and applied to saws, as to perform from forty to forty-five strokes with each in a minute, without the complication of wheels, cogs, or cranks; and all its operations are managed by a single cock. The inventor asserts that his machinery may be so applied as to grind 150 bushels of grain per day, or saw 2000 feet of inch boards in the same time.

29*th*. In Paris there are two seminaries of learning for the children of Irish parents. Their revenues are large, some say, to the amount of 100,000l a year; be that as it may, the students, in number about 700, had by some ill-judged intemperance of conduct given offence to the people of Paris; an insurrection was the consequence, and the rage of the populace was concentered on the two colleges; the students immediately sought safety in flight; the people had soon completely demolished both the colleges. Happily all the students are safely arrived in the British dominions.

30*th*. The late French news will probably induce many to be apprehensive that the cause of liberty is in danger. But the people of France are the best judges of their own situation. When the enemy is at the gates, it is no time to trifle with those within, who are not *heartily* engaged for us. The common practice of all nations, in such hours of extreme difficulty and danger, will justify the conduct of the French. The citizens of Paris received news that a body of 4000 French, detached to the assistance of *Verdun* had been defeated, and it is agreed that *every man* shall turn out to oppose the common enemy. In such a case, can any one suppose they would leave their wives and children in the hands of "refractory priests" and others, convicted of high crimes against the nation, and attached to the cause of the duke of Brunswick?—Upon a careful review of every article of European intelligence, yet received, it does not appear that the duke of Brunswick, at the head of his army, can ever reach Paris. Should he, however, arrive there, his *total defeat* will be the more certain. He need not promise to himself in Paris, even the fortune of Burgoyne at Saratoga; his life must atone for his temerity, and his army, in all human probability, will fall by the sword.

Protest of M. La Fayette, and the officers who accompanied him, against the seizure of their persons on a neutral territory.

The undernamed French citizens, forced by an irresistible concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, to renounce the glory of protecting, as they have hitherto done, the

liberty of their country, unable any longer to oppose the violations of the constitution which the national will had established therein, declare, "That they cannot be considered as military enemies, since they have given up their posts in the French army; and still less, as part of those of their countrymen whose interests, sentiments, and opinions, absolutely opposite to theirs, have engaged them to league themselves with the powers at war with France; but as strangers, who claim a free passage, which the rights of nations secure to them, and which they only wish to make use of, to repair as speedily as possible to a territory, the government of which is not in an actual state of hostility against their country.

An opinion has prevailed that the Americans fall short of the longevity of the inhabitants of Europe. After premising that we are less attentive in collecting the instances of long life here than in Europe, we shall enumerate a few extracts from the newspapers during 1789 and 1790. Mrs. Kenzey, N. Car. aged 114. Mr. Elithrop, Con. 105. Mr. Carter, Con. 107. Mr. Williams, Con. 101. Mrs. Dowset, Con. 103. Mrs Dixon, Mass. 101. Mr. Hayley, N. Hamp. 101. and Mrs Ulrich, 105. Mr. Van Verts, Albany, 124. Dr. Vanlear, Penn. 104. Mr. Montz, 100. and Mrs. Benneison, 100.

A writer in the Knoxville Gazette, says, It is an undoubted truth, (strange as it may appear) that the baron D'Corrondolet, governor of Louisania, and governor O'Neal, of Pensacola, have opened the stores of the king of Spain, in West Florida, to the Creeks and Cherokees, and delivered them arms and ammunition in abundance, advising and stimulating them to go to war against the frontier inhabitants of the united states, and that quickly, that now, or never was the time, while the united states were engaged with the northern tribes.

The disunion that has been so much talked of in France appears to have arisen wholly from the schemes and artifices of the royalists and retainers to despotism, actuated by the king and his family. Since the suspension of the monarch, and his confinement, the most authentic accounts represent the nation as *united* against all its enemies. Should this really be the case, when the amazing strength of the nation is considered, it is evident it will be at their own option to adopt what form of government they see fit. The number of persons capable of bearing arms in France, is six millions, seven hundred thousand, whereas the whole combined force that can be brought to act against them cannot exceed two hundred and fifty thousand.

State of Europe, with respect to France; communicated to the national assembly by the secretary for foreign affairs.

Sweden. That kingdom had already testified pacific intentions. Government refused to enter into the league against France. Several Swedish officers wished to be employed in the French service. The regency made proposals for a commercial intercourse.

Russia. That empire never concealed its hostile views; but it could only threaten France for a long time to come.

The southern courts were in the same case.

The German Empire was combined against France.

Holland. That republic promised the most perfect neutrality. The Dutch ambassador remained in Paris.

Great-Britain. That empire professed exact neutrality. The British ambassador had orders from his court to quit France; but nothing hostile was insinuated in the mandate. The English government observed to him, that as the executive power had been taken out of the king's hand, his credentials were no longer valid or of any effect; and that it was his duty to withdraw without loss of time. His British majesty continues perfectly neuter, but did not think he would invade that neutrality, by demanding that the lives of Louis XVI. and his family should be protected. He expected that no violence would be offered to their persons, as that would awake the indignation of all Europe. Authorized by the executive power *ad interim*, the secretary for foreign affairs had written to the English ambassador, and testified how much the French desired to continue in amity with a great people, who were the first to acknowledge the sovereignty of nations.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of SEPTEMBER, 1792.

Days.	Baromet. Eng. foot. In.	Thermometer of Farenh. D.	Thermometer of Reaum. D.	Anemometer Prevail Wind	Rain	Thunder	Snow	WEATHER.
1	30 1 0	52 2	9 0	E				Fair, cloudy
	30 0 12	85 0	23 6	SW				Overcast,
2	30 0 7	63 5	14 0	SW	I			Rainy
	30 0 3	80 4	21 5	SW				Overcast
3	30 0 12	65 7	15 0	Variab.				Fair,
	30 1 0	80 4	21 5	Idem.				Overcast
4	30 2 0	49 0	7 5	NE				Fair
	30 3 2	81 5	22 0	NE				Idem
5	30 4 6	47 7	7 0	NE.				Idem
	30 3 8	85 0	23 5	ESE				Idem
6	30 3 2	9 0	12 0	ESE				Cloudy
	30 2 14	77 0	20 0	ESE	I			Rainy, overcast
7	30 1 12	62 4	13 5	SW. S				Overcast
	30 0 13	88 2	25 0	S. SSE				Idem
8	30 0 1	68 0	16 0	SW				Idem
	29 11 14	88 2	25 0	SSW				Cloudy
9	29 11 14	63 5	14 0	E				Overcast
	29 10 0	90 5	26 0	W.	I	I		Idem, thunder, rain
10	30 1 13	49 0	7 5	NNE				Overcast
	30 2 2	67 0	15 0	Varia.				Cloudy
11	30 2 12	43 2	5 0	NE				Fair
	30 2 2	75 8	19 5	NE				Idem
12	30 2 9	49 0	7 5	ENE				Foggy, cloudy
	30 0 12	79 2	21 0					Cloudy
13	30 1 1	50 0	8 0	NNE				Fair
	30 1 2	77 0	20 0	NNE				Idem
14	30 0 0	57 9	11 5	Varia.				Idem
	29 10 4	85 0	23 5	S				Idem, cloudy
15	29 8 10	63 5	14 0	SW				Foggy, overcast
	29 2 7	83 7	23 0	WNW				Overcast
16	29 11 1	61 9	13 3	NNE				Idem
	29 9 0	74 7	19 0	NNE	I			Rainy
17	29 9 0	59 0	12 0	NNE.	I	I		Idem, thunder
	29 10 4	74 7	19 0	N				Overcast
18	30 0 6	44 5	10 0	N				Overcast
	30 0 0	73 6	18 5	N				Cloudy
19	30 0 0	50 0	8 0	NE				Idem
	29 10 8	60 0	12 5	NE				Idem
20	29 11 12	44 4	5 5	N				Rain, overcast
	30 0 12	57 9	11 5	N				Overcast
21	30 2 8	37 4	2 4	NW				Fair
	30 2 1	38 0	3 0	NW				Idem
22	30 1 14	38 7	3 0	W				Idem
	30 1 7	74 7	19 0	W				Idem
23	30 1 8	45 5	6 0	WSW				Idem
	30 0 10	78 8	20 8	SW				Idem
24	30 0 6	55 6	10 5	SW				Overcast
	29 10 8	77 0	20 0	SW				Cloudy
25	29 11 4	54 5	10 0	W				Overcast
	29 10 10	79 2	21 0	SW				Fair
26	29 10 9	50 0	8 0	W				Idem
	29 9 5	88 2	25 0	W				Idem
27	29 11 12	54 5	10 0	NNE				Rainy
	30 2 2	50 0	8 0	NNE	I			Idem
28	30 3 0	34 2	1 0	NNW				Fair
	30 3 8	65 7	15 0	NNW				Idem
29	30 5 8	38 3	3 0	E				Idem
	30 4 14	68 0	16 0	E				Idem
30	30 2 2	45 5	6 0	SW				Idem
	29 10 4	79 2	21 0	SW				Idem

RESULT.	29th gr. ev.	9th gr. ce. of heat						
	30 5	90 5	26		SW			
	15th least el	18th least de. of heat						
	29 8 10	34 2	1			6	2	Fair and dry.
	Variation	Variation						
	8 12	6 3	25		NNE			
	Mean elevation	Mean degree						
	30 12	64 4	14 4					

THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

CONTENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, N°. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

To CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have to acknowledge the receipt of sundry valuable performances, both in prose and verse. The following pieces will be inserted next month—*Honoria, or the mourner comforted—The premature adviser—The revolutions of fashion—Lines addressed to a lark—Hymn—Verses for the close of the year 1792—Truth, an epigram—The distressed maiden—On the gout—Hypocrisy universal—On Delia—On satiety—Anacreontic—The country swain's address to his city charmer—The superannuated maiden.*

We have received two letters this month from our correspondent, who signs himself *Incognito*. We are sorry we cannot think so favourably of his piece signed *Horatio* as he himself appears to do—We must adhere to our former decision respecting it. The lines in memory of a celebrated bard, some time since deceased, besides being rather prosaic, contain what could not fail to be construed into a censure of the deceased's surviving friends.

The *poem on spring* is *cold* as winter.

The *bosom-friend* is replete with sorry *puns*.

Mercutio's enigma would puzzle the brains of our readers, without affording them either intellectual improvement, or rational amusement.

The Oddity is written with great humour and spirit, but the satire is *too pointed*.

Amelia, a Historiette, borders too much on the marvellous—"Keep probability in view."

Had A. B. reflected on the impropriety of giving a *public* answer to his question, he would probably have proposed a *private* interview, which we should not have declined.

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 30, 1792.

Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	21s.	*Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance*	43
Deferred six per cents,	13/2.	*Bank of N. America* *do.*	31
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THE
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
AND
Columbian Magazine,
FOR NOVEMBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On MODERN IMPROVEMENT.

MR. EDITOR,

IF the present times abound in revolutions, they are also productive of improvement, not only in government, but in the arts, whether termed liberal or mechanical. With respect to government, the constitution and laws of the united states would operate as sufficient proofs, could not others be adduced. A sense of liberty pervades Europe, and is extending to its dependencies in the three other quarters of the globe. The Quixotism of attachment to monarchy has subsided; and loyalty is no longer the Dulcinea of modern refinement.

We ought to smile at the pompous description of feasts, tilts and tournaments, did not reflection convince us, that they were the result of false pride and real barbarism. They were intended to advance that predatory system, which even religion could not subdue. Women, if noble and beautiful, were ideally exalted into angels; and a mistaken adoration of the supreme power was impiously blended with this species of idolatry. A knight in armour sallied from his castle in order to assert the superiority of his mistress's beauty; and thus every city in Europe, and throughout the greater part of Asia, could boast a Helen, the object of contention, and the fire-brand of havoc. Surely the superiority of the moderns must be inferred in this respect. Our women are certainly as fair as those celebrated in the records of chivalry; and their mental accomplishments must be without comparison superior. It is true, that a haughty fair-one occasionally gives rise to a duel. One, and sometimes both admirers have been known to perish in these conflicts; but it is at present very generally confessed, that female charms ought rationally to be estimated; and beauty is no longer considered as the price of blood.

The evils of piracy are almost annihilated. Formerly every coast abounded in these unlicensed, maritime free-booters. The most pow-

erful nation, which ever existed, commissioned one of its most experienced generals, to wage war against these pests of commerce, and society in general. After his success they even decreed him the honours of a triumph in their capital. At present we hear not of a single instance of piracy; and ought not the moderns to claim some merit in this instance, as well as in many others?

A revolution, with respect to literature, has also happily succeeded. A man is no longer venerated for partially understanding useless and almost obsolete languages, unless he unites with them a knowledge of philosophy and history, and a tolerable acquaintance with the useful and ornamental arts. The name of Newton is venerated, while those of Scaliger and other pedants are scarcely mentioned. Locke and Montesquieu have illuminated that world, which the learning of the schools, as they were called, threatened to sink into ignorance and barbarism. The humblest public seminary in Europe, or the united states, possesses more solid erudition, than was in the universe in the twelfth century. Your readers, I hope, will not accuse me of blameable neglect, if I forbear mentioning those luminaries, whose labours reflect glory on the eighteenth century, especially as the very enumeration of their names and works would greatly exceed the limits generally allowed to an essay.

Let us not therefore superstitiously bend before the shrine of boasted antiquity; but let us, at the same time, allow it its intrinsic merits; still however asserting, in contradiction to the injudicious admirers of the ancients, that the present age by far excels its most celebrated period, in literature, arts, science, government, humanity and religion.

Yours, &c. T. W.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

Vulnus alit venis, et cœco carpitur igni.
Virgil.

The man, whose conscience errs from reason's path,
E'en in this world must suffer heavenly wrath.

Mr. Editor,

TO enumerate a part of the enormities of which I have been guilty, is my object at present. Should I attempt to descant on the whole, my labour would exceed that of Hercules, when he vainly endeavoured to cleanse the Augean stable. However, what I shall throw out may conduce to fertilize the human mind, and operate as a mental compost.

I was born in a village in the province (now state) of Pennsylvania. My father was an industrious farmer, and my mother as good a house-wife as any in the neighbourhood. How great was their kindness! but how falsely directed! In their opinion, I could

spell, before I knew my letters; could read before I could spell; could write before I could read, and understood Latin, before I could well articulate English. If there is a pleasure in parental anticipation, it too often inflicts misery on their offspring. Fondled, admired, and incessantly flattered, I conceived myself a being of a superior order. My preceptor I despised, and, as if I had derived knowledge from intuition, disregarded the instruction which books convey, and the experience which age bestows.

When I look back on the events of the early period of my life, I derive some consolation from thinking, that I was not altogether the author of my present woes. But when I reflect on a more mature period, I find myself divested of every shadow of excuse. I was not an idiot; nor did I experience any bad examples; but such as flowed from neglect, and injudicious indulgence. At a more advanced age, when youth prepares to step into manhood, deprived of my parents, I became the ward of a worldly-minded man, who imagined, that, whilst he duly attended to my pecuniary concerns, he fully discharged the duties of a guardian. Learning, in his estimation, was a trifle, except mercantile accounts. "A penny saved is a penny gained" was his favorite proverb; and if I could not at the end of the week minutely account for my small stipend, he accused me of extravagance, and aimed to upbraid me into parsimony.

He died just as I had completed my twenty-first year; nor did I feel any regret on the occasion. On the contrary, like a bow unbent, I rushed from one extreme to the other. In my opinion, economy had hitherto been avarice; and consequently I now conceived, that profusion was true gentility. My dress, from being plain, suddenly became tawdry. I sang without music, and danced without observing measure or time. The jack was daily laboriously heard, and the operations of the cork-screw were almost incessant. Without company I was dull; with company I was frantic; and when, on account of my extreme folly, gentlemen would no longer consort with me, I became the companion of rakes, and the prey of sharpers.

Yet, sir, I emerged from this dream of horror, in order to plunge into another more deep and horrible. I suddenly, more from the impulse of fancy than the conviction of reason, discarded the companions of my jovial hours, and resolved on reformation. I unfortunately conceived a violent passion for a beauteous and respectable maiden. Elvira, if thy shade attends to the accents of penitence, hear them uttered with all the energy of woe, and in the language of true affliction!—I saw her, I loved, and was truly beloved by her. She saw my follies through the medium of good nature, and over-rated those good qualities, of which my friends thought me possessed.

Why should I conceal my horror! I sighed for her regard; she listened, and consented to be my wife. But alas! the raptures of love were but of short duration. Shortly after our union, I was hurried to a prison for debt; and was shortly informed, that Elvira was the victim of grief. Hallowed be the sod under which her remains repose, and forgiven be the crimes of the man who injured her!

Such, sir, is my history, which, without the assistance of episodes, I might have lengthened into a novel. But truth is my object, which

aims at truly amending the heart, without inordinately gratifying the fancy. But how grievous is my distress! I unceasingly hear and behold my Elvira. Conscience ever upbraids me, and horror is my constant companion.

Wishing that your young readers may derive improvement from this artless account of my sufferings, I am, Mr. editor, your obedient humble servant.

A PENITENT.

RULES *for forming a* JUST *and* ELEGANT STYLE.

[*By* FELION.]

GIVE me leave to touch this subject, and draw out, for your use, some of the chief strokes, some of the principal lineaments, and fairest features, of a just and beautiful style. There is no necessity of being methodical, and I will not entertain you with a dry system upon the matter, but with what you will read with more pleasure, and, I hope, with equal profit, some desultory thoughts in their native order, as they rise in my mind, without being reduced to rules, and marshaled according to art.

To assist you, therefore, as far as art may be an help to nature, I shall proceed to say something of what is required in a finished piece, to make it complete in all its parts, and masterly in the whole.

I would not lay down any impracticable schemes, nor trouble you with a dry formal method; the rules of writing, like that of our duty, is perfect in its kind; but we must make allowances for the infirmities of nature; and since none is without his faults, the most that can be said is, That he is the best writer, against whom the fewest can be alleged.

"A composition is then perfect, when the matter rises out of the "subject; when the thoughts are agreeable to the matter, and the "expression suitable to the thoughts; when there is no inconsisten-"cy from the beginning to the end; when the whole is perspicuous "in the beautiful order of its parts, and formed in due symmetry "and proportion."

In every sprightly genius, the expression will be ever lively as the thoughts. All the danger is, that a wit too fruitful should run out into unnecessary branches; but when it is matured by age, and corrected by judgment, the writer will prune the luxuriant boughs, and cut off the superfluous shoots of fancy, thereby giving both strength and beauty to his work.

Perhaps this piece of discipline is to young writers the greatest self-denial in the world; to confine the fancy, to stifle the birth, much more to throw away the beautiful offspring of the brain, is a trial, that none but the most delicate and lively wits can be put to. It is their praise, that they are obliged to retrench more wit than others have to lavish; the clippings and filings of these jewels, could they be preserved, are of more value than the whole mass of ordinary au-

thors; and it is a maxim with me, that he has not wit enough, who has not a great deal to spare.

It is by no means necessary for me to run out into the several sorts of writing: we have general rules to judge of all, without being particular upon any, though the style of an orator be different from that of an historian, and a poet's from both.

The first thing requisite to a just style, is a perfect mastery in the language we write in; this is not so easily attained as is commonly imagined, and depends upon a competent knowledge of the force and propriety of words, a good natural taste of strength and delicacy, and all the beauties of expression. It is my own opinion, that all the rules and critical observations in the world will never bring a man to a just style, who has not of himself a natural easy way of writing; but they will improve a good genius, where nature leads the way, provided he is not too scrupulous, and does not make himself a slave to his rules; for that will introduce a stiffness and affectation, which are utterly abhorrent from all good writing.

By a perfect mastery in any language, I understand not only a ready command of words, upon every occasion, not only the force and propriety of words as to their sense and signification, but more especially the purity and idiom of the language; for in this a perfect mastery consists. It is to know what is English, and what is Latin, what is French, Spanish, or Italian, to be able to mark the bounds of each language we write in, to point out the distinguishing characters, and the peculiar phrases of each tongue; what expressions or manner of expression is common to any language besides our own, and what is properly and peculiarly one phrase, and way of speaking. For this is to speak or write English in purity and perfection, to let the streams run clear and unmixed, without taking in other languages in the course: in English, therefore, I would have all Gallicisms (for instance) avoided, that our tongue may be sincere, that we may keep to our own language, and not follow the French mode in our speech, as we do in our clothes. It is convenient and profitable sometimes to import a foreign word, and naturalize the phrase of another nation, but this is very sparingly to be allowed; and every syllable of foreign growth ought immediately to be discarded, if its use and ornament to our language be not very evident.

Languages, like our bodies, are in a perpetual flux, and stand in need of recruits to supply the place of those words that are continually falling off through disuse: and since it is so, I think it is better to raise them at home than abroad. We had better rely on our own troops than foreign forces, and I believe we have sufficient strength and numbers within ourselves: there is a vast treasure, an inexhaustible fund in the old English, from whence authors may draw constant supplies, as our officers make their surest recruits from the coal-works and the mines. The weight, the strength, and significancy of many antiquated words, should recommend them to use again. It is only wiping off the rust they have contracted, and separating them from the dross they lie mingled with, and both in value and beauty they will rise above the standard, rather than fall below it.

Perhaps our tongue is not so musical to the ear, nor so abundant in multiplicity of words; but its strength is real, and its words are therefore the more expressive: the peculiar character of our language is, that it is close, compact, and full; and our writings (if you will excuse two Latin words) come nearest to what Tully means by his *Pressa Oratio*. They are all weight and substance, good measure pressed together, and running over in a redundancy of sense, and not of words. And therefore the purity of our language consists in preserving this character, in writing with the English strength and spirit: let us not envy others, that they are more soft, and diffuse, and rarefied; be it our commendation to write as we pay, in true sterling; if we want supplies, we had better revive old words, than create new ones. I look upon our langage as good bullion, if we do not debase it with too much alloy; and let me leave this censure with you, That he who corrupteth the purity of the English tongue with the most specious foreign words and phrases, is just as wise as those modish ladies that change their plate for china; for which I think the laudable traffic of old clothes is much the fairest barter.

After this regard to the purity of our language, the next quality of a just style, is its plainness and perspicuity. This is the greatest commendation we can give an author, and the best argument that he is master of the language he writes in, and the subject he writes upon, when we understand him, and see into the scope and tendency of his thoughts, as we read him. All obscurity of expression, and darkness of sense, do arise from the confusion of the writer's thoughts, and his want of proper words. If a man hath not a clear perception of the matters he undertakes to treat of, be his style never so plain as to the words he uses, it never can be clear; and if his thoughts upon this subject be never so just and distinct, unless he has a ready command of words, and a faculty of easy writing in plain obvious expressions, the words will perplex the sense, and cloud the clearness of his thoughts.

It is the unhappiness of some, that they are not able to express themselves clearly: their heads are crowded with a multiplicity of undigested knowledge, which lies confused in the brain, without any order or distinction. It is the vice of others, to affect obscurity in their thoughts and language, to write in a difficult crabbed style, and perplex the reader with an intricate meaning in more intricate words.

The common way of offending against plainness and perspicuity of style, is an affectation of hard unusual words, and of close contracted periods: the faults of pedants and sententious writers, that are vainly ostentatious of their learning, or their wisdom. Hard words and quaint expressions are abominable: wherever you meet such a writer, throw him aside for a coxcomb. Some authors of reputation have used a short and concise way of expression, I must own; and if they are not so clear as others, the fault is to be laid on the brevity they labour after; for while we study to be concise, we can hardly avoid being obscure. We crowd our thoughts into too small a compass, and are so sparing of our words, that we will not afford enough to express our meaning.

(To be concluded in our next.)

The LIFE *and singular* PROJECTS *of the celebrated* JOHN LAW, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL *of the* FINANCES *in* FRANCE.

(*Concluded.—See our last—page* 249.)

MR. LAW was named director-general of the royal bank at Paris, and branches of it were established at Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, and Amiens. It is not a little remarkable, that the credit of the royal notes became equally respectable as that of the general bank, notwithstanding the *livres* of the former contained a fixed and positive value, and the latter, in consequence of a new regulation, by which the amount was to be paid in *silver coin*, could at any time have been greatly diminished in their value. In February, 1720, this bank was incorporated with the company of the Indies, and on the 29th of May following, there were no less than 2,236,083,500 livres of paper money in circulation, for which this incorporated body was responsible.

It is here necessary to observe, that soon after the establishment and success of the general bank, Mr. Law began to develope his grand and stupendous project, so universally known under the name of the Mississippi scheme; a project, which, if carried into full execution, would, in all probability, have exalted France to a vast superiority of power and wealth over every other state. The scheme was no less than the vesting the whole privileges, effects, and possessions, of all the foreign trading companies, the great farms, the profits of the mint, the general receipt of the king's revenue, and the management and property of the bank, in one great company, who thus having in their hands all the trade, taxes, and royal revenues, might be enabled to multiply the notes of the bank to any extent they pleased, doubling, or even trebling, at will, the circulating cash of the kingdom; and, by the greatness of their funds, possessed of a power to carry the foreign trade and the culture of the colonies, to a height altogether impracticable by any other means.

The outlines of this *monstrous and impracticable monopoly*, were approved of by the regent, who issued letters-patent for erecting "The Company of the West," to which he granted, at the same time, the whole province of Louisiana, or the country on the river Mississippi.

That part of America having been represented as a region abounding in gold and silver, and possessing a fertile and luxuriant soil, the *actions* or shares were bought up with great avidity, and such was the rage for speculation, that the unimproved parts of the colony were actually sold for 30,000 livres the square league.

The company of the west, of which Law was of course director-general, in pursuance of his scheme, undertook the farm of tobacco, at an advancement of upwards of two millions of livres; they soon after engrossed the charter and effects of the Senegal company, and in May 1719, actually procured the grant of an exclusive trade to the East-Indies, China, and the South Seas, with all the possessions and effects of

the China and India companies, which were now diſſolved, on the condition of liquidating their debts. The price of *actions* now roſe from 550 to 1000 livres each.

On the 25th of July, 1719, the mint was made over to the company of the weſt, which now aſſumed the name of *The Company of the Indies*, for a conſideration of 50 millions of livres; and on the 27th of Auguſt following, they alſo obtained a leaſe of the farms, for which they agreed to pay 3,500,000 livres advanced rent.

Having thus concentered within themſelves, not only the whole foreign trade and poſſeſſions of France, but the collection and management of the royal revenues, they promiſed an annual dividend of 200 livres per ſhare, in conſequence of which the price of *actions* roſe to 5000 livres. As it appeared, by a ſpecious ſtatement, that their annual revenue exceeded 80,500,000 livres, and had every proſpect of being improved by their foreign commerce, a rage for the purchaſe of their ſtock ſeems to have infatuated all ranks of people in the kingdom.

The frenzy prevailed ſo far, that the whole nation, clergy and laity, peers and plebeians, ſtateſmen and princes, nay, even ladies, who had or could procure money for that purpoſe, turned ſtock-jobbers, outbidding each other with ſuch avidity, that, in November, 1719, after ſome fluctuations, the price of *actions* roſe to above 10,000 livres; more than ſixty times the ſum they originally ſold for.

Mr. Law had now arrived at an unexampled pitch of power and wealth; he poſſed the ear of the duke of Orleans; he was almoſt adored by the people, and was conſtantly ſurrounded by princes, dukes, and prelates, who courted his friendſhip, and even ſeemed ambitious of his patronage. Such was the immenſity of his property, that he bought no leſs than fourteen eſtates with titles annexed to them, among which was the marquiſite of Roſny, that had belonged to the great duke de Sully, the miniſter and friend of Henry IV. About this period too, a free pardon for the murder of Mr. Wilſon was conveyed to him from England, while the capital of Scotland, proud of having produced ſo great a man, tranſmitted the freedom of the city in a gold box.

The only obſtacle to his advancement to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, being ſoon after removed, by his adjuration of the Proteſtant religion, in favour of the ritual of the church of Rome, he was declared comptroller-general of the finances, on the 18th of January, 1720. But after having raiſed himſelf to ſuch an envied ſituation, he at length fell a ſacrifice to the envy of the other miniſters; who, playing upon the fears of the regent, induced him to iſſue an arret, on the 21ſt of May, 1720, which, contrary to ſound policy, and even to the moſt ſolemn ſtipulations, reduced the value of the company's bank notes one half, and fixed their actions, or ſhares, at 5000 livres. By this fatal ſtep, which ſeems evidently to have been taken in oppoſition to the opinion and advice of the comptroller-general, the whole paper fabric was deſtroyed, and this immenſe ſpeculation turned out to be a mere *bubble!* The conſternation of the populace was ſoon converted into rage; troops were obliged to be ſtationed in all parts of

the capital, to prevent mischief; and such was the depreciation of this boasted paper money, that 100 livres were given for a single *Louis-d'or.*

The fury of the mob, instead of being directed against the government, on account of the *arret*, which had been the occasion of all the mischief, was pointed entirely at the devoted head of the projector, who, perceiving the necessity of leaving France, asked an audience of the regent, to whom he is reported to have said, "Monseigneur, I have committed great faults I own; I did so because I am but a man, and all men are liable to err; but none of them proceeded from malice or knavery—you will find nothing of the kind in my conduct." Having retired, on the 10th of December, 1720, to a *villa* in the neighbourhood of Paris, by means of a passport from the duke of Orleans, the postchaise of madame St. Prie, and a detachment of the horse guards belonging to the duke of Bourbon, he, with some difficulty, escaped to Brussels. His brother was soon after sent to the bastile, and all his own immense property was seized upon, and confiscated by government.—Thus the ex-comptroller-general, from the splendid sphere in which he lately moved, was reduced to a comparatively indigent situation, having little else to support him, but the salary of his office, which he still retained, through the friendship of the duke of Orleans.

After waiting for some time in the capital of the Austrian low countries, in expectation of being recalled to France, he repaired to Rome, in which city he paid his respects to the personage, commonly known by the name of the Old Pretender. From thence he proceeded to Venice, and after having travelled through Germany, arrived at Copenhagen, where, in consequence of an invitation from the British ministry, he embarked on board the Baltic squadron, commanded by sir John Norris, and arrived a passenger in the admiral's own ship, on the 20th of October, 1721. On his landing, he instantly repaired to the capital, and was presented to George I. He afterwards hired a house in Conduit-street, Hanover-square, where he was daily visited by people of the first quality and distinction.

His arrival having occasioned a considerable degree of jealousy among the whig party, the earl Coningsby, after representing to the house of peers the danger arising from the residence of a person in England, who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring country; who had renounced his allegiance to his natural sovereign, had openly countenanced the pretender's friends, and, what was worst of all, "had renounced his God by turning Roman Catholic;" moved the house to enquire, whether sir John Norris had received any orders to bring Mr. Law over.

This business, however, was suffered to drop, and on the 28th of November following, Mr. Law appeared at the bar of the king's bench, accompanied by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Hay, and several others of his friends, and pleaded his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, Esq. in 1694.

In 1722, Mr. Law repaired once more to the continent, and concluded the chequered course of his life at Venice, in March 1729, in the 58th year of his age.

LIFE *of* MADAME *du* CHATELET.

GABRIELLA-Emilia Tonelier-de-Breteuil, marchioness du Chatelet, was descended from a very ancient family of Picardy, established at Paris for above three hundred years. She was the daughter of the baron de Breteuil, introducer of foreign princes and ambassadors at court, and was born on the 17th of December, 1706. At a very early age, she displayed great strength of genius, and vivacity of imagination. She shewed a peculiar fondness for the belles lettres, and devoted great part of the early period of her life to the study of the ancients. Virgil, above all, was her favourite author. She had a wonderful attachment to the Æneid, and even began a translation of it; but, unluckily, that work was never brought to a conclusion. She was, likewise, remarkably fond of perusing the works of the best French poets; and could repeat the most beautiful and striking passages of them. She applied also to foreign languages; and, in a little time, made herself so far acquainted with the English and Italian, as to be able to read Milton and Tasso with ease.

Madame du Chatelet, however, did not confine herself to the study of the belles lettres. Metaphysics and mathematics were objects also of her pursuit; and Leibnitz, a philosopher equally profound and ingenious, was the guide whom she chose to direct her in this new path. By close application, she was soon enabled to write an explanation of that celebrated German's philosophy, under the title of 'institutions of Physics,' which she composed principally for the use of the count du Chatelet-Lomont, her son. If this work is entitled to praise, on account of the order and perspicuity observed in it, the preliminary discourse, which Voltaire justly calls a master-piece of eloquence and reasoning, is undoubtedly highly interesting. In this discourse, which is addressed by the marchioness to her son, she first shews, that one of the most sacred duties of men is, to pay the strictest attention to the education of their children; after which, she requests that he would take advantage of the dawn of reason, and endeavour to preserve himself from that ignorance which is so common among persons of his rank.—"You must accustom your mind early," says she, "to think, and to find resources in itself; you will be sensible, throughout life, what comfort and consolation arises from study; and you will even see that it can afford pleasure and delight." She then advises him to apply principally to natural philosophy; gives an account of the plan she proposes to follow in her lessons; and traces out, in a few words, how much that science has been indebted to those philosophers who have appeared since Descartes. In explaining the system of the latter, and that of Newton, she relates the violent disputes they created, and exhorts him, at the same time, to guard against party spirit, which always impedes the discovery of truth. "It is assuredly very unreasonable," continues she, "to make a kind of national affair of the opinions of Newton and Descartes. When a book of philosophy is in question, we ought to ask if it be good; and not whether the author is an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a German." She exhorts her son, also, not to carry his respect for great men to an excess, bordering on idolatry.

Madame du Chatelet had too much judgment, and was too ardent in the purſuit of truth, to dwell long on the chimeras of metaphyſics; ſhe readily quitted, therefore, the imaginations of Leibnitz, in order to give herſelf up to the clear and perſpicuous doctrine of Newton. Having, by cloſe application, gained a complete knowledge of that eminent philoſopher's principles, ſhe undertook the arduous taſk of making a tranſlation of them from the original Latin into French, which ſhe publiſhed, with an admirable commentary, and by this enterprize rendered an eſſential ſervice to ſcience.

This commentary, which is far ſuperior to the tranſlation, is compoſed of two parts, and is preceded by a ſhort hiſtory of aſtronomy, from Pythagoras to the preſent time. The firſt part contains an explanation of the moſt remarkable phenomena of our ſyſtem, and the ſecond an analytical ſolution of the principal problems which relate to it. When we reflect on the dryneſs of the ſubject, and the little analogy it has with the delicacy and vivacity of the fair ſex, we cannot help admiring the abilities of the authoreſs, and calling to mind the following lines, which Voltaire addreſſes to her, in his epiſtle on Newton's philoſophy.

Comment avez-vous pu dans un age encore tendre,
Malgre les vains plaiſirs, ces ecueils des beaux jours
Prendre un vol ſi hardi, ſuivre un ſi vaſte cours,
Marcher après Newton, dans cette route obſcure,
Du labyrinthe immenſe où ſe perd la nature ?

Spite of thoſe pleaſures which too oft engage
The youthful mind, unguarded yet by age,
How could you ſoar, and, with ſo vaſt a flight,
Great Newton follow, and yet follow right,
In that dark courſe, hid from the light of day,
Where nature's ſelf is forc'd to go aſtray ?

Madame du Chatelet's manners were no leſs eſtimable than her talents. Though formed, by her figure, her rank, and her knowledge, to be diſtinguiſhed from the greater part of thoſe among whom ſhe lived, ſhe ſeemed never to be ſenſible of thoſe advantages which ſhe enjoyed. She was fond of glory, but without oſtentation. "No female," ſays Voltaire, "ever poſſeſſed ſo much knowledge; and yet no one ever ſhewed her learning leſs. She ſpoke on ſcientific ſubjects to thoſe only whom ſhe thought ſhe could inſtruct, and never with any view to call forth applauſe." This portrait muſt undoubtedly exhibit a juſt likeneſs of Madame du Chatelet; for no one had a better opportunity of knowing her character, than the perſon by whom it was delineated. Every one, almoſt, is acquainted with the cloſe intimacy which ſubſiſted between this celebrated lady and Voltaire, for nearly twenty years. The taſte which they each had for philoſophy and the belles lettres, ſerved to render this connexion extremely agreeable, eſpecially to the latter, who ſeems to have derived no ſmall benefit from it. Without the advice of his illuſtrious friend, many of his pieces, perhaps, would not have contained ſuch a number of beau-

ties. On every thing he wrote, madame du Chatelet was consulted, and her criticisms were always so proper, that her counsel was generally followed.

A woman, who has no other merit than that of being learned, is certainly wanting in her duty to society. No reproach, however, can be thrown out against madame du Chatelet, on this head. Her fondness for study never made her forget what she owed to her family; she took upon herself the care of the education of her son, whom she instructed in geometry; and she did not think it below her, to enter into all those details which are required in the management of a house. Instead of delighting in slander, or ridicule, she often became the advocate of those who, in her presence, were made the objects of either. She possessed so much greatness of soul, that, though she perfectly knew that she was exposed to the shafts of malice, she never shewed the smallest desire of being revenged on her enemies. A pitiful pamphlet, in which one of those authors, who delight in blackening reputations, had made very free with hers, being put into her hands, she said, "that if the author had lost his time in writing such useless stuff, she would not lose hers in reading it;" and next morning she exerted herself to liberate him from prison, even without his knowledge.

All that madame du Chatelet can be blamed for is, that she took too little care of her health, and sacrificed it to her glory. Long before her death, she foresaw the fatal stroke which at length carried her off. Being then apprehensive that sufficient time would not be left her, to finish the commentary she had begun on Newton's Principia, she devoted almost every moment to it; and thus hastened her dissolution.

She died at Lunneville, in the year 1749, aged 43, some time after she had been delivered of a child. She was a member of several foreign academies.

ADMIRAL POCOCKE'S RECEIPT *for* PICKLING BEEF, PORK, MUTTON, *&c. and keeping the* MEAT *good and sweet.*

TAKE four gallons of good water, to which add one pound and a half of Muscovado sugar, two ounces of salt-petre, and six pounds of Bay, or common great salt; put the whole into a clean pot or kettle, and let it boil, being careful to take all the skum off as it comes up; when no more skum rises, take the liquor off, and let it stand till it is cold; then, having put the meat you want to preserve into the vessel you intend to keep it in, pour the liquor over the meat, till it be quite covered, in which condition it must be kept. Beef, preserved in this manner, has been taken out of the pickle after lying in it ten weeks, and been found as good as, if not salted more than three days, and, at the same time, tender as a chick.

If you intend to preserve your meat for a considerable length of time, it will be necessary, once in two months, to boil the pickle over

again, skimming off all that rises, and throwing in, during the boiling, two ounces of sugar, and half a pound of common small salt. Thus, the same pickle will hold good for twelve months.

This pickle is incomparable to cure hams, neat-tongues, or beef which you intend to dry, or make what is called hung-beef; observing, when you take them out of the pickle, first to clean and dry them, then put them in paper bags, and hang them up in a dry, warm place.

N. B. Some who have tried the above receipt, and choose their meat salter than it will effect, instead of six pounds, take eight or nine pounds of salt.

In the hottest weather, it has been found necessary, before the meat is put into the pickle, to rub it well over with salt, and let it lie, from one hour to three or four hours, until all the blood run from it. If the meat is the least tainted before it is put into the pickle, it will be entirely spoiled, in a day's time, in hot weather.

Well's Register.

An ADMONITION *to those who glory in* SEDUCING *the* AFFECTIONS *of the* FAIR, *and then* DESERTING *them.*

NO man ought certainly to make professions to a lady, till he is fully convinced her person, her temper, and her fortune, are perfectly agreeable to his circumstances, and way of thinking; for without such previous knowledge, he undertakes at random the most important affair of life; and then no wonder if he involves himself in difficulties and uneasiness.

Love, whatsoever some may think of it, is not a passion to be sported with; nor is the affection of a lady to be attempted, till a man is assured his own is fixed on a lasting principle. All imaginable caution is necessary and adviseable beforehand: but after his professions of regard, his services, and solicitations, have won the heart, and made him dear to her; reason, honour, justice, all oblige him to make good his engagement, and to be careful of her peace. Then there is no retreating; nor can any thing but her loss of virtue justify his leaving her. And whether he has promised her marriage, or not, makes very little difference; for, surely, if he has courted her affections, and gained them, upon the reasonable supposition that he intended making her his wife, the contract is, in the sight of heaven, of equal force. He who basely imposes on the honest heart of an unsuspecting girl, and, after winning her affections and esteem by the soft and prevailing rhetoric of courtship, can ungenerously leave her to sorrow and complaining, is more detestable than a common robber, in the same proportion as private treachery is more villanous than open force, and money of less concern than happiness.

Of the Refinements *of* Taste *and* Elegance.

Mr. Editor,

IT is of the greatest importance, in the conduct of life, to set a just value on things, and to give them only that share of attention that is due to them. To be too solicitous about trifles is affectation; to be inattentive to what our interest or happiness is nearly concerned in, is no less than shameful negligence. There are many things which are not to be regarded as either the *least* or the *most* important, and we ought to examine into their nature and their use, in order to know the measure of esteem they deserve. Of this kind are the refinements of taste and elegance.

If it be asked, what we mean by elegance? We may say, it is distinguished from beauty, as the *species* from the *genus*. Elegance is a kind of beauty. It is different from grandeur, as this regards the magnitude of an object, whereas elegance regards the texture and disposition of its parts. It is not the same with propriety; a thing is proper with regard to some use or end, but it is elegant in relation to the feelings of the mind. In short, it is one of those things which we clearly experience, though it is not easy to give a logical definition of them: every one has a notion of it, in proportion to the delicacy of his taste, and a thousand definitions and descriptions will not make him know a whit more of it.

Many and various are the advantages of elegance. It promotes the happiness of society, as it comprehends that polish of manners, that humanity of behaviour, which render the intercourse of mankind easy and agreeable. What sallies of passion, what insults, cruelty and blood-shed, are prevented by that deference which politeness obliges us to shew towards those we converse with! Besides, the pleasures of taste are an innocent gratification to those who have time and leisure for them. They are a valuable present from nature, to beguile the tedium of life, and to reconcile us to the hardships and severities of our lot. Though the man of taste, with a more susceptible heart than others, has commonly a larger share of grief and uneasiness, yet, amidst all the bitter draughts he takes of the cup of misery, he seldom misses to find relief in the elegant page of a classical author, or in the fairer page of Nature's works.

Again, elegance is favourable to the culture of arts and sciences. We must study these, as the means of attaining elegance; if we admire the one, we will, in course, cultivate the other: Besides, refinement of taste renders the communication of knowledge more easy, and places it in the most engaging light. What a very difficult appearance have the various branches of philosophy, as exhibited in the writings of the present times, from what they had in the dark ages, and even for more than a century after the revival of learning! Cleared, in some measure, from the obscurity and confusion of scholastic barbarism, the sciences now shine forth in their native beauty, and the agreeable simplicity of their dress increases the number of their admirers.

In fine, it has a happy influence on the morals of mankind. As there is a remarkable analogy between the graceful and becoming in the fine arts, and the beauty of moral conduct; so a just relish of the one, *may* have a tendency to bring us in love with the other. He that can bear nothing in a poem or picture, but what is decent or beautiful, will readily be disgusted at an irregularity of manners.

It must be owned, however, when a people are near the extremes of refinement, then a taste of elegance is apt to degenerate into luxury and dissipation; rich materials and expensive pleasures become the sole objects of attention—trifling away time, and the other gifts of Providence, in a manner unworthy reasonable creatures, is then the celebrated *scavoir vivre.* No sooner had the ancient Romans brought to perfection the arts that soften and adorn human life—or rather transplanted them all of a sudden from Greece, the native country of the muses and the graces, than they sunk into effeminacy, and soon lost their antient simplicity, their liberty, their virtue.

That we may taste the charms of elegance, without running into an excess of refinement, we should, in the first place, take care not to lose sight of simplicity; we must never think of adding to the beauty of nature; all we can do is but to imitate it, or set it in an advantageous light. It is true, objects often excite a more lively and agreeable emotion in the mind, as exhibited in painting and poetry, than as we see them in the common field of nature; the reason is, that it is the excellence of these elegant arts to select and arrange objects, so as to give them the additional charms arising from contrast or resemblance: but all other embellishment, all colouring that has a tendency to disguise the object, ought carefully to be avoided. Simplicity is the native dress of truth; and a sincere love of the latter is seldom without a taste for the former. A glare of tinsel ornament not only deprives us of the genuine beauties of nature, but hinders us from having clear and distinct views of things. Simplicity is modest, and therefore wins upon our affections; she disregards herself; if she recommend an object to our attention, she takes no share in the praise; she says it is good, it is useful, it is honourable, without assuming any airs of self-importance. Amiable pattern of humility! she does all she can, and yet *would* seem to do nothing. Why are we so taken with the story of Le Fevre, in Tristram Shandy? Were it told in the language of the Rambler, instead of the language of nature and simplicity, it would immediately lose its effect.

In the second place, we should never separate elegance from utility, nor admit any thing as a beauty, which does not answer some valuable purpose. One may go on, adding one superfluous ornament to another without end, and without ever coming, in the least degree, nigher perfection; for, having passed the point of utility, there is no other to stop at; all beyond is undistinguishable confusion, where the understanding is bewildered. The human mind, in all its pursuits, would have some end, some fixed point to aim at; without this, it may be fated, or overwhelmed, with variety of dissipating pleasures, but must be a stranger to solid satisfying enjoyment. Hence the superfluity of ornaments in Gothic architecture serves only to perplex and confound the attention; hence too, the profusion of epithets, meta-

phors, and pointed ſimilies in Cowley, and the other poetical writers of the luxurious reign of Charles II. will always cloy a reader of good taſte: In fine, hence it is the moſt ſolid and laſting pleaſure, to find what is of real uſe, placed in ſuch a point of view, as to diſplay a ſtriking elegance.

The beauty of ornament is relative; and, therefore, whenever we find it introduced purely for its own ſake, or whenever it engages the attention more to itſelf than to the ſubject, we may be ſure it is in a falſe taſte.

After all, elegance is but of ſecondary conſideration; uſefulneſs is of the firſt. It would be a poor compliment to an architect, that he had built a fine houſe—but convenience had been ſo little attended to in the plan, that no one could live comfortably in it. Nor is the ſpeaker more worthy of commendation, who endeavours leſs to enlighten the underſtanding, or touch the hearts of his audience, than to raiſe their admiration with glittering thoughts, flaſhes of wit, and all the pomp and glare of language. On the other hand, a convenient houſe, and a diſcourſe that is ſuitable to the purpoſe, will always have their value, however deſtitute of decoration. The truth is, it is a pitiable weakneſs to be ſo fond of elegant appearance, ſo caught with outward form, as to overlook real worth, becauſe it happens to lie under ſome exterior diſadvantages.

Yours, &c. PHILOCLES.

A LETTER *from a* LADY *to her* NIECE, *on her expreſſing great uneaſineſs at the* LOSS *of her* BEAUTY *by the* SMALL-POX.

MY DEAR MARIA,

WE muſt diſtinguiſh thoſe evils which are impoſed by Providence, from thoſe to which we ourſelves give the power of hurting us. A ſmall part of *your* calamity is the infliction of heaven; the reſt is little more than the fretting of idle diſcontent. You have, indeed, loſt that which may ſometimes contribute to happineſs, but to which happineſs is by no means inſeparably annexed. You have loſt what the greater number of the human race never have poſſeſſed; what thoſe on whom it is beſtowed, for the moſt part, poſſeſſed in vain; and what you, while it was yours, knew not how to uſe. You have only loſt early, what the laws of Nature forbid you to keep long; and have loſt it while your mind is yet flexible, and while you have time to ſubſtitute more valuable and durable excellencies. Conſider yourſelf, Maria, as a being born to know, to reaſon, and to act: riſe at once from your dream of melancholy to wiſdom, and to piety: you will find that there are other charms than thoſe of beauty, and other joys than the praiſe of fools.

I am your affectionate aunt, A. V—.

Some particulars relative to the SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, *and* COMMERCE *of* KENTUCKY, *&c. with observations on the* VAST INLAND NAVIGATION *of* AMERICA.

[*Extracted from a letter, written by Mr. Imlay, of Kentucky; formerly of New-Jersey.*]

THE soil of Kentucky is uncommonly favourable to hemp, and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 bushels of the latter. This has not only been done from an uncommonly fertile spot; but there are larger bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe, that, were I to mention, upon an average, the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows:

Hemp, per acre,	8 cwt,
Indian-corn, or maize, ditto,	60 bushels.
Wheat, ditto,	30 ditto.
Barley, ditto,	40 ditto.
Oats, ditto,	50 ditto.
Clover and Timothy grass, ditto,	25 cwt.

Besides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with considerable success, particularly in the southern parts of the state, and Cumberland; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our settlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the East or West-Indies. No soil or climate can be more congenial to this plant, than the regions of the lowermost parts of the Mississippi. We have it in our power to promote the culture of silk also. The mildness of the climate, and the great quantity of the mulberry-trees, which are every where interspersed in our forests, render this matter extremely easy; but how far this will be politic, when the use of silk is going out of fashion, is a matter that requires some consideration. Cotton has supplied its place, and its superior excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the same as those of Kentucky. The quality of tobacco is perhaps something better; but the climate being considerably warmer, it is not so favourable to wheat and barley, nor does grass grow there so luxuriantly as with us.

The country below Cumberland soon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps these articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Mississippi, with as much success, if not more, than they ever were in South-Carolina or Georgia; particularly the former, as the soil on the Mississippi, is infinitely more luxuriant, than any whatever in the Carolinas. Some essays were made in this business, previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned, on the destruction of the settlement below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and some distance above, to considerable perfection. There are a variety of nuts, which grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, some of which

are common to both; the most remarkable of which is the pacane; but as they have all been noticed, both by Carver and Jefferson, I shall refer you to them, for their particular descriptions and properties. Grapes, plumbs, goose-berries, and strawberries, grow also spontaneously in the southern parts of Kentucky, and in most parts of Cumberland.

To comprehend the object of the commerce of this country, it is first necessary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not desirable; with a soil so prolific, a navigation so extensive, and a security so permanent, from being inland, that it seems this vast extent of empire is only to be equalled, for its sublimity, by the object of its aggrandizement.

Provisions, tobacco, and raw materials will constitute the first articles of our trade. Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, &c. &c. might be furnished from this country as will, one day, no doubt, supply the West-India islands, and afford relief to the miserable Chinese, whose scanty portion of rice is only sufficient to keep soul and body together. Our mountainous countries must always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the grass, in the summer, affording sufficient food to fatten them, without the expense of cultivating meadows, and the winters are seldom so severe as to require any other food than the cane and pea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The distance from one place to another has been computed, with some degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made, confirm the opinion, that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of descending the stream, is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I should suppose, that about fifty or sixty tons burthen, would be the most convenient, wieldy, and consequently safe, particularly when the waters are very high; for, in such cases, the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy mass with facility. These boats are built of oak-plank, with a certain proportion of breadth to their length, *i. e.* nearly as twelve feet to forty; which will be a boat of nearly forty tons. They are covered, or not, as occasion may require. The object is, to build them as cheap as possible; for their unwieldiness prevents the possibility of their returning, and they can only be sold as plank.

Several of these boats set out together, let us suppose 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burthen each, which would require each six hands to navigate them. The boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the stream three boats of five tons each, and which would be more than sufficient to bring back the cargo which the produce of the ten boats would purchase; as the articles we export are gross and bulky, while we want only, in return, superfine goods; the coarser goods, of every sort, will always be manufactured in the country. We also make our own salt, sugar, spirits, malt-liquor, and shall soon make our own wine. These boats must be worked up with steam and sails.

The invention of carrying a boat against the ſtream by the influence of ſteam is a late improvement in philoſophy, by Mr. Rumſay, of Virginia, whoſe ingenuity has been rewarded by that ſtate with the exclusive privilege of navigating theſe boats in her rivers for ten years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of ſeparation guarantees his right. Some circumſtance or other has prevented his bringing them into uſe. If this principle ſhould fail, I flatter myſelf that philoſophy is capable of ſupplying the place, in the appropriation of ſome one of the ſecrets with which mechanics abound. But ſhould we ſtill be obliged to row our boats againſt the ſtream, it is not only practicable, but eaſy.

The frequent turnings in the Miſſiſippi produce in every bend, eddy water, which, with the advantage the wind affords, (blowing, the greater part of the year, from the ſouth-weſt, and directly up the windings of the river, which, by reaſon of the vacancy between the banks and riſing foreſts on either ſide, afford a channel for the current of the air) is ſufficient, with ſails, keeping as much as poſſible in the eddy water, to carry a boat fifty miles a day up the ſtream.

To account for thoſe winds philoſophically, would be extremely eaſy; but, as it is a circumſtance notorious, from the teſtimony of voyagers in the Miſſiſippi and Ohio, I preſume the teſt of experience will be preferred to any philoſophical diſquiſition upon the ſubject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulph of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a ſhort paſſage to a branch of the Teneſee, when you will have the advantage of the ſtream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumſtance merely for the ſake of information, for I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making.

The diſtance from Pittſburgh to the Muſkingum, is 173 miles; to the Little Kanhaway, 178; to the Great Kanhaway, 285; to Great Sandy, 342; to the Sciota, 390; to the Limeſtone, 500; to the Little Miami, 510; to Licking-creek, 524; to the Great Miami, 550; to the Great-bone creek, 582; to the Kentucky, 626; to the Rapiers, 703; to Salt river, 723; to Green river, 922; to the Wabaſh, 1019; to Cumberland river, 1113; to the Teneſee, 1126; to the Miſſiſippi, 1183; from thence to New-Orleans, is about 1200 miles.

It is about 230 miles from the mouth of the Ohio up the Miſſiſippi to the mouth of the Miſſouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its ſource. From thence there is a portage only of two miles to Chickago, which is alſo navigable for batteaux to its entrance into lake Michegan, which is a diſtance of ſixteen miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence, through Lake Erie, paſſing Niagara by a portage of eight miles. The lakes Erie and Michegan are navigable for veſſels drawing ſix and ſeven feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities, between the northern and ſouthern parts of this empire, will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourſe, it will be found extremely eaſy to paſs through lake Ontario to Wood-creek, up Wood-creek, and by a portage of about three miles you arrive at a creek, which in three miles more brings you to Fort-Edward, upon the Mohawk river, which is a branch of Hudſon's river. There are ſeveral carrying places between that and its junction with Hudſon; but very little labour would remove them, and I have no doubt but the ſtate of New-York will be judicious enough to ſet early about it. It is certain that they have ordered ſurveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of thoſe obſtructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impoſſible a plan of ſo much utility could eſcape that ſage and penetrating politician, general Schuyler, whoſe vaſt eſtate lies moſtly in that part of America.

There are alſo portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabaſh, Great Miami, Muſkingum, and Allegany, from two to ſixteen miles. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about twenty miles, when the obſtructions in the Monongahela and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the firſt object of the gentlemen of Virginia, when they have completed the canals on the Potowmac.

The obſtructions to the navigation of the Great Kanhaway are of ſuch magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them; but if ever that ſhould be done, there will be an eaſy communication between that and James river, and likewiſe with the Roanoke, which runs through North-Carolina. But this is an event too remote, to deſerve any conſideration at preſent.

All the rivers in this country, of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable, almoſt to their ſources, for flat-bottomed boats, during their floods, and for batteaux, the greater part of the year, the great Kanhaway and Little Miami excepted. The Tenaſee has a conſiderable fall, where it paſſes through Cumberland mountain, where there muſt be a portage alſo. From thence it is navigable quite to Holſton.

The rapids of Ohio are no obſtruction, in high water, to boats going down the river; and, indeed, batteaux may paſs almoſt at any time. There are two ſmall rapids in the Wabaſh, between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaſkaſkia is a ſmall river, which runs into the Miſſiſippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a conſiderable way above the plains; the Miſſiſippi is navigable to St. Anthony's falls, without any obſtruction. Carver deſcribes it as navigable above them, as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Miſſouri, to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is, however, certain, that it is a more powerful ſtream than the Miſſiſippi; and, in entering that river, it triumphantly ruſhes acroſs, and its turbid waters, unmixed, ſeem to diſdain a connection with the clearer current of the other. An eaſy communication again opens, by land, from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudſon's bay, into the Arctic regions—and from the ſources of the Miſſouri into the Great South-Sea. Thus, in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reaſon and humanity, we ſeem

calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world.

Before I finish this letter, I shall just enter into some of the minutiæ of the distance and time of descending down the Ohio, which will serve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr. Jefferson has stated that "the inundations of the Ohio begin about the last of March, and subside in July."

Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio; and it is an uncommon season, when one of those floods does not happen before Christmas. If there is much frosty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over, (which is not very common,) there is always water sufficient for boats of any size from November until May; when the waters generally begin to subside; and by the middle of June, in most seasons, they are too low for boats above forty tons, and these must be flat-bottomed. The frost seldom continues so long as the middle of February; and immediately upon its breaking the river is flooded: this flood may, in a degree, subside, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The distance of descending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average distance is about eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and from sixty to one hundred are the extremes; so that the mean time of going, in a flat-bottomed boat, from Pittsburgh to the rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New-Orleans; which will make a passage from Pittsburgh to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Mississippi commence something later than those of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and subside in July. This is the most proper time to ascend the river; as you avoid the shoals, and have finer weather; but, above all, when the water is high, you have stronger eddies; and with taking the advantages, and with dextrous watermen, you may proceed fifty miles a day, which will bring you back to the rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I shall take leave of you, for the present, with observing, that the smaller rivers have no stated period to govern their inundations, but are subject to be flooded by all heavy rains; which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of sending their produce to the several markets, upon the large rivers.

On the LAWS *of the different* AMERICAN STATES *for the* MANUMISSION *of* SLAVES.

[*From M. Brissot de Warville's Travels in the United States.*]

SLAVERY, my friend, has never polluted every part of the united states. There was never any law in New-Hampshire, or Massachusetts, which authorised it. When, therefore, those states proscrib-

ed it, they only declared the law, as it exiſted before. There was very little of it in Connecticut; the puritanic auſterity which predominated in that colony, could ſcarcely reconcile itſelf with ſlavery. Agriculture was better performed there by the hands of freemen; and every thing concurred to engage the people to give liberty to the ſlaves;—ſo that almoſt every one has freed them; and the children of ſuch as are not yet free, are to have their liberty at twenty-five years of age.

The caſe of the blacks in New-York is nearly the ſame; yet the ſlaves there are more numerous. It is becauſe the baſis of the population there is Dutch; that is to ſay, people leſs diſpoſed than any other to part with their property. But liberty is aſſured there to all the children of the ſlaves, at a certain age.

The ſtate of Rhode-Iſland formerly made a great buſineſs of the ſlave trade. It is now totally and for ever prohibited.

In New-Jerſey the bulk of the population is Dutch. You find there, traces of that ſame Dutch ſpirit which I have deſcribed. Yet the weſtern parts of the ſtate are diſpoſed to free their negroes; but the eaſtern parts are oppoſed to it.

It is probable that their obſtinacy will be overcome; at leaſt, it is the opinion of the reſpectable Mr. Livingſton, celebrated for the part he has acted in the late revolution; he has declared this opinion, in a letter written to the ſociety at Philadelphia. He has himſelf freed all his ſlaves, which are very numerous. He is one of the moſt ardent apoſtles of humanity; and, knowing the character of his countrymen, he reaſons, temporiſes with their intereſt, and doubts not of being able to vanquiſh their prejudices. The quakers have been more fortunate in Pennſylvania. In the year 1758, they voted, in their general meeting, to excommunicate every member of the ſociety who ſhould perſiſt in keeping ſlaves. In 1780, at their requeſt, ſeconded by a great number of perſons from other ſects, the general aſſembly aboliſhed ſlavery for ever, forced the owners of ſlaves to cauſe them to be enregiſtered, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired ſervants, aſſured to them the benefit of trial by jury, &c. But this act did not provide againſt all the abuſes that avarice could afterwards invent. It was eluded in many points. A foreign commerce of ſlaves was carried on by ſpeculators; and ſome barbarous maſters ſold their blacks, to be carried into foreign countries; others ſent the negro children into neighboring ſtates, that they might there be ſold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennſylvania, when they ſhould come of age: others ſent their black pregnant women into another ſtate, that the offſpring might be ſlaves; and others ſtole free negroes, and carried them to the iſlands for ſale. The ſociety, ſhocked at theſe abuſes, applied again to the aſſembly, who paſſed a new act, effectually to prevent them. It ordained, that no black could be ſent into a neighbouring ſtate without his conſent; confiſcated all veſſels and cargoes employed in the ſlave trade; condemned to the public works the ſtealers of negroes, &c.

Doubtless we cannot bestow too much praise on the indefatigable zeal of the society in Pennsylvania, which solicited these laws, nor on the spirit of equity and humanity displayed by the legislature in passing them; but some regret must mingle itself with our applause. Why did not this respectable body go farther? Why did it not extend at least the hopes of freedom to those who were slaves at the time of the passing the first act? They are a property, it is said; and all property is sacred. But what is a property founded on robbery and plunder? What is a property which violates laws human and divine? But let this property merit some regard. Why not limit it to a certain number of years, in order to give at least the cheap consolation of hope? Why not grant to the slave, the right of purchasing his freedom? What! the child of the negro slave shall one day enjoy his liberty; and the unhappy father, though ready to leap with joy on beholding the fortune of his son, must roll back his eyes with aggravated anguish on his own irrevocable bondage! The son has never felt, like him, the torture of being torn from his country, from his family, from all that is dear to man; the son has not experienced that severity of treatment, so common in this country before this revolution of sentiment; yet the son is favoured, and the father consigned to despair. But this injustice cannot long sully the law of a country where reason and humanity prevail. We may hope that a capitulation will be made with avarice; by which these slaves shall be drawn from its hands.

Again—Why, in the act of March, 1780, is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a freeman? You either suppose him less true than the freeman, or you suppose him differently organised. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted, and more wicked?—it is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

Finally, why do you ordain that the master shall be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave who may suffer death for crimes? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.

No, my friend, we will not doubt but these stains will soon disappear from the code of Pennsylvania. Reason is too predominant to suffer them long to continue.

The little state of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by quakers—instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this state, famous for the wisdom of its

laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

With the state of Delaware finishes the system of protection to the blacks. Yet there are some negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn belonging to these people, with those of others; you see how much superior the hand of a freeman is to that of a slave, in the operation of industry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world, and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants. They speak not here of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No, the indolent masters behold with uneasiness, the efforts that are making to render freedom universal. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slavery; they fear, that if the blacks become free, they will cause trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to assign them in society; whether they shall establish them in a separate district, or send them out of the country. These are the objections which you will hear repeated every where against the idea of freeing them.

The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change, when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a freeman; but it is in multiplying the slaves, in condemning them to a miserable nourishment; in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the necessity of honest industry.

HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 256.)

1780. THE American army, under general Gates, suffered exceedingly, from a scarcity of provisions, in marching through the inhospitable wilds of North Carolina. Their provision consisted principally of a few lean cattle, picked up in the woods; with green corn and peaches, as substitutes for bread. For several days, they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on peaches alone. From the unhealthiness of the season and climate, and a want of wholesome provisions, the men became very sickly. The dysentery was a generally prevalent disease. Exhausted by fatigue, fasting,

and sickness, their murmurs became audible; and a disposition to mutiny appeared among them. But as there was no particular person to whom they attributed their misfortunes, or on whom they could wreak their vengeance; and as the officers, who shared every calamity, in common with the privates, used their utmost endeavours to encourage them under their sufferings, they, at length, ceased to complain, and patiently submitted to every hardship. They even became witty on the occasion, and used *starvation* as a cant-word, to ridicule their sufferings. By thus burlesquing their misfortunes, their spirits were revived, so that what had lately been a cause of despondency and murmuring, was now a subject of mirth.

The army at length arrived at Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the 13th of August. General Gates had been joined, on his march, by the North-Carolina militia, under general Caswell; and by colonel Porterfield, a brave, active, and judicious officer, at the head of about 100 Virginia soldiers. By his singular address, he had found means not only to avoid the hapless fate of most of the corps which retreated, after the surrender of Charleston; but to subsist his little party since that time, and remain on the border of South-Carolina, in defiance, as it were, of the enemy. On the 14th general Gates was reinforced by the arrival of general Stephens, with about seven hundred Virginia militia. On the same day, an express arrived from col. Sumpter, with information that he had been joined by a number of South-Carolina militia, on the west side of the Wateree; and that an escort, with clothing, ammunition, and other valuable stores, fort he garrison at Camden, was then on its way from Charleston, and must pass the Wateree, at a ferry about a mile from Camden, under cover of a small redoubt, occupied by the enemy, on the opposite side of the river. To enable col. Sumpter to reduce the redoubt, and intercept the convoy, he was immediately furnished with a detachment of between four and five hundred men, with two brass field-pieces.

As general Gates approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon collected his whole force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the appearance of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred, at this juncture, to bring about a general revolt in favour of independence. Numbers broke through all ties, and joined their countrymen. Among these were several parties of militia, who had been embodied for the British service.

Lord Cornwallis, upon hearing of the approach of Gates, hastened from Charleston to Camden, which he reached on the 14th of August, the day after the arrival of the American army at Clermont. The British force at Camden consisted of about two thousand men, three hundred of whom were cavalry. Gates's army was augmented, by the arrival of the Virginia militia, to nearly four thousand men; but of this number no more than nine hundred infantry and seventy cavalry were regular troops. With this force he resolved to advance to the vicinity of Camden, and take an eligible position, that he might favour the execution of col. Sumpter's enterprise, and, at the same time, be in readiness to make the most of any advantageous circum-

ſtances, that might favour a co-operation with that officer's detachment. He had reaſon to expect, that, by ſtraitening the enemy in their quarters, and cutting off their ſupplies, they would become an eaſy prey to his ſuperior force; unleſs, indeed, they ſhould take the timely precaution, to evacuate Camden and retreat to Charleſton, which appeared probable. He therefore gave orders, that the ſick, and all heavy baggage and ſtores, that were not immmediately wanted, ſhould be ſent, under a guard, to Waxhaws, and that the army ſhould move from its encampment, at ten o'clock, in the night of the 15th; which it accordingly did, in excellent order.

Although the inferiority of Cornwallis's force would have juſtified a retreat, he determined, after weighing all circumſtances, neither to retreat, nor wait to be attacked in a diſadvantageous poſition; but to march immediately, and attack the Americans at Clermont, where he was informed that they were encamped in a bad ſituation. He well knew that, by retreating to Charleſton, he muſt loſe his magazines, abandon thoſe who were his friends, or who had ſubmitted to Britiſh government, and give up to the Americans the whole of South-Carolina and Georgia, except the fortified poſts of Charleſton and Savannah. This appeared to be the worſt fortune that could befal him, in any event; and he placed ſuch confidence in the goodneſs of his troops, that, even in caſe of a defeat, he did not deſpair of effecting a tolerable retreat to Charleſton. Thus it is evident, that he had much to gain by a victory, and little to loſe by a defeat. It was remarkable, that both armies began their march preciſely at the ſame time.

Between two and three o'clock, in the morning of the 16th, the advance of both armies met, and a briſk firing enſued; but ſome of the American volunteer cavalry, who were wounded by the firſt diſcharge of the enemy, fell back ſo ſuddenly, that the whole line was thrown into confuſion. This untoward circumſtance tended not a little to diſcourage the militia, although the order of the army was ſoon reſtored. Both armies kept their ground, and continued to ſkirmiſh, occaſionally, during the remaining part of the night. The light-infantry, particularly thoſe commanded by col. Porterfield, behaved with great ſpirit, at the time the army was thrown into diſorder; but, unfortunately, that valuable officer, on whoſe conduct and abilities Gates placed great reliance, was badly wounded, early in the attack.

As ſoon as day appeared, a general engagement took place. At the firſt onſet, the greater part of the Virginia and North-Carolina militia, on being charged by the Britiſh infantry, ſhamefully threw down their arms, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. Dixon's regiment of North-Carolina militia, however, which had formed a part of Gregory's brigade, kept the field, and acquitted themſelves with bravery, while they had a cartridge remaining. General Gregory himſelf received two bayonet wounds; and ſeveral of his men, who were made priſoners, were ſeverely wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, whoſe charges they withſtood with great firmneſs.

The continental troops, on finding themſelves deſerted by the militia, ſcorned to follow the ignominious example. Though now in-

ferior in number to the British, they bravely stood their ground, and maintained the unequal conflict, for almost an hour; during which a heavy firing was kept up on both sides, and intermixed with several sharp contests, at the point of the bayonet. For some time, the Americans had an evident advantage over their opponents. They had even taken a considerable number of prisoners. But, being overpowered by numbers, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, they were finally obliged to give way.

The victory of the British was complete. Every American corps was broken and dispersed; and the scattered troops were pursued upwards of twenty miles, by Tarleton's legion, who found the way covered with arms, baggage, waggons, and wounded men. The whole of the American artillery, and 2,000 stands of arms, with upwards of 200 waggons, and almost all their baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. The number of the slain was never precisely ascertained; no returns of the militia having been made, after the action. The British accounts state their own loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, to have been no more than 324; that of the Americans they conjecture to have been more than five times that number, but there is reason to believe that, by this estimate, the loss of the Americans is considerably over-rated.—Baron de Kalb, who was mortally wounded in the action, and taken prisoner, died next day. This brave officer, who was by birth a German, had acquired great military experience, by long service in the French army. Congress resolved, that a monument, bearing an honourable inscription, should be erected to his memory, at Annapolis. General Rutherford, of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner; and about forty commissioned officers, of the various inferior ranks, were killed, wounded, or taken. Of the comparative degree of resistance made by the different American corps, an estimate may be formed, from this fact; that, of two hundred and ninety wounded prisoners, who were carried into Camden, two hundred and six were continentals, eighty-two were North-Carolina militia, and but two belonged to the Virginia militia. The British troops behaved with great bravery; but their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia, conduced materially to the completeness of their victory.

Col. Sumpter's enterprise fully succeeded. On the same evening that the two hostile armies marched from their respective quarters, he reduced the British redoubt on the Wateree, captured the guard, intercepted forty waggons loaded with stores, and took the escort, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, prisoners. When col. Sumpter heard of the defeat of the army under general Gates, he immediately retreated up the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. But, on the morning of the 17th, Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of light-infantry, pursued, with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprise the retreating Americans, on the following day, at Fishing-creek. Sumpter's men having had scarcely any sleep, for the last four days, and supposing themselves out of reach of immediate danger, had chiefly submitted to the calls of nature; even the centinels were so much overcome by fatigue and want of sleep, that they neglected their duty. In this defenceless situation they

were surprised by the enemy, at noon-day; whose cavalry rode in among them, and put numbers to the sword. The British prisoners, in number about three hundred, were all retaken; and Sumpter's whole detachment was killed, captured, or dispersed.

On the 17th and 18th of August, a small party of Gates's dispersed army rendezvoused at Charlotte, about eighty miles from Camden, where they began to think of making a stand. They expected to be joined by the country militia, and by Sumpter's detachment; but on hearing of that officer's defeat, self preservation dictated an immediate retreat to Salisbury. All thoughts of resistance being now at an end; and the approach of the victorious enemy continually apprehended, the distressed situation of the whig inhabitants, in those parts of the country through which the wretched remnant of the unfortunate army retreated, may be more easily conceived than described. To avoid the cruelty of the British army, many families fled from their property, and their homes, and followed the troops; while others, whose situation rendered flight impracticable, mourned over the misfortunes of their country, and anticipated the worst of treatment that an exasperated enemy could inflict. Public calamity gave rise to so much private distress, and every one was so much engrossed by his own share of sufferings, that the sick, the wounded, and the dying, were almost entirely neglected, and exhibited, along the road, from Charlotte to Salisbury, scenes painful to humanity. A few days after the arrival of the troops at Salisbury, they proceeded to Hillsborough. To this place general Gates had repaired, shortly after his defeat; and, in concert with the government of North-Carolina, was devising plans for enabling him again to take the field.

Lord Cornwallis was restrained, by the season, and the sickness which prevailed in his army, from pursuing his conquests; but, the country being now completely in his power, he determined, by the most severe treatment, to crush the spirits of all who were attached to independence. Violating the rights which are held sacred between hostile nations, he resolved to punish, as traitors and rebels, all the citizens of South-Carolina, who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards took part with their friends and countrymen. We have already described the unjustifiable measures which were taken, first to constrain the citizens to become subjects of Great-Britain, and afterwards to compel them to take up arms in support of royal government. That the appearance of submission, thus extorted, should subject them to the punishment usually inflicted on traitors and deserters, was hard; that lord Cornwallis should take advantage of such circumstances, to aggravate the horrors of war, by a deliberate effusion of human blood, must be considered, by the impartial world, as a cruel "policy"; for "motives of policy" were pleaded in defence of the measure.

Orders were given, by lord Cornwallis, that all who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards revolted, should be punished with the greatest rigour—"That they should be imprisoned, and their whole property be taken from them, or destroyed." He also issued positive orders, that every person who had been enrolled as a British militia-man, and afterwards joined the Americans, should, if taken,

be put to death. In compliance with this order, several of the inhabitants were actually hanged. A number of the most respectable citizens had firmly resisted every temptation to exchange their paroles for the protection of subjects. In order to crush this refractory spirit, orders were given to send out of South-Carolina, a number of its principal inhabitants. In pursuance of this arbitrary mandate, lieut. governor Gadsden, with most of the civil and militia officers, and several private citizens, were seized, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. In vain did they plead their rights, derived from the capitulation of Charleston, and challenge their adversaries to prove any thing against them, which merited expulsion from their country, and a separation from their families and friends. Lord Cornwallis meant to convince the inhabitants, that all who refused to relinquish their paroles, and become subjects, should be sent out of the country. General Rutherford and col. Isaacs, both of North-Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were also removed to St. Augustine.—To complete the measures for enforcing the re-establishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, on the 16th of September, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. John Cruden, Esq. was appointed to execute this business, on the receipt of an order or warrant, signed by lord Cornwallis, or the commandant at Charleston, and designating the persons whose estates were to be seized. All who should impede the said commissioner, in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property, or otherwise, were made liable to punishment, as aiders and abettors of rebellion.

Numbers, intimidated by these proceedings, yielded to necessity, and became British subjects. Indeed, to avow an adherence to independence, was, now, to brave poverty and ruin, and to court exile or an ignominious death. And yet, in this trying emergency, there were found many, whose patriotism and generous attachment to liberty were of that firm texture, which such great occasions always require, and frequently call into exertion. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness. They crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions, the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers that were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced, of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers; exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family-attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the

progreſs of the war, they were alſo comprehended under a general ſentence of baniſhment, they with equal reſolution parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their huſbands into priſon-ſhips and diſtant lands, where they were often reduced to the neceſſity of depending on charity for ſubſiſtence.—Animated by ſuch examples, as well as by a high ſenſe of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adhered to their firſt reſolution, of riſking life and fortune in ſupport of their liberties.

Never were the miſchievous effects of ſlavery more ſtrikingly exemplified, than during the American war. When a ſouthern ſtate became the ſeat of military operations, it could not, like a northern ſtate, ſummon to its aid a hardy yeomanry, who fought for every thing that was dear to them, as men and citizens. On the contrary, a large proportion of the population conſiſted of negro ſlaves, who had nothing to gain or loſe by the conteſt, he its iſſue what it might. Their condition could not undergo a change for the worſe; it was poſſible it might be bettered by a change of maſters. It was probably from a faint hope of this kind, joined to a deſire of taking vengeance on their maſters, for all the cruelties and wrongs they had ſuffered, that ſuch of them as were diſpoſed to take any part in the conteſt, generally ſided with the Britiſh.

From this circumſtance, the opulent planters of South-Carolina, who were generally firm wigs, were unable, by their utmoſt exertions, to protect their property from plunder, much leſs to make a ſucceſsful ſtand againſt the troops of the enemy. It was only in the back parts of the ſtate, where a free and hardy peaſantry reſided, that the Britiſh found themſelves oppoſed with firmneſs, after they had eſtabliſhed a royal government in every other part of the ſtate. Thoſe daring whigs were almoſt continually engaged in the execution of ſome plan, againſt the outpoſts or ſtraggling parties of the enemy. Of this kind were the parties who took the field under colonels Sumpter, Marion, Williams of Ninety-ſix diſtrict, and other popular leaders.

Of Sumpter's gallant exertions we have already taken ſome notice. On the day that officer and his party were ſurpriſed by Tarleton, col. Williams, with about 200 South-Carolina and Georgia militia, engaged a party of 200 Britiſh regulars, and 300 militia, at Muſgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. Williams, when he perceived the enemy advancing to attack him, with a ſuperior force, judiciouſly placed his men behind trees, and ordered them not to fire till the enemy were ſo near, that every man could make ſure of his object. After the enemy had ſuſtained a warm conteſt for ſome time, they were obliged to retreat. Sixty of their men were killed, and ſeventy wounded. Of the Americans, no more than three were killed, and eight wounded. Sundry other exploits were performed by this valuable officer. But no partiſan rendered more eſſential ſervice, with very ſmall bodies of volunteers, than col. Marion. While Sumpter harraſſed the enemy, on one part of the frontier, after the ſurrender of Charleſton, Marion was rendering a ſimilar ſervice, in the north-eaſtern extremity of the ſtate. At the time general Gates was advancing towards South-Carolina, Marion took poſt on the Santee, with *ſixteen* men.

From this ſtation, after the defeat of Gates, he ſallied out, reſcued 150 priſoners, and captured a ſmall Britiſh guard, which was conducting them from Camden to Charleſton. Having releaſed the priſoners, he diſmiſſed the captured guard, and betook himſelf to the woods. He was now obliged to leave the ſtate; but he returned in a few days, and continued to harraſs the enemy, at the head of ſuch of the inhabitants as he could get to join him, from time to time. Sometimes he had a tolerably numerous party; but this was ſeldom the caſe, for a conſiderable while after Gates's defeat; and the number of his followers was always fluctuating. His achievments, at the head of parties which varied between twenty-five and ſeventy, were aſtoniſhing.—With a view to deter the inhabitants from joining Marion, the Britiſh burned a great number of houſes, on Pedee, Lynch's creek, and Black-river, belonging to ſuch as were ſuppoſed to do duty with him, or to befriend him. But this was an injudicious ſtep; and, inſtead of detaching any of Marion's followers from him, prompted many to join him. Thoſe whoſe houſes were deſtroyed took refuge with their friends, who were in arms; and, with them, for ſeveral months, ſlept in the open air, and ſheltered themſelves in the receſſes of deep ſwamps, from which they ſallied forth, whenever an opportunity of harraſſing the enemy preſented itſelf.

Gen. Sumpter, (for he had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general,) ſoon after the diſperſion of his corps, by Tarleton, on the 18th of Auguſt, collected a band of volunteers, partly from thoſe who eſcaped on that fatal day, and partly from new adventurers. Theſe he mounted, for the ſake of greater expedition in his enterpriſes. He did not remain long in one place, but frequently varied his poſition, about Evoree, Broad and Tyger rivers. His utmoſt endeavours were inceſſantly employed to diſtreſs his adverſaries, by ſucceſſive alarms, by intercepting their convoys, and by rendering all their movements extremely difficult and dangerous. He had frequent ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, to whom his enterpriſing ſpirit and deſultory mode of warfare were ſo injurious, that they made ſeveral attempts to deſtroy his force, all of which, however, proved unſucceſsful. On the 12th of November he was attacked, at Broad-river, by major Wemys, at the head of a corps of infantry and dragoons; but the Britiſh were defeated, and their commanding officer taken priſoner. Eight days after, an attempt was made, by col. Tarleton, to ſurpriſe Sumpter's corps at Black-ſtocks, in the vicinity of Tyger-river. A precipitate attack was made, with 170 dragoons, and about 80 men of the 63d regiment; but Sumpter, having been apprized of Tarleton's approach, had taken a ſtrong poſition, and was prepared to give him a warm reception. A conſiderable number of the Americans were ſtationed in a log-barn, through the apertures of which they fired with ſecurity, and did great execution. Tarleton made an impetuous charge with his cavalry, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to retreat. He fell back to a detachment of infantry, which was advancing to ſupport him, and left the Americans in poſſeſſion of the field. But Sumpter, having been badly wounded, and knowing Tarleton would be reinforced, retired acroſs the Tyger, a few hours

after the action. Sumpter's wound interrupted his gallant enterprises for several months; but otherwise, the loss of the Americans was very inconsiderable, compared with that of the enemy, among whose killed were major Money and two lieutenants. General Sumpter's zeal and activity, in animating the drooping spirits of the militia; and his bravery and judicious conduct, in several engagements with detachments of the enemy, obtained him the applause of his grateful countrymen, and the thanks of congress.

For some time after Gates's defeat, the whigs of North and South-Carolina were much intimidated. But in proportion as the impression made by that event became gradually more faint, a spirit of enterprise was revived among them. The severity with which the British treated the revolters, who fell into their hands, was, upon the whole, favourable to the American cause; inasmuch as it made those who escaped, persevering and desperate in their opposition, and thus added considerably to the force of those small, but daring bands, which were so troublesome to the enemy, in the extreme parts of South-Carolina.

Early in September, col. Clarke, availing himself of that reviving spirit of enterprise which has been mentioned, mustered about 500 Americans, and marched against Augusta, in Georgia, by a tedious route through the upper parts of South-Carolina. The garrison defended themselves with much bravery, in two or three attacks; and, upon the near approach of a reinforcement, sallied out, and obliged Clark to retreat. In this sally, the British took some prisoners, one of whom, named Henry Dukes, was instantly hanged. Such of the inhabitants of Augusta as were supposed to have been friendly to Clarke's design, experienced very severe treatment. About thirty of them were hanged. This cruel and impolitic measure excited a general abhorrence, in the minds of the people, and prepared them for a revolt, whenever a fit opportunity should occur.

While lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations, by the excessive heats, and unhealthy season, which followed his victory at Camden, major Ferguson, of the 71st regiment, visited the north-western settlements, and collected a corps of North and South-Carolina loyalists, which he disciplined, and prepared for service in the field. He also encouraged those who were disaffected to the Americans, by assuring them that lord Cornwallis would shortly commence offensive operations, in North-Carolina, with a respectable army; when, it was hoped, they would evince their loyalty, by an active co-operation with the royal army.

Major Ferguson, wishing to intercept Clarke's party, on its retreat from Augusta, kept near the western mountains. The inhabitants of the country west of the Allegany mountains were alarmed, on hearing that Ferguson was so near them, lest he should pay them a visit, and commit depredations similar to those by which the British, and their tory adherents, had excited the general indignation and abhorrence of all who had been exposed to their ravages. They therefore took up arms immediately, and marched against the enemy. The people, in various and remote parts of the country, were actuated by the same impulse, at the same moment; and, without any previous

concert or communication with each other, there was a very considerable combination of detached parties, from several adjacent states, all having in view the destruction of Ferguson, whom they knew to be in a situation where he could have no immediate support. Their meeting was accidental. Col. Williams, of Ninety-six, was in pursuit of Ferguson, with 450 horse, when he was informed, that several other parties were advancing, with the same object in view. Williams, with colonels Campbell, of Virginia, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and M'Dowel, of North-Carolina, and Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South-Carolina, with their respective corps of volunteers, amounting to between two and three thousand men, all rendezvoused together. Being mounted and unencumbered with baggage, their movements were rapid. The hardships they underwent were severe. Some of them tasted neither bread, salt, nor spiritous liquors, for weeks together; and slept in the open air, without blankets. They subsisted, chiefly, on ears of corn and pompions, with occasional supplies of beef and venison, killed and roasted in the woods. So little military subordination was there in this volunteer army, that there was no commander in chief, but each colonel continued, after the junction, to command his own men.

The Americans, apprehending that Ferguson might be informed of their approach, and effect an escape, selected nine hundred of their men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. These, on the 17th of October, came up with, and attacked major Ferguson, on the top of King's-mountain, near the confines of North and South-Carolina. They were formed into three divisions, which were led on in different directions, by colonels Lacey, Campbell, and Cleveland. Ferguson charged these several divisions, successively, as they advanced, and compelled them to give way; but as he could not present a front to each division of the assailants, at the same time, they only fell back a little way, and, posting themselves behind trees and rocks, poured in a continual fire upon his corps, in almost every direction. The Americans were all excellent marksmen, as were also a considerable number of their adversaries. An unusual proportion of the killed, on both sides, were shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other in the same instant, while taking aim; and they were found, after death, with one eye shut and the other open, as is usual with marksmen, when leveling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed uncommon bravery; but his encampment was injudiciously chosen, in a situation where his men were much exposed, while the Americans had an opportunity of making their approaches, under cover of rocks and trees. He might have made good a retreat, with the greater part of his men, had he pursued his march immediately on his charging and driving the first division; for, notwithstanding the Americans behaved with as much spirit as could be expected from undisciplined troops, it was not easy to bring them to a second attack, after having been charged with bayonets. But his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After having maintained an obstinate and bloody conflict, for upwards of three quarters of an hour, he received a mortal wound. No hope of escape, or of successful resistance,

now remained. The submission of the British put an end to the contest. About 800 were made prisoners, and two hundred and fifty had been previously killed or wounded. Of the assailants no more than about twenty were killed; but that distinguished officer, col. Williams, of Ninety-six, was of the number. Of the royal militia, who surrendered, ten were hanged by the Americans. These, it was alleged, had been guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited, by the laws of the state. It is not improbable, however, that the Americans were, in some degree, provoked to this measure, by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several prisoners, in South-Carolina and Georgia.

By the death of major Ferguson, the royal cause sustained a loss, which would have been very sensibly felt, at any time during the war; but which, under present circumstances, was irreparable. Superior abilities, added to an uncommon spirit of enterprise, fitted him both for planning and executing great designs. Hence he had been pitched upon, by lord Cornwallis, to muster and discipline those loyalists, who might be induced to take the field under him, and co operate with the British army, in its invasion of North-Carolina. Much was expected from this co-operation; but the total rout of the party which had joined Ferguson, rendered the loyalists extremely timid in their exertions. They were not disposed, indeed, to run any further risk in support of the royal cause, or to take any active part in the contest, until the British army should, by its own efforts, gain a decided superiority.

Cornwallis, leaving a small garrison at Camden, had taken the field with the main army; and, relying upon a powerful support from the loyalists, had penetrated into North-Carolina, almost as far as Salisbury, when he received the disagreeable and unexpected intelligence of Ferguson's death, and the total overthrow of his party. This circumstance, together with the opposition his army received from the North-Carolina militia, induced him to retreat to Winnsborough. In this march he experienced great annoyance from the American riflemen, who frequently approached within shot of his army, and, from behind trees, made sure of their objects. The militia took several of his waggons; and he was frequently insulted, in a very mortifying manner, by single men, who made a practice of coming up within musket-shot of his army, discharging their pieces, and then riding off. Ferguson's defeat, and the consequent retreat of Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field with uncommon alacrity, and renew their opposition with increased ardour; so that the British found themselves, at the close of the year, unpossessed of almost every advantage which might have been expected from the splendid victories they had gained, and the almost total annihilation of the American southern army, first by the capture of Charleston, and afterwards by the defeat of general Gates. British garrisons prevented open resistance, and awed the inhabitants into an apparent submission, in the vicinity of those places where they were established; but whenever the people were left to themselves, the active and spirited part of the community generally rallied round the standard of independence.

In the month of November, general Gates advanced from Hillsborough to Charlotte, at the head of a considerable force. He had exerted himself to the utmost, to repair the injuries of his defeat; and was again in a condition to face the enemy. But so much had the defeat at Camden operated to his disadvantage, that, in spite of all his former services, he became the victim of public ingratitude. Not even the remembrance of Saratoga could shield him from unmerited censure. His enemies could not accuse him either of incapacity, or mismanagement of any kind; but he had been once unfortunate, and this was deemed a sufficient cause, by congress, not only for depriving him of his command, but for ordering a court of enquiry to be held on his conduct. General Greene, who was appointed to succeed Gates, arrived at Charlotte, in the beginning of December, and delivered him the *first official* information of his removal from the command; although the resolution of congress, for that purpose, had been passed in the beginning of October. Such was the indelicate treatment he experienced. The resignation of Gates was manly—the conduct of Greene, on the occasion, bespoke the gentleman. Reciprocal politeness and friendship prevented the embarrassments which both must otherwise have felt. Greene uniformly vindicated the character of Gates, maintained that he had failed in no part of his military duty, and declared that his conduct deserved success, though he could not command it.—It was not against the pressure of public misfortune only, that general Gates had to struggle, at this trying emergency—the death of an only child, a promising youth of nineteen, added greatly to the poignancy of his distress. In passing through Richmond, on his way home, the house of Burgesses of Virginia, unanimously addressed him, in terms equally affectionate and polite. They assured him, that their grateful remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune.

(To be continued.)

ACCOUNT *of the* RELICS *and* MONUMENTS *of the* INDIANS, *in* NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

[*From* BELKNAP'S *History of New-Hampshire*—Vol. III.]

IN describing any country, it is natural to make some inquiry concerning the vestiges of its ancient inhabitants. It is well known that the original natives of this part of America, were not ambitious of perpetuating their fame by durable monuments. Their invention was chiefly employed either in providing for their subsistence, by hunting, fishing and planting, or in guarding against and surprising their enemies. Their houses and canoes were constructed of light and perishable materials. Their mode of travelling was to take all possible advantage of water carriage, and to shorten distances, by transporting their birchen canoes across the necks of land which were convenient for the purpose. Their manner of taking fish was either

by entangling them in wears, or dipping for them in ſcoop-nets, or ſtriking them with ſpears. They took quadrupeds in traps or pit-falls, or ſhot them, as well as birds, with arrows. For the conſtruction of their canoes and houſes they uſed hatchets, chiſſels, and gouges of ſtone. To cook their meat, they either broiled it on coals, or on a wooden grate, or roaſted it on a forked ſtick, or boiled it in kettles of ſtone. Their corn was pounded in mortars of wood, with peſtles of ſtone. Their bread was baked either on flat ſtones ſet before a fire, or in green leaves laid under hot aſhes. Clam-ſhells ſerved them for ſpoons, and their fingers for knives and forks. They had no ſharper inſtruments than could be formed of ſtones, ſhells and bones. Of theſe the two laſt are periſhable by age; but of the firſt, relics are frequently found in the places of their former reſidence, generally in the neigbourhood of water-falls, and other convenient fiſhing places. The manner of finding them is by plowing or digging. The moſt of thoſe which have been diſcovered, have come to light by accident, and a few only are ſo perfect as to merit preſervation.

The hatchet is a hard ſtone, eight or ten inches in length, and three or four in breadth, of an oval form, flatted and rubbed to an edge at one end; near the other end is a groove in which the handle was faſtened; and their proceſs to do it was this: When the ſtone was prepared, they choſe a very young ſapling, and, ſplitting it near the ground, they forced the hatchet into it, as far as the groove, and left nature to complete the work by the growth of the wood, ſo as to fill the groove and adhere firmly to the ſtone. They then cut off the ſapling above and below, and the hatchet was fit for uſe.

The chiſſel is about ſix inches long and two inches wide, flatted and rubbed ſharp at one end. It was uſed only by the hand, for it would not bear to be driven. The gouge differs from the chiſſel only in being hollow at the edge. With theſe inſtruments they felled trees, cut them into proper lengths, ſcooped them out hollow for canoes, trays, or mortars, and faſhioned them to any ſhape which they pleaſed. To ſave labour, they made uſe of fire, to ſoften thoſe parts of the wood which were to be cut with theſe imperfect tools; and by a proper application of wet earth or clay, they could circumſcribe the operation of the fire at their pleaſure.*

Their peſtles are long, cylindrical or conical ſtones, of the heavieſt kind; ſome of which have figures, rudely wrought, at the end of the handle.

Their kettle is nothing more than a hole, either natural or artificial, in a large ſtone; but their mode of boiling in it would not readily occur to a perſon who had ſeen a kettle uſed no other way than

* 'I have ſeen a native (ſays Roger Williams) go into the woods with his hatchet 'carrying only a baſket of corn, and ſtones to ſtrike fire. When he hath felled his 'tree (either a cheſnut or a pine) he maketh him a little hut or ſhed of the bark of it. 'He puts fire, and follows the burning of it in the midſt, in many places. His corn 'he boils, and hath the brook by him, and ſometimes angles for a little fiſh. So he 'continueth burning and hewing, until he hath, in ten or twelve days, finiſhed, and 'getting hands, launched his boat.'

Beverly, in his hiſtory of Virginia, gives a ſimilar account of the manner of making canoes, by the Indians, in that part of America. Page 198.

with a fire under it. Their fire was made by the ſide of the kettle, and a number of ſmall ſtones were heated. The kettle being filled with water, and the food placed in it, the hot ſtones were put in, one after another, and by a dextrous repetition of this proceſs, the meat or fiſh was boiled.

Of arrow-heads there is found a greater number than of any other inſtrument; and they are of all ſizes from one to five inches in length; pointed and jagged, with a notch on each ſide, at the lower end, to bind them to the ſhaft, the end of which was ſplit to let in the head. Children were early taught the uſe of the bow, and many of the arrow-heads which are found, ſeem to have been fit only for their uſe.

Another implement of ſtone is found, the uſe of which is to us undetermined. It is ſhaped like a pear, with a neck, and was probably ſuſpended by a ſtring. Some ſuppoſe it was hung to a net, and that many of them placed at the lower edge ſerved the purpoſe of weights to ſink it.

Some ſpecimens of ſculpture have been found, but they are not common. In the muſeum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, there is an imitation of the head of a ſerpent, at the end of a long ſtone peſtle, found at Wells, in the county of York. There is, in the poſſeſſion of a gentleman in New-Hampſhire, a piece of bone, on which is engraven the buſt of a man, apparently in the agonies of death. The countenance is ſavage, and the work is well executed. This bone, with the figure on it, was found at the ſhore of the little bay, in the river Paſcataqua.

In the places of their habitations are ſometimes found circular hearths of flat ſtones, which were laid in the middle of their wigwams. Their mode of lodging was with their feet to the fire. This cuſtom is adopted by people who lie abroad in the woods, and by others at home. It is accounted both a preventive and a remedy for a cold.

The cellars in which they preſerved their corn, are ſometimes diſcovered in their new ſettlements, and their graves are frequently ſeen. Moſt of the ſkeletons appear to be in a ſitting poſture, and ſome remains of the inſtruments which were ſuppoſed neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, ornament or defence in the "country of ſouls," are found with them; particularly the ſtone-pipe for ſmoking tobacco, of which there are ſeveral varieties. In a piece of intervale land near the Oſſapy ponds, is a *tumulus* or mound of earth, overgrown with pine, in which, at the depth of two feet, ſeveral ſkeletons have been diſcovered, buried with the face downward. At Exeter, about two years ago, the remains of an infant ſkeleton were dug up. It was in a perpendicular poſition, and had been incloſed with a hollow log. Some ſtrings of wampum were found near it, and ſeveral ſpoons, apparently of European manufacture.

The remains of their fields are ſtill viſible in many places; theſe were not extenſive, and the hills which they made about their corn-ſtalks were ſmall. Some pieces of baked earthen-ware have been found at Sanborn-town and Goff's-town, from which it is ſuppoſed that the Indians had learned the potter's art; but of what antiquity

these remnants are, and whether manufactured by them or not, is uncertain.

The paths which served them for carrying places between rivers, or different parts of the same river, are frequently discovered, in the cutting of roads, or laying out of new town-ships. Probably some hints might be taken from this circumstance, to expedite and facilitate our inland navigation.

In their capital fishing places, particularly in great Ossapy and Winipiseogee rivers, are the remains of their wears, constructed with very large stones. At Sanborn-town there is the appearance of a fortress, consisting of five distinct walls, one within the other, and at Hinsdale there is something of the same kind; but these are vastly inferior, both in design and execution, to the military works found in the country of the Senekas and in the neighbourhood of the Ohio.

I have heard of two specimens of an Indian *Gazette*, found in New-Hampshire. One was a pine tree, on the shore of Winipiseogee river, on which was depicted a canoe, with two men in it. This is supposed to have been a mark of direction to those who might come after. The other was a tree in Moultonborough, standing by a carrying-place, between two ponds. On this tree was carved the history of one of their expeditions. The number of the killed and prisoners, was represented by so many human figures; the former were marked with the stroke of a knife, across their throats, and even the distinction between the males and females was preserved.

Some of their modes and customs have been learned by our own people, and are still retained. In the river Pascataqua, lobsters and flat-fish are struck with a spear; and the best time for this kind of fishing is the night. A lighted pitch-knot is placed on the outside of a canoe, which not only attracts the fish, but gives the fishermen direction where to strike. The river is sometimes illuminated, by a multitude of these floating lights. The Indian scoop-net is shaped like a pocket; the edge of which is fastened to a wooden bow, at the end of a long pole. With these are caught salmon, shad, alewives, smelts and lampreys. Frost-fish are taken with wooden tongs, and black eels in cylindrical baskets, with a hole, resembling mouse-traps made of wire.

The *culheag* or log-trap, is used for taking wolves, bears and martins. Its size varies, according to the bulk or strength of the animal. It is a forceps, composed of two long sticks, one lying on the other, connected at one end, and open at the other. Near the open end is made a semicircular, covered enclosure, with short stakes, driven into the ground on one side of the logs, which are firmly secured by another stake, on the opposite side. In this enclosure is placed the bait, fastened to a round stick, which lies across the lower log, the upper log resting on the end of a perpendicular pointed stick, the other end of which is set on the round stick. The animal having scented the bait, finds no way to come at it, but by putting his head between the logs. As soon as he touches the bait, the round stick, on which it is fastened, rolls; the perpendicular gives way; the upper log falls, and crushes him to death in an instant, without injuring his skin.

To take martins, the hunters make a great number of these traps, at the distance of about a quarter or half a mile from each other; they scent the whole space between the traps, by drawing a piece of raw flesh on the ground; this scent guides the animal to the trap, which is baited with the same. The hunters visit the traps once in a day, and retire to their camp with the prey. There are two seasons for this species of hunting, namely, in December and March.

Beavers are taken in iron spring traps. The Indians have learned to use these traps, in preference to their own.

The use of snow-shoes was learned at first from them. The shape and construction of them are well known. The stick which projects behind acts as a spring, and sets the man forward at every step; by which means, one who is used to this mode of travelling, can walk on the snow, more expeditiously than on the ground.

We are indebted to them, for the method of preserving the flesh of animals in snow. This is very useful to people who raise or buy large quantities of poultry for the market. They fill the hollow parts, and pack them in a cask with snow; which, whilst it remains undissolved, preserves the flesh in its original sweetness. The Indians had another way of preserving flesh, by cutting it from the bone, and drying it in smoke; but this is now seldom used, unless the meat has been previously cured with salt, the use of which, was unknown to the savages.

Their mode of catching ducks, is still used in those places where this species of game abounds. In the month of August, the old ducks shed their feathers, and the young, being unfledged, are not able to fly. During this period they swim on the water, and may be driven into small creeks, whence they cannot escape. They are then easily caught in great numbers, and preserved for winter by salt or smoke.

We have also learned from the natives, to dress leather with the brains of the animal, which render it extremely soft and pliable. They have an art of dying hair in various colours, which are bright and permanent. I know not whether they have communicated this knowledge.

Some of their modes of cookery have been adopted, and are retained. Their roasted and boiled ears of green corn, their *samp* and *homony*, which consist of corn bruised and soaked or boiled, their *nokehike*, which is corn parched and pounded, their *suckatash*, which is a mixture of corn and beans boiled, are much used, and very palatable. One of the most delicate of their dishes was the *upaquontop*, or the head of a bass boiled, and the broth thickened with homony. The lip of a moose, and the tail of a beaver, prepared in this manner, were among their greatest luxuries.

Their cultivation was extremely imperfect. The only objects of it were corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes, which were planted by their women, with the aid of no instruments but stones and clam-shells; and no manure but fish. Yet, their judgment of the proper season for planting, cannot be amended. It was when the leaves of the white oak are as big as the ear of a mouse. Their method of girdling trees to kill them, that the land might be opened for plant-

ing, is used by some people in their first essays of husbandry. It is not only a lazy fashion and quite inexcuseable where axes may be had, but the ground needs clearing as often as the trees or branches are broken off by the wind.

The virtues of many herbs, roots and barks, with which the country abounds, were well known to the natives, and some traditionary knowledge of this kind has been preserved, though much is lost for want of a more certain mode of preservation than human memory. Some of their medicinal operations are still practised; but most of them are disused, being superseded by professional improvements. They raised a blister by burning *punk* or touchwood on the skin. They applied roots, boiled soft, in the form of a poultice to the throat or other parts, when swelled or inflamed. They relieved a person chilled with cold, by pouring warm water down the throat. They attempted the cure of fevers by sweating in a covered hut, with the steam of water poured on hot stones, and then plunging into cold water. For pains in the limbs they had another mode of sweating. A number of sods were heated, and the patient, wrapped in a mat, was laid on some and covered with others, till the heat of the turf was supposed to have extracted the pain. The offices of physician and priest were united in the same person, and a variety of mysterious rites accompanied his operations.

They had a knowledge of poisons and antidotes, and could so prepare themselves, that the most venemous serpents would avoid them, or prove harmless in their hands. This knowledge has seldom been communicated, and is always treated as mysterious.

I wish it could not be said, that some of their superstitious notions have been transferred and propagated. The idea that lonely mountains and rocks are inhabited by departed spirits, and other invisible and imaginary beings, is not yet worn out. Certain charms and spells, which are supposed to be effectual preservatives, or cures in cases of witchcraft, are still in use among the vulgar; though perhaps some of these traditions may owe their origin to the superstition of our European ancestors, descended from the remoter savages of Britain, Ireland and Germany. These notions, however pitied by some, and ridiculed by others, are still deeply engraven on the minds of many, and are maintained with an inflexibility which would do them honour if the cause were worthy of defence. So strong are these impressions, that the same persons, whose intrepidity in scenes of real danger is unquestionable, often render themselves miserable by the apprehension of evils, which exist only in their imagination.

An EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON *accounted for.*

[*From the same.*]

IN the spring, the trees which have been felled the preceding year, are burned in the new plantations. If the season be dry, the flames spread in the woods, and a large extent of the forest is

ſometimes on fire at once. Fences and buildings are often deſtroyed by theſe raging conflagrations. The only effectual way to prevent the ſpreading of ſuch a fire, is to kindle another at a diſtance, and to drive the flame along through the buſhes, or dry graſs, to meet the greater fire, that all the fuel may be conſumed. This operation requires a large number of people, and no ſmall degree of dexterity and reſolution. In ſwamps, a fire has been known to penetrate ſeveral feet under the ground, and conſume the roots of trees. When a fire has raged to this degree, nothing can extinguiſh it but a heavy rain.

From theſe numerous fires ariſe immenſe clouds of ſmoke, mingled with the burnt leaves of the trees, which are carried to great diſtances by the wind. Theſe clouds meeting with other vapours in the atmoſphere, ſometimes produce very ſingular appearances. The unuſual darkneſs of the nineteenth of May, 1780, was cauſed by ſuch a combination of vapours.

Fires had ſpread very extenſively in the woods, and the weſterly wind had driven the ſmoke all over the country. It was ſo thick near the horizon, for ſeveral preceding days, that the ſun diſappeared half an hour before its ſetting; and in the low grounds, it was almoſt ſuffocating. The morning of the nineteenth was cloudy, with ſome rain; and a black cloud appeared in the ſouthweſt, from which thunder was heard. The rain water, and the ſurface of rivers, was covered with a ſooty ſcum. The remains of a ſnow drift, which had been raked clean the preceding day, became black. Several ſmall birds flew into the houſes, and others were found dead abroad, being ſuffocated. About an hour before noon the clouds aſſumed a braſſy appearance; after which their colour became a duſky grey; at one hour after noon it was neceſſary to light candles.

At the time of the greateſt obſcuration, the ſmoke of a chimney was obſerved to riſe perpendicularly, and then incline to the weſt. A thick fog, which came in from the ſea, moved along the hill tops in the ſame direction. The place where theſe obſervations were made, was at Dover, fifteen miles diſtant from the ſea. A light gleam was ſeen in the north. The extent of this darkneſs, was more than two hundred miles, from north to ſouth. To the weſtward, it reached beyond Albany, and it was obſerved, by a veſſel at ſea, fifteen leagues eaſtward of Cape-Anne.

The darkneſs varied its appearance, in ſome places, through the afternoon; but in the maritime parts of New-Hampſhire, there was no ceſſation or interruption of it; and the evening preſented a complete ſpecimen of as total darkneſs as can be conceived. Before midnight, the vapours diſperſed, and the next morning there was no appearance of them; but for ſeveral days after, clouds of ſmoke were ſeen in motion, and the burnt leaves of trees were wafted abroad by the wind.

On SENSIBILITY.

AN exalted understanding, and a feeling heart, are the rarely united qualities which form a great soul. We consider the former as the more noble, and are generally at some pains, by study and experience, to acquire it; to use endeavours for acquiring the latter, is thought needless, or absurd and impossible; but if we reflect seriously, we shall perhaps find, that it is almost equally valuable, and may be obtained with much less difficulty.

Our passions are no less essential and necessary to our nature than our reason; and whatever may be the boasts of philosophy, they have, for the most part, a greater influence over all our actions —Many more are honest, generous, and magnanimous, from a happy natural disposition, than from reasoning and principle: and, wherever the former is wanting, reason will have much more difficulty to bring the actions under her direction and control.——The pleasures which our understanding can afford of itself, however pure and abstracted they may be, are at best both few and insipid; the heart and affections only can produce those delicate and exquisite gratifications which deserve the name of pleasure.—It is therefore somewhat astonishing, to look round and see, how many of our species are almost, or entirely destitute, of the main organs of our happiness.—To suppose that the feelings of humanity were a gift of nature peculiar to a few, were absurd; and facts shew, that this is not the case; and that, whatever difference the constitution of our bodies may occasion in the nature and strength of our affections, still the deplorable callousness and insensibility of most, is more owing to education and habit, than to any natural cause whatever.

Stoics, indeed, have boasted of their insensibility, and extolled it as the most perfect and useful kind of philosophy; by which, if we lose some pleasures, we are strangers to numberless pains, and are enabled to bear those hardships with indifference, which others can hardly suffer with patience.—But be it so, who would not choose rather to possess all his members in their natural state, liable as they are to many pains and troubles, than, by a palsy, to lose at once all sense of pain and of delight?—The gratifications which our senses administer to us, compensate abundantly for the disagreeable sensations they sometimes present; and we should justly conclude that man to be mad, who should put out his eyes, because he must sometimes see an unwelcome object.—Not less mad are they, who argue in favour of stoical apathy; and a disregard or contempt of the inward and mental senses are so much the more foolish, as the happiness we lose thereby is more exquisite than any which the external senses can furnish.

But stoics in principle are not so frequent in the world as those who are practically so. There are not, indeed, many so perfectly callous, as not to be often touched with their own sufferings; but they have lost the finer feelings, and are incapable of distinguishing between those circumstances which, in more elegant souls, produce the highest pleasure, or the severest misery; and, even in those affairs which do affect them, they only look at things which are the most inconsidera-

ble, and least worthy of their regard. Their avarice, their appetites, or their sensuality, are only consulted; as these are gratified or disappointed, they remain pleased or dissatisfied. To shed a tear for a neighbour's woe—to feel the raptures of benevolence, in relieving the distressed—to share the joy of the joyful, and sympathize with the wretched, are pleasures unknown, or ridiculed by the insensible; yet, as of all others, these are the pleasures most unalloyed and divine. The most desirable sweets of society are no less strangers to the unfeeling heart. They cannot experience that ardent love of their country which inspires the breast of the patriot—they are incapable of a true and refined paternal, or filial affection—far less can they taste the delights of genuine love, or exalted friendship. In all these cases, they can only embrace appearances, while at bottom they possess little more than those appetites which they have in common with the brute creation.

But it were needless to declaim after this manner, if it is not in our power to mend or improve our feelings more than to enlarge the stature of our bodies. But I observed already, that a want of these is oftener the effect of habit than any deficiency in our nature. To resist the influence of such a habit should be our care. Although we see many around us disregard, or ridicule sensibility of heart, perhaps account it a disease or weakness; far from adopting their sentiments, we ought to pity and contemn their ignorance. Nevertheless it requires the strictest attention, to defend ourselves against the almost universal contagion: when one is engaged in the pursuits of ambition or interest, and beset with persons blind to every other consideration, it will be found extremely difficult to preserve all that delicacy of soul which might be natural to him. Even in our childhood, our feelings begin to suffer and to be impaired, while they are yet but in a manner beginning to dawn. We are early taught the rudiments of cruelty, and the seeds of compassion are eradicated from our breasts, by being often severely treated ourselves, but especially by being taught to make a sport of the misery of our neighbours, or of the inferior animals. No less pains are taken by example, and by precept, to persuade us, that to be rich, to be fine, to eat and drink, are the chief ends and happiness of our being: these notions continue to be inculcated upon us as we grow up, and at last too often absorb all our faculties, and efface more than half our feelings. Besides, the many crosses and disappointments we meet with in life, must of necessity somewhat sour the finest temper, and deaden the highest sensibility.—In opposition to all these circumstances, which conspire to destroy our natural elegance of soul, our most effectual antidote is frequently and freely to indulge our feelings.—The world of fancy and of life do both furnish many objects, well calculated for such a purpose. To persons of taste and refinement, the polite arts will always prove a source of the most agreeable amusement, while many of them are nobly fitted to awaken and exercise every power and feeling of the soul.—Poetry, history, music, and painting, have a direct tendency to warm and interest our affections. When our emotions are extinct, we ought to be very cautious of stifling them.—Would here it is only

of obſervation, that the affections are generally on the ſide of virtue and our duty; at leaſt while they are unſeduced by the miſtakes and prejudices of our reaſon, or the corrupt examples of others.

In fact, moſt of our feelings may be reduced under the head of conſcience, or the moral ſenſe; which acts by many different methods, always to the ſame purpoſe, namely, to ſhew us the laws of *nature* and *propriety*. So far as our leſſer feelings are blunted or impaired, ſo far our delicacy in matters of right and wrong will be leſſened.

Finally, the higheſt ſenſibility of ſoul is no ways incompatible with the greateſt wiſdom and prudence: but, on the contrary, thoſe who have been moſt remarkable for an eminent ſhare of ſenſe and diſcretion, who have raiſed themſelves to the higheſt ſtations in life, and paſſed through it with the greateſt applauſe, have frequently been no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the amiable and manly quality of a *feeling heart*.

AMERICANUS.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

EUGENIA—*Or the* COQUETTE.—*A true ſtory.*

EUGENIA is ſtill poſſeſſed of wit, wealth, and beauty. For her wit ſhe was admired in her youth; for her wealth ſhe is ſtill apparently reſpected; but for her beauty ſhe was adored by ſeveral. When, obedient to her ancient parents commands, ſhe traverſed the market, or viſited the ſhop; whether ſhe lent her hand to a true admirer, when in the exerciſe of thoſe duties, or preſented it to a fop, *Eugenia* was ſtill reſpectable. Grace was in every motion; humility ſeemed to triumph in her eyes; but pride, predominant pride, preſided over her heart.

But be it demanded, whence did this pride proceed? was ſhe not foſtered with it in her cradle? was ſhe not lulled by it to ſleep, at a more advanced period? Did example deter her from vice, or lead her to virtue?—Alas! Eugenia's parents were diſſipated and luxurious; they looked forward to immenſe wealth; and, whilſt they courted, they beſtowed adulation. Pride, pomp, and luxury dazzled their eyes. Without a particle of principle, her father countenanced Britiſh depredation, at a time when the hirelings of tyranny were not ſparing in the arts of devaſtation.

A youth admired her—a foreigner—ſent for education to a certain ſeminary in one of the then American provinces. Spending his time between New-York and Philadelphia, when vacation was permitted to him, he ſaw—and being a youth, admired her beauty. As poſſeſſed of ſentiment he acknowledged many other charms in her, but ſhe ſoon diſplayed the character of the jilt. It muſt be owned he was alſo poſſeſſed of many perſonal graces. Manly, yet endued with ſoftneſs, he was welcome to the ſociety of well-educated men; and was equally endeared to the converſation of ladies of vivacity.—He is now ſettled in his native land, poſſeſſed of a woman, who boaſts on-

ly thoſe real charms, (and how amiable are they!) which conſtitute the perfect wife. His children are like olive-branches around his table. The *true* friend of his boſom, convinced of his various virtues, diſplays all the delicacy of conjugal affection. He acknowledges her's with ardour, in return. They both confeſs the bounty of heaven; and as ſhe never experienced the deceit of a fop, ſo he congratulates himſelf, that he has eſcaped from the ſmiles of a coquette.

An ESSAY *in* PRAISE *of the* FIRESIDE.

THE ancient poets, who are generally ſuppoſed to be the greateſt maſters of thought, attributed their happy exerciſe of it to their great patron the ſun; and that they might enjoy its kind influences with more purity, we find them quitting the ſmoke and riches of the city, for ſome country retirement, where they might temper the directer rays with cooling breezes, ſhady groves, purling ſtreams, and melody of birds; where they might behold nature without diſguiſe, and copy her without interruption; where they might at once earn their laurels and gather them.

Our northern poets think themſelves warranted to follow thoſe great originals, who yet, from the difference of climate, &c. ſeem to ſtand in little need of ſuch cooling refreſhments.—It would make one ſmile to ſee them, beyond even poetical fiction, invoking even the gentle gales, while they are ſhivering under the bleak northeaſt, or at beſt, when

Lull'd by zephyrs thro' a broken pane.

I have often wondered why our writers ſhould not ſometimes lay the ſcene of their poems, where in reality they took their riſe.—The fire-ſide is ſurely capable of the moſt ſurpriſing imagery, by being diverſified (if the poet pleaſes) with ſerpents, crackers, rockets, and the like ſhort-lived gay creation of combuſtibles.—Theſe, Mr. *Addiſon* has ſomewhere obſerved, are abundantly capable of fable and deſign, and to our modern poets no leſs full of moral.—Thoſe that have not Italian fancy for fine proſpects, and latent ruins, may by this means perpetuate their names (like the wiſer *Dutch*) in ſome over-glowing night-piece. I myſelf, methinks, am enamoured with my ſubject, and ready, with Sir *John Denham*, to make it an example of juſt writing as well as the theme:—For lo! my chimney affords me

A happy temperature of heat and light,
Warm without rage, and, without glaring, bright.

But I confine not my obſervations to the poets alone, I appeal to compoſers of all denominations whether a briſk fire, and a clean ſwept hearth, has not brightened their imaginations, produced ideas, like a kind of hot-bed, and made them amazed at their own fecundity.

The robust, the busy, or unthinking part of the world, perhaps are little sensible of the attractives of the hearth; but the men of speculation, the only men of authority in the point before us, look upon it as their most comfortable retreat: Wearied with the fatigues, or, what is worse, the impertinences of the day, they retire to their own home, as the mind does into her own breast, and solace themselves in the most cheerful part of it.—Disguise and restraint are here laid aside, and the soul, as well as the body, appears the more beautiful for its dishabille. That quintessence of earthly happiness, which in warmer climates was expressed by sitting under ones own *vine*, is with us more sensibly felt by ones own *fireside*.

But the fireside is not only a friend to a bachelor in solitude; it is noted to a proverb to be always so in company; it brings us to a nearer converse with one another, by which means it promotes reconcilement between enemies, and mirth and society between friends. There is a sort of sullenness in the tempers of the Americans, which the fire softens, as it does metals, and renders them fit for use.—How often has there been a room full of visitants, who could not furnish out an hour's conversation, for no other reason but because they were at too great a distance from one another? The same assembly, brought into closer order, has proved excellent company; it has reminded me of the dogs in a chace, (I hope I shall be pardoned the comparison) who open with less frequency when they spread round the field at first setting out, but when the game is started, and they have all one point in view, they run united in full cry. While I am speaking in praise of a sedentary life, I am not afraid to draw comparisons from the pleasures of the most active. The fire-side dispels the gloominess of the brow, and throws upon the countenance not only the ruddiness of youth, but its cheerfulness. Here I have seen a gay semicircle of ladies resemble the beauties of the rainbow without its tears; and at other times a galaxy of white aprons more enlivening than all the blue in the brightest sky.—United with that sex by the fireside, how serene are our pleasures, and how innocent; we have laughter without folly, and mirth without noise: Thereby, reflecting the beams of the *sunny bank* before us, we make the chimney-corner, I will not say, in Cicero's expression, the *forge* of wit, but in our modern philosophical term, the *focus* of it.

Recipe *for a* Lady's Dress.

LET simplicity be your white, chastity your vermilion; dress your eyebrows with modesty, and your lips with reservedness. Let instruction be your ear-rings, and good-humour the front-pin on your head. Submission to your husband is your best ornament. Employ your hands in housewifery, and keep your feet within your own doors. Let your garments be made of the silk of probity, the fine linen of sanctity, and the purple of chastity.

THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

Our SAVIOUR'S CURING *the two blind* MEN.

[*By* CHARLES CRAWFORD, *Esq.*]

AND as he travel'd o'er the favor'd land;
Dispensing blessings with a liberal hand,
Behold, two men, who were depriv'd of sight,
Cried, give, great son of David, give us light.
And when he sees their piteous state he saith,
Have ye a lively and a settled faith,
That I at once can this relief afford?
Yea this, they said, we firmly think, dear Lord!
Though dark without, depriv'd of nat'ral sight,
Yet on their minds had beam'd celestial light.
For him they knew, whom not the eagle-eye
Of worldly penetration could descry.
Straight at his high invincible command,
As on their eyes he put his sacred hand,
The darken'd orbs let in the beamy day,
And mercy soften'd its unusual ray.

O light! fair blessing of indulgent heaven,
Among the sweetest that to man are giv'n;
For we enjoy through thy propitious mean,
The bliss that flows from many an earthly scene:
Of friendship and of virtuous love the smile,
Which stern despair to comfort can beguile:
The cheering splendor of the glorious sun,
Rising, or when he near his course hath run;
The milder beauties of the sober night,
When the pale moon emits her silver light;
Or when the stars dispense a feeble day,
Scatter'd, or crowded in the milky way;
All that the seasons different disclose,
The vernal blossom, and the summer rose,
The varied leaf of the autumnal grove,
And winter's river which forgets to move;
The dawn of morning, and the close of ev'n,
With all the fair magnificence of heav'n.

To him that's blind, ah what afflictions flow!
Ah! pleasure, how incapable to know!
To him to wander o'er the summer fields,
Nature no heart-felt satisfaction yields:
For at each slow and trembling step he takes,
A thousand horrid fears suspicion wakes,
Lest he should tumble headlong in a pit;
Or aught his poor unguarded head should hit.
Idle at home, unnumber'd woes await
His helpless, child-like, melancholy state;
At home, as well as every where abroad,
Subject to ceaseless wrong, abuse, and fraud.

Ah! when thou see'st the beggar wanting eyes,
Let gen'rous pity in thy bosom rise;
And, cheerful, something to the wretch dispense,
That thou superfluous hast from Providence.

Note—*At Liverpool, (for some good can come out of Liverpool) they have lately established a plan for the relief of the indigent blind, which in many particulars is deserving of high admiration. A sketch of the plan is to be seen in the Edinburgh magazine for March* 1792. *Forty-three blind poor were some time ago engaged at Liverpool, in different branches of manufacture, such as spinning linen yarn and reeling it, making baskets and hampers, &c. &c. and earned weekly from three to six shillings sterling each. They became happy, it is said, not merely by being relieved from poverty, but by enjoying some society. It was proposed also to instruct the blind in the principles of christianity, which might afford them consolation. If Liverpool, which has been the seminary of that abomination, the slave-trade, should continue in these acts of charity, and should relinquish the slave-trade, she may, with repentance, make her sins,* which have been as scarlet, white as snow, *and, after all, not vengeance of heaven may render her desolate.*

November, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The CLAIMS *of* AMBITION, AVARICE, *and* ENVY.

SATAN, on his infernal throne,
Surrounded by his nobles, shone.
Around, inferior fiends appear,
Resolved his mandates to revere.
Applause they shout—the horrid yell
Shook the vast hall, and spread thro' hell.

" Stand forth, ye candidates for fame,
He cried, " let each prefer his claim.
" No partial judge ye here shall find;
" Firm is the temper of my mind.
" He who can best to sin entice
" The heir of (once) our Paradise,
" Viceroy of hell *we* shall proclaim—
" Second alone to *us* in fame."

Like thunder, dormant in a cloud,
A solemn silence hush'd the crowd;
Till, conscious of superior worth,
Enraged AMBITION sallied forth.

" Monarch of Hell,' he cried, " canst " thou
" Delay my merits to allow?
" Each page my glorious deeds relates—
" Have I not crush'd both thrones and " states?
" See! to my power the virtuous yield;
" I load with death the ensanguined field;
" Doubly augment terrestrial woes,
" 'Till earth a scene of slaughter glows.
" From haughty Nimrod, down to Clive,
" Continued triumphs I derive;
" And still on earth maintain my sway,
" Where cruel despots slaves obey.——
" Why are infernal deeds confessed?
" Did I not fire thy gallant breast,
" Jehovah's lofty throne to gain;
" Or, missing that, in hell to reign?"—
He ceased---acknowledging his cause,
His furious party roared applause.

With steady step, and artful mien,
Now cautious AVARICE is seen.
Not even prodigal of words,
Scarce elocution he affords;
But in his hand a purse displays,
At which e'en fiends with rapture gaze.---

" Satan! Ambition's claim reject;
" And my superior deeds respect.
" Through reason's glass my worth be- " hold;
" And know, that Rage oft yields to " Gold.
" Whether his arts inflame the great,
" Or upstarts seize the helm of state;
" Know, that to me his efforts tend,
" Riches his object and his end."---

Well-pleased, his words his party hear;
But from intemperate joy forbear.

Cunning and malice in her eyes,
ENVY's dire frame is seen to rise.
Her heart a stranger was to rest,
And serpents twined around her breast.

" Ruler of Hell! attend to me!
" From envy Satan is not free.
" In Heaven that fury I inspired,
" Which thy all-grasping spirit fired
" To meditate unheard-of things,
" And e'en dethrone the King of kings.
" To vie with Avarice I disdain;
" Ambition must confess my reign.
" What though in thee he claims a part;
" Chiefly I swayed thy restless heart;
" And bade thee seek the glorious prize,
" Owning no equal in the skies.
" Intent thy orders to obey,
" To hapless man extends my sway.
" The filial and parental breast
" Alike my fury have confessed;
" Empire I claim beneath the skies,
" Bursting asunder human ties;
" Tho' oft Ambition's haughty claim
" Deprives me of my well-earn'd fame.

In former days admired, beloved,
His speech by Satan was approved.---

" Envy! at fate no more repine;
" My delegate henceforward shine;
(The demon spoke) " nor hiss at me,
" Condemned to greater woes than thee.
" Thou canst no more advance in evils,
" If envious of the chief of devils."

Philadelphia, Nov. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SONNET.

BRIGHT were my prospects as yon beaming sun;
My breast was like the cloudless heavens serene;
Young, vig'rous, volatile,---I seem'd to shun
Misfortune's deadly enervating mien.

But, dare I name:---the idea rends my heart!
Dispair's grim aspect stares me in the face;

None whom I ask a solace can impart,
Now grief doth all my former bliss deface.

Gone, with my parents, are my hopes---now joy,
Once rais'd to ecstacy, is ever fled!
They, who for me did all their time employ
Are now, alas, both numbered with the dead!
On thee, sole-ruling Sire! on thee I call,
Who ne'er forsook the humblest of us all.

H. K——, jun.

Nov. 6, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ADDRESS *to* MODESTY.

[*Occasioned by reading an elegant essay on Modesty, in the last month's Asylum.*]

MILD is thy aspect, gentle is thy air;
Tho' unassuming, not devoid of care;
Easy, yet graceful, unaffected, kind,
Meek, and ne'er anxious to display thy mind.
Image of innocence! 'tis thou dost grace
The soft engaging beauties of the face;
Tho' all reserve, still do thy looks impart,
A good, a noble, and a feeling heart.

H. K——, jun.

Nov. 6, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

STANZAS.

SWEET is the breath of rosy morn,
And bright the dew on yonder thorn;
But sweeter, brighter far her charms,
Whose every smile my bosom warms.

Tho' lightnings flash, or thunders roll,
She whispers comfort to my soul,
Restrains impetuous wrath and grief,
And e'en in death shall yield relief.

Methinks I hear the curious cry,
"Repeat her name, for whom you sigh,"
Her name with candour I declare;
'Tis CONSCIENCE, ever mild and fair.

Not all the rage of cruel war,
Nor poverty, which most abhor,
Nor other ills, which man infest,
Shall tear her from my peaceful breast.

Philadelphia, Nov. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SONG.

WHEN the ready pen I seize,
And each couplet flows with ease,
Deaf to fame, to fortune blind,
Youth and beauty cheer my mind.

Happy in my humble lot,
Wealth and grandeur are forgot,
Clara's form delights my eyes;
Clara's worth excites my sighs.

Cynics, then, no more upbraid
Homage thus to merit paid.---
In her placid, beauteous mind
E'en the grave might solace find.

Tho' upon a distant shore,
I her beauties would adore.
Who then can my flame upbraid,
Since I *daily see the maid?*

Philadelphia, Nov. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The PROGRESS *of* FOLLY.

AS he who, standing on a height,
To various scenes extends his sight;
Beneath him sees the river flow;
Above him hears the tempest blow---
Meads, hills, and vales enchant his eyes,
Whilst culture bids the harvest rise---
Thus I, life's middle state obtain'd,
(Much has been lost, though something gain'd)
Survey what has been pass'd, and view,
With fancy's eyes, what may ensue.

Sweet state of *child-hood!*---none despise
The music of the infant's cries;
Or call that infant knave or dunce,
Since we ourselves were children once.
Thus sympathy prevails, and all
Pay homage to the scream and squawl,
Th' apothecary's charge disburse,
And owe due deference to the nurse.
The nurse, sole mistress of debate,
Rules, the chief minister of state.

Tis her's at times to slap or kiss,
(And nothing can be done amiss)
To drive the pin aslant or strait;
With Moll to scold; with Tom to prate;
With dog and cat hold disputation,
Just as two factions sway a nation;
And for herself to cut and carve,
Tho' all the world beside should starve.

Sweet state of childhood!---Nurse discarded,
With presents, silks, and lace rewarded,
Flaunts gaily, and is heard to praise
The boy, her cares could only raise;
Kindly she visits him each Sunday,
And dining, dinner gets for Monday.

Sweet state of *boy-hood*! *Master* now,
A different field prepares to plough,
Or, rather in that field engage,
Which chiefly shows the warrior's rage.
The youth, inspired by Dryden's rhymes;
With Hannibal the Alps who climbs;
Who, like Achilles, fights or flies,
Or, bold as Ajax, Heaven defies;
That youth (such is the will of fate)
On a *mild* master's *nod* must wait;
And, whilst he smarts for various blunders,
Great *Jove!* despises all thy thunders.

Sweet state of youth! the lad survey,
Escaped from flogging and from play.
He meditates on various matters;
Bows to the rich, the bold man flatters,
The features of the age expresses;
Flirts with coquettes; like coxcombs dresses;
And dares, tho' wondrous are thy ways,
To tread, O Policy! thy maze.

Now manhood's serious scenes appear,
That autumn of the ripening year;
Yet, whilst I hoped to be renown'd,
An early, cruel frost I found.
My real friends, alas! I lost;
My time by trifles was engross'd;
And, whilst I hoped ease to procure,
Dire poverty knock'd at my door.

Now to the grave's sad verge I tend,
Without a comforter, or friend.
Age can no better prospect show,
Than one continued scene of woe.
Each limb, now with the ague shakes;
Now I experience, Gout! thy aches.
Trusting to him who reigns on high,
I faint, I sicken, pine and die.

Remember ye! my verse who read,
That Wee to Poly must succeed.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

POVERTY *the* BEST SECURITY.

AT ten, says Tom, my doors I bolt and lock;
And then securely sleep, 'till six o'clock.
Thomas! says Dick, the man who would molest
Thy sleep, must be both knave and *fool* confessed.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

To a HAUGHTY BEAUTY.

WHAT means that frown upon thy brow?
Why does thy tongue those strains allow,
Which terrify each wondering swain?
Art thou so conscious of thy sway,
As thus to teach us to obey,
By admiration, mixed with pain?
Shouldst thou this conduct, Cynthia! long pursue,
All will neglect the belle, and slight the shrew.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The GENEROUS WOOER.

TO Jane my ardent vows I paid,
And fondly loved the charming maid;
But vainly different arts I tried;
The lovely nymph for Damon sighed.

The secret once disclosed, I flew
To Damon, who my passion knew;
And bade him (tho' with fault'ring voice,
And sorrow) in his fate rejoice.

United now in Hymen's bands,
Each heart with gratitude expands.
Her candour truly I commend,
And in my rival find a friend.

Ye who admire a shape and air,
And those frail charms which grace the fair,
Know love such raptures never knows,
As from a generous action flows.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

(Continued from page 281.)

MR. FINDLEY—I object to the resolution for calling upon the secretary to report upon the ways and means, as contrary to the principles of the government, and inconsistent with the purity and independence of the house of representatives, whose duty it is, exclusively, to prepare or originate revenue laws.

I consider this mode as a transfer of legislative authority. It is a serious question, if legislative authority can be transferred by the constitutional representatives of the people? if it can, how far? If any part of the constitutional legislative trust can be transferred, may not all or any part thereof be so? The opinion I have received, and in which I am firmly persuaded, is, that neither the legislature, nor any branch thereof, can do any part of legislation by proxy—the members only are responsible for the discharge of that trust; they are the official judges of the principles and objects of legislation.

The house of representatives are peculiarly intrusted with the authority of digesting fiscal arrangements and principles; of saying what shall be a subject of taxation, to what amount, and the uses to which it shall be applied—this power is supposed, by the constitution of the united states, and by the constitutions of most or all of the separate states, to be a most important and influential part of legislative authority; hence the senates, though they are also the people's representatives, and are, in other respects, vested with equal legislative authority, are not permitted to prepare revenue systems; their attempting to do it, would be an unconstitutional usurpation of legislative power.

The method of transferring a power to the secretary, to digest the principles of money-bills, and report them officially to the house, accompanied with his arguments in support of the principles and arrangements contained in his report; which has been sanctioned by congress, and is now about to be repeated by the resolution before you, I consider as a method of originating money-bills highly improper in itself, and which hath a dangerous tendency.

But a worthy member informs us, in defence of the resolution, that the secretary can prepare a revenue system with more consistency, with respect to the existing revenue laws, and better calculated to support public credit---that it will pass with greater facility through the house---that the members are unequal to the business—that the members do not possess sufficient information, to enable them to originate the business---that the secretary only is possessed of the information competent to it---that we can judge of his systems when they are laid before us—as there will be always some to find out his defects and expose them. All these arguments, respecting the incompetency of the members for the business, and the superior fitness of the secretary, apply against the government itself; if the constitution vests this house with a trust which it is not qualified to discharge, it is time to change it, and adopt a more simple form. It is much better to have a minister responsible to the people, for the revenue systems they introduce, than to have his responsibility lost in the legislature—If the members of this house are only to give a sanction to the minister's systems, it is better to dispense with that sanction. I have no doubt but that the secretary of the treasury is very capable of discharging this duty; and if he was a member of this house, would be fit for his part of that trust---but this is not the place for panegyric---The minister's eminent abilities, or his want of them, are all one to me on this subject---The modesty of gentlemen, who declare themselves unfit, is not very honourable to the house, nor easy to be credited. Let the house fix its own principles, judge for themselves the proper sources of revenue, and of the uses to which it ought to be applied; and capacity and information will grow out of the investigation. If the members differ in opinion, as may be expected, they will propose different systems; and, by comparison and discussion, they will become the better acquainted with the subject. If the members stand in need of that information which arises from the operation of existing laws,

or of the efficiency of operating revenues, the president has a constitutional power to call upon the heads of departments for the information, and communicate it to the legislature; and the house, by its own authority, has a right to call for information, from any officer or department, upon any subject respecting which it may originate laws---this is a power incidental to legislation. But with respect to the general interests of the community, the knowledge of which must grow out of a representation of all the local interests, this can only be found among the members of this house, and if the representation was more numerous, and more equal, that kind of information would be still more perfect---certainly this house contains in itself more extensive knowledge of the people's wants and pressures, of their situation and prepossessions, and of their resources, than the most enlightened minister can possibly do; especially when it is considered, that all the documents locked up in the minister's office are at their command---The practice of the house, in depending on the minister to originate principles, and to furnish the house with volumes of arguments in favour of those principles, and the custom of members having recourse to those arguments, as authorities, has done more to dishonour congress, and lessen the members in the public esteem, since the change of the government, than any other part of their conduct. How can congress be respectable, if they spend long sessions, at a great expense, on the most influential parts of legislation, only to give a sanction to ministerial systems; or, at best, only to criticise and correct them.

If, as it is alleged, the secretary's framing revenue systems, is better calculated to support public credit, and gives the business a greater facility in its passage through the house---I say, if this is true, it proves the influence to be dangerous in a high degree---Certainly, public credit and the means of supporting it, ought to depend only on the will of the legislature, and neither on the wisdom nor the caprice of a minister; indeed, if it stands upon any other authority or influence, it is not fixed upon stable ground---for the legislature may, and will, some time or other, act upon its own principles, and in this case the change of systems may be the more sensible.

Gentlemen say, that it is proper the secretary should be permitted to accompany his report with arguments, in order to explain the principles thereof, and state the facts with which it is connected. I wholly object to a minister's dictating or propounding revenue systems, and still more to his supporting them with arguments; as it is carrying the influence of the executive administration to a still greater extent---the president has a constitutional right to communicate information, to recommend such business as he may think expedient, and to exercise a limited negative after the bills have passed both houses---but if the president was to claim a right to originate a money-bill, it would be judged contrary to the principles of the government, and dangerous to liberty. How much more dangerous, and I had almost said degrading, is it, to transfer that power to a temporay minister, not chosen by the people, nor responsible to them.

But one gentleman says, that this is made the secretary's duty, by the law which constitutes his office---that it is made his duty by law, is a sufficient apology for him in undertaking and discharging it, but not for the house in transferring it to him. I deny that the house can be bound by a law, with respect to its powers and duties; this house is as free to originate money-bills as the last house was, and any future house will be as free as this; the constitution is the only law whereby the powers and duties of this house can be governed, nor can we either decline a duty or transfer a trust, which has been specially bound on us by it. Nor will I agree with the gentlemen, that if it is an evil, it arises from necessity; certainly, if we are capable of altering, amending, or changing the principles of the secretary's reports altogether, as is granted, we must be capable, with due industry and attention, to originate them ourselves.

But we are further told, in defence of referring to the secretary, that if we do not do it ourselves, the committee employed, or some of the members, will have recourse to the secretary for assistance, and that, in this way, his principles and arguments will be introduced, with equal influence, secretly; and that it is better to face it openly, and for all the members to have equal advantages from it.

This argument is plausible indeed, but will not bear examination: so far is the method contended for from preventing private influence, that it produces it in a much greater degree; from the nature of the case, we may conclude, that a minister will not digest a revenue system, without adapting it to the views and interests of a number of

influential members, who will assist him in preparing it, and in influencing others to support it, when introduced; indeed it gives the greatest possible stimulus to private influence; for it not only combines an influential private interest to support it, but the minister's character, and the character of his friends, are much higher pledged for its success, than if the influence was private: Thus, I apprehend, this method is not only objectionable on account of the ministerial systems and arguments which the members receive in this house, and peruse in their closets; but also, on account of the greater inducement it must give to a more dangerous private influence, and, in time, to corruption.

But it is said, that we may, upon the same grounds, object to the president's address, recommending business to the legislature; and that myself and others, who oppose the reference in question, very lately advocated a report of the secretary of war, by carrying the substance of which into a law, we have saddled the government with a debt, for which we are now about to provide.

I have observed already, that the president has a right, created by the constitution, to recommend business to the legislature, as well as to give information of the state of the union; in consequence of this trust, he, by a report of his secretary, gave us information of the state and misfortunes of the Indian war, and his opinion of the force and expence that he judged necessary, to enable him to bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion; this information was constitutional and necessary; well knowing that an inadequate force, and the short enlistments, rendered the two last campaigns disgraceful, and increased the strength and irritation of the enemy, I voted for the increase of the army, and for longer enlistments; but I voted for higher wages than was reported, and we shall yet regret that this was not agreed to; and, I think, in doing so I was promoting the best interests of the country, and countenancing no unconstitutional influence. Surely, if the gentleman would reflect for a moment, he would not quote this as a precedent, to justify this house in voting a transfer of the peculiar and exclusive constitutional privileges, and unalienable trust of this house, to originate or digest the principles of revenue systems, to an executive officer, not known in the constitution, nor appointed by, or dependent on this house.

It has also been observed, that there is independence and good sense enough in this house, to examine, to alter, or reject a report of the secretary, notwithstanding his arguments which accompany it—and that we have done so in various instances. This I freely grant; nay I advocate more than this; I believe there is good sense and independence enough in this house, to digest and originate revenue systems, without the secretary's doing it for us. But what does this argument amount to? Why it amounts to giving the peculiar trust of originating to the secretary, and reserving that power to ourselves which the constitution vests in the other branch; the senate cannot prepare a money-bill, but they may alter, amend, or reject such as we prepare and transmit to them; and they have done so: is not this giving the power and influence in a great degree to the secretary, which the constitution gives to us? It is not in fact giving up the point? The senate are not permitted to digest their arguments, and transmit them to us, in support of business which they prepare; neither are we permitted to do so with them: Nay, it is unparliamentary to mention what we think would be agreeable to the senate, or the president, in our arguments on the floor, lest it should have the appearance of influencing the measure: The one branch cannot call upon the other officially to originate business; how unreasonable then is it, to refer the most important business to the secretary, to digest and prepare; and also to digest arguments for us, which we order to be printed, and put into every member's hand!

But this method is highly objectionable on another ground; it is putting the power of the business out of our own hands, with respect to the time of our deliberation; this is certainly more than we are authorized to do, or can be accountable for to our constituents—if this practice becomes established, I shall not be surprised to find a minister, in connection with his friends in the house, delaying to report on the most important business till near the end of the session, when many of the members are gone home, or so anxious to get home, that there will not be a sufficient opportunity for deliberation—such things are not usually attempted in public bodies, without the aid of a minister; in this house, I have heard the close of a session mentioned, as an apology for the passing of an improper law—it is not necessary to create new snares for the deliberations of the house. Before I had the honour of a seat in this house, I was informed of this method of originating revenue systems, and I always thought it wrong;

—I am not confident the opposition to it will succeed at this time; the session is drawing near a close, and the opposition of members, who advocate the proposed reference, may delay the business, if originated in a way disagreeable to them; these reasons may induce some members to vote for it now, that would not do so in other circumstances—however, if it is carried, I hope the precedent will not be strengthened by a large majority. For my part, I pledge myself to persevere in opposition thereto; and have no doubt, but when a more equal and more numerous representation occupies this floor, this unwarrantable practice, of transferring so influential a part of the legislative trust, will be changed.

The question being put on the motion before the house—viz.—"*Resolved*, that the secretary of the treasury be directed to report to this house his opinion of the best mode for raising the additional supplies requisite for the ensuing year"—the same was carried—*Yeas* 31---*Nays* 27.

Yeas. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Hillhouse, Huger, Jacobs, Kitchell, Laurance, Learned, Livermore, Murray, Schoonmaker, Sedgwick, Seney, W. Smith, Steele, Sterrett, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Tucker, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward, and Wayne.

Nays. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Clarke, Findley, Fitzsimons, Giles, Gregg, Griffin, Grove, Heister, Key, Kittera, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Muhlenberg, Niles, Page, Parker, Tredwell, Venable, White, Williamson, and Willis.

In pursuance of this resolution of the house, the secretary, on the 17th of March, reported his opinion of the best method of raising the additional supplies. The deficiency to be provided for was estimated at 525,950 dollars; which he proposed to raise by additional duties on sundry imported articles. Before he proceeded to an enumeration of the articles, he stated the reasons which induced him to prefer this mode of raising the required sum.

"*Three* expedients occur to the option of the government for providing this sum. —*One*, to dispose of the interest, to which the united states are entitled in the bank of the united states. This, at the present market price of bank stock, would yield a clear gain to the government, much more than adequate to the sum required. *Another*, to borrow the money, upon an establishment of funds either merely commensurate with the interest to be paid, or affording a surplus which will discharge the principal by instalments within a short term. The *third* is, to raise the amount by taxes.

"The *first* of these three expedients appears to the secretary altogether unadviseable. First—It is his present opinion, that it will be found, in various respects, permanently the interest of the united states to retain the interest to which they are entitled in the bank. But, secondly—If this opinion should not be well founded, it will be improvident to dispose of it at the present juncture, since upon a comprehensive view of the subject, it can hardly admit of a doubt, that its future value, at a period not very distant, will be considerably greater than its present—While the government will enjoy the benefit of whatever dividends shall be declared in the interval. And, thirdly—Whether it shall be deemed proper to retain or dispose of this interest, the most useful application of the proceeds will be as a fund for extinguishing the public debt. A necessity of applying it to any different object, if it should be found to exist, would be matter of serious regret.

"The *second* expedient would, in the judgment of the secretary, be preferable to the first. For this the following reasons, if there were no other, is presumed to be conclusive—namely, That the probable increase of the value of the stock may itself be estimated as a considerable, if not a sufficient fund, for the repayment of the sum which might be borrowed. If the measure of a loan should be thought eligible, it is submitted as most adviseable to accompany it with a provision, sufficient not only to pay the interest, but to discharge the principal within a short period. This will, at least, mitigate the inconvenience of making an addition to the public debt.

"But the result of mature reflection is, in the mind of the secretary, a strong conviction, that the *last* of the three expedients, which have been mentioned, is to be preferred to the other two.

"Nothing can more interest the national credit and prosperity, than a constant and systematic attention to husband all the means we possess for extinguishing the present debt, and to avoid, as much as possible, the incurring of any new debt. Necessity alone therefore can justify the application of any of the public property, other than the annual revenues, to the current service, or the temporary and casual ex-

igencies of the country—or the contracting of an additional debt, by loans, to provide for those exigencies. Great emergencies indeed might exist, in which loans would be indispensible. But the occasions which will justify them must be truly of that description. The present is not of such a nature. The sum to be provided is not of magnitude enough to furnish the plea of necessity.

"Taxes are never welcome to a community. They seldom fail to excite uneasy sensations, more or less extensive. Hence a too strong propensity, in the governments of nations, to anticipate and mortgage the resources of posterity, rather than encounter the inconveniencies of a present increase of taxes. But this policy, when not dictated by very peculiar circumstances, is of the worst kind. Its obvious tendency is, by enhancing the permanent burthens of the people, to produce lasting distress, and its natural issue is in national bankruptcy. It will be happy, if the councils of this country, sanctioned by the voice of an enlightened community, shall be able to pursue a different course.

"Yielding to this impression, the secretary proceeds to state for the consideration of the house, the objects which have occurred to him as most proper to be resorted to, for raising the requisite sum by taxes.

"From the most careful view which he is able to take of all the circumstances, that at the present juncture naturally enter into consideration, he is led to conclude, that the most eligible mode, in which the necessary provision can at this time be made, is by some additional duties on imported articles. This conclusion is made with reluctance, for reasons which were noticed upon a former occasion, and from the reflection, that frequent and unexpected alterations in the rates of duties, on the objects of trade, by inducing uncertainty in mercantile speculations and calculations, are really injurious to commerce, and hurtful to the interests of those who carry it on. The stability of the duties to be paid by the merchants is in fact of more consequence to them than their quantum, if within reasonable bounds. It were therefore much to have been wished, that so early a resort to new demands on that class of citizens could have been avoided, and especially that they could have been deferred until a general tariff could have been maturely digested, upon principles, which might, with propriety, render it essentially stationary.

"But while there are these motives to regret, there are others of a consoling tendency, some of which indicate, that an augmentation of duties, at the present juncture, may have the effect of lessening some public evils, and producing some public benefits.

"It is a pleasing fact, if the information of the secretary be not very erroneous, that the improved state of the credit of this country enables our merchants to procure the supplies which they import from abroad upon much more cheap and advantageous terms than heretofore, a circumstance which must alleviate to them the pressure of somewhat higher rates of duty, and must contribute, at the same time, to reconcile them to burthens, which, being connected with an efficacious discharge of the duty of government, are of a nature to give solidity and permanency to the advantages they enjoy under it. It is certain also, that a spirit of manufacturing prevails at this time in a greater degree, than it has done at any antecedent period, and as far as an encrease of duties shall tend to second and aid this spirit, they will serve to promote essentially the industry, the wealth, the strength, the independence, and the substantial prosperity of the country.

"The returns for one year, ending the thirtieth of September last, evince a much increased importation, during that year, greater far than can be referred to a naturally increasing demand from the progress of population; and announce a probability of a more than a proportional increase of consumption; there being no appearance of an extraordinary abundance of goods in the market. If, happily, an extension of the duties shall operate as a restraint upon excessive consumption, it will be a salutary mean of preserving the community from future embarrassment, public and private. But if this should not be the case, it is at least prudent in the government, to extract from it the resources necessary for current exigencies, rather than postpone the burthen to a period, when that very circumstance may cause it to be more grievously felt.

"The different considerations unite with others, which will suggest themselves, to induce, in the present state of things, a preference of taxes on imported articles, to any other mode of raising the sum required."

These remarks were followed by an enumeration of the articles, on which he recommended the additional duties to be laid. He proposed that the existing duties on those articles should be repealed, and increased duties laid in their stead.

This report underwent a tedious discussion, first in a committee of the whole, and afterwards in the house. The proposal for laying additional duties on imposts was most strenuously opposed, on a variety of principles—It was said that the existing duties were sufficiently heavy, without imposing others still more burthensome and oppressive to commerce; that the proposed duties would, in all probability, tend to a diminution, instead of an augmentation of the revenue, by affording a strong temptation to smuggling; that our extended coast, abounding with harbours, was peculiarly favourable to such illicit practices, which could not be prevented by all the cutters government might employ; that it would be both impolitic and tyrannical to alienate the affections of a respectable part of the community, from the government, by first laying an oppressive tax, and afterwards harrassing them into submission, by a number of cutters, employed for that sole purpose, at an enormous expense; that the secretary himself, in his report of the 17th of December 1790, had entered into a lengthy train of arguments, to show that no additional duties on imports could with safety be laid, at that time; that there did not appear any reasons for changing his opinion, to suit the present occasion, unless his assertion, that "foreign commodities are imported on more advantageous terms than heretofore," and consequently that those commodities would bear an additional burthen, on their arrival here—but so far was this assertion from being verified by facts, that the reverse was more true, many imported articles having been lately raised to a higher price than they formerly bore, in foreign markets; that this hypothesis of a more advantageous importation than heretofore, was not more fallacious, than the visionary project of encouraging manufactures by an impolitic sacrifice of the interests of commerce; and indeed that every attempt to establish manufactures, by such partial measures, must be as unsuccessful as it was unjust, nothing being more evident, than that the advancement of manufactures, must be ultimately regulated by other circumstances.

The plan of ways and means proposed by the secretary was defended, chiefly on the grounds of there being a necessity to raise the money in some way, and of that recommended by the secretary being preferable to any other that had been mentioned. It was also said, that the gentlemen who displayed so much ability in objecting to this plan of ways and means, had not proposed any other in its stead.

The members who were against the secretary's plan, replied, that the *second* mode stated in the report had been mentioned by a member, before the secretary had reported on the subject, yet no further mention was now made of it, but the plan recommended by the secretary was embraced, without hesitation, as if it were because he said it was the best they could adopt. The second plan, viz. to borrow the money, was said to be greatly preferable, as, in this way, moderate taxes would answer the purposes of paying the interest, and of discharging the principal by instalments. At any rate, the mode of raising the acquired supply might, it was presumed, be advantageously varied. An additional duty on the tonnage of vessels belonging to nations not in alliance with us, while it contributed to the revenue, might induce those nations to seek commercial treaties with us; to this duty might be added, if necessary, the money arising from a sale of the western lands. But no part of the plan was more bitterly inveighed against than the establishment of a permanent revenue, when the ostensible and necessary object was, to raise money, for a temporary purpose. There was surely no just reason for repealing permanent duties, appropriated to a permanent object, for the purpose of laying heavier permanent duties to answer the purposes of a campaign. But advantage was artfully taken of a momentary necessity to establish revenues, that would continue to be raised, long after the object for which they had been established ceased to exist. It was therefore moved to amend the bill, by limiting the time for which the proposed duties were to continue; after which the duties heretofore established should again take place, and be appropriated in the same manner as they would have been, had the proposed act never been passed.—Against this amendment it was said, that it was impossible to say how long the war might continue; and that any or every future congress would be as good judges as the present, at what time the whole, or any part of the additional duties ought to be repealed, which they would not fail to do, as soon as such a measure appeared safe and necessary. On taking the question, there was a very remarkable division—there being in favour of the amend-

ment 32, and against it 31---the speaker voted with the latter; so that the house was equally divided, and consequently the amendment was lost.

Yeas. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Findley, Giles, Gregg, Griffin, Grove, Heister, Jacobs, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Niles, Page, Parker, Schoonmaker, Sevier, Shredine, J. Smith, I. Smith, Steele, Sturges, Sumpter, Tredwell, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, and Willis.

Nays. Trumbull, (speaker) Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Hartley, Hillhouse, Huger, Key, Kitchell, Kittera, Laurance, Learned, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Murray, W. Smith, Sterret, Silvester, Thatcher, Vining, Wadsworth, and Ward.

The bill was finally passed, by a large majority.——Yeas 37; Nays 20.

POLITICAL REGISTER.

SPEECH *of the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES *to both* HOUSES *of* CONGRESS, *at the opening of the present Session.*

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

IT is some abatement of the satisfaction, with which I meet you on the present occasion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity, generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hostilities, which have, for some time past, distressed our north-western frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am persuaded, learn, with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours, towards effecting a pacification, have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of perseveriug hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquility to the frontier—to stop the further effusion of blood---to arrest the progress of expense---to forward the prevalent wish of the nation, for peace, has led to strenuous efforts, through various channels, to accomplish these desirable purposes:---In making which efforts, I consult less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable; or if not attainable, to ascertain, unequivocally, that such is the case.

A detail of the measures which have been pursued, and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success, thus far, will, I trust, evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favourable one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by any thing that has yet happened.

In the course of the attempts which have been made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service.---A sanction commonly respected, even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre, the emissaries of peace; it will, I presume, be duly considered, whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern, to be informed, that besides the continuation of hostile appearances among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tenessee river, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of Holston, made with the Cherokee nation, in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations. But the event has not

answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some banditti of another tribe in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the united states in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto defensive precautions, only, have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the united states, or their citizens, is even alleged, as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarrel.

I have reason to believe, that every practicable exertion has been made (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops authorized to be raised, have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete. And pains have been taken to discipline, and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement, from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information, as a guide to the legislative consultations, and, among other things will enable congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be adviseable.

In looking forward to the future expense of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenue for the present year, is likely to supersede the necessity of additional burthens on the community, for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to proceeds from the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostilities.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier; and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory.—To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside amongst them, as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated—This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the united states. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening in local extent; and as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged special interposition on my part, proper and adviseable, and, under this impression, have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution, for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits, which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws.—In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of the government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the supreme court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniencies that are experienced in the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of that system, which tend, in some cases, to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the

courts of the united states, and a supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations, which we may sometime have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint; others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half-dismes; the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondency with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law which establishes the post-office operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country.—Should this, upon due enquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information, will, i doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a constitution for the state of Kentuckey has been notified to me. —The legislature will share with me in the satisfaction which arises from an event interesting to the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you, that since my last communication on the subject, and in further execution of the acts, severally making provision for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins,—one at Antwerp, at the annual interest of four and one half per cent. with an allowance of four per cent in lieu of all charges, and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four per centum, with an allowance of five and one-half per centum in one case, and of five per centum in the other, in lieu of all charges —The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according to the provision made during the last session, has been embraced.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I entertain a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured, to enable you to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government——no measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan which has been made of the bank of the united states, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations, in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the ensuing year, and for such extraordinaries as may require provision, will demand, and, I doubt not, will engage your early attention.

Gentlemen of the senate and house of representatives,

I content myself with recalling your attention, generally, to such objects, not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto, will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents:—such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under divine providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, November 6. 1792.

ADDRESS *from the* SENATE, *in answer to the* PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

ACCEPT, sir, our grateful acknowledgements for your address at the opening of the present session. We participate with you in the satisfaction arising from the continuance of the general prosperity of the nation; but it is not without the most sincere concern that we are informed, that the reiterated efforts which have been made to establish peace with the hostile Indians have hitherto failed to accomplish that desired object; hoping that the measures still depending may prove more successful than those which have preceded them, we shall nevertheless concur in every necessary preparation for the alternative; and should the Indians on either side of the Ohio persist in their hostilities, fidelity to the union, as well as affection for our fellow-citizens on the frontiers, will insure our decided co-operation in every measure, which shall be deemed requisite for their protection and safety.

At the same time that we avow the obligation of the government to afford its protection to every part of the union—we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that even a small portion of our fellow-citizens in any quarter of it, should have combined to oppose the operation of the law for the collection of duties on spirits distilled within the united states; a law repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of the nation, and at this juncture materially connected with the safety and protection of those who oppose it.—Should the means already adopted, fail in securing obedience to this law, such further measures as may be thought necessary to carry the same into complete operation, cannot fail to receive the approbation of the legislature, and the support of every patriotic citizen.

It yields us particular pleasure to learn that the productiveness of the revenue of the present year will probably supersede the necessity of any additional tax for the service of the next.

The organization of the government of the state of Kentucky, being an event peculiarly interesting to a part of our fellow-citizens, and conducive to the general order, affords us particular satisfaction.

We are happy to learn that the high state of our credit abroad, has been evinced by the terms on which the new loans have been negociated.

In the course of the session we shall proceed to take into consideration the several objects which you have been pleased to recommend to our attention; and keeping in view the importance of union and stability in the public councils, we shall labour to render our decisions conducive to the safety and happiness of our country.

We repeat with pleasure our assurances of confidence in your administration, and our ardent wish that your unbated zeal for the public good, may be rewarded by the durable prosperity of the nation, and every ingredient of personal happiness.

JOHN LANGDON, President *pro temp.* of the senate.

The President's Reply.

I DERIVE much pleasure, gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence in my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledge-

ments. In my future endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty may call, I ſhall not ceaſe to count upon the firm, enlightened, and patriotic ſupport of the ſenate.

G. WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS *from the* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *in Anſwer to the* PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

SIR,

THE houſe of repreſentatives, who always feel a ſatisfaction in meeting you, are much concerned, that the occaſion for mutual felicitation afforded by the circumſtances favourable to the national proſperity, ſhould be abated by a continuance of the hoſtile ſpirit of many of the Indian tribes; and particularly that the reiterated efforts for effecting a general pacification with them, ſhould have iſſued in new proofs of their perſevering enmity, and the barbarous ſacrifices of citizens, who, as the meſſengers of peace, were diſtinguiſhing themſelves by their zeal for the public ſervice. In our deliberations on this important department of our affairs, we ſhall be diſpoſed to purſue every meaſure that may be dictated by the ſincereſt deſire, on one hand, of cultivating peace, and manifeſting, by every practical regulation, our benevolent regard for the welfare of theſe miſguided people; and by the duty we feel, on the other, to provide effectually for the ſafety and protection of our fellow-citizens.

While with regret, we learn, that ſymptoms of oppoſition to the law impoſing duties on ſpirits diſtilled within the united ſtates, have manifeſted themſelves, we reflect with conſolation, that they are confined to a ſmall portion of our fellow-citizens. It is not more eſſential to the preſervation of true liberty, that a government ſhould be always ready to liſten to the repreſentations of its conſtituents, and to accommodate its meaſures to the ſentiments and wiſhes of every part of them as far as will conſiſt with the good of the whole, than it is, that the juſt diſtribution of the laws ſhould be ſtedfaſtly maintained.

Under this impreſſion, every department of government, and all good citizens muſt approve of the meaſures you have taken, and the purpoſe you have formed to execute this part of your truſt with firmneſs and energy: and be aſſured, ſir, of every conſtitutional aid and co-operation which may become requiſite on our part: and we hope, that while the progreſs of contentment, under the law in queſtion, is as obvious as it is rational, no particular part of the community may be permitted to withdraw from the general burthens of the country, by a conduct as irreconcileable with national juſtice, as it is inconſiſtent with public decency.

The productive ſtate of the public revenue and the confirmation of the credit of the united ſtates abroad, evinced by the loans at Antwerp and Amſterdam, are communications the more gratifying, as they enforce the obligation to enter on ſyſtematic and effectual arrangements for diſcharging the public debt, as faſt as the conditions of it will permit; and we take pleaſure in the opportunity to aſſure you of our entire concurrence in the opinion, that no meaſure can be more deſirable, whether viewed with an eye to the urgent wiſh of the community, or the intrinſic importance of promoting ſo happy a change in our ſituation.

The adoption of a conſtitution for the ſtate of Kentucky, is an event in which we join in all the ſatisfaction you have expreſſed; it may be conſidered as particularly intereſting, ſince, beſides the immediate buſineſs reſulting from it, it is another auſpicious demonſtration of the facility and ſucceſs, with which an enlightened people is capable of providing, by free and deliberate plans of government, for their own ſafety and happineſs.

The operation of the law eſtabliſhing the poſt-office, as it relates to the tranſmiſſion of newſpapers, will merit our particular inquiry and attention; the circulation of political intelligence through theſe vehicles, being juſtly reckoned among the ſureſt means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government, as well as of recommending every ſalutary public meaſure to the confidence and co-operation of all virtuous citizens.

The several other matters which you have communicated and recommended will in their order receive the attention due to them. And our discussions will, in all cases, we trust, be guided by a proper respect for harmony and stability in the public councils, and a desire to conciliate, more and more, the attachments of our constituents to the constitution, by measures accommodated to the true ends for which it was established.

By order of the house,

JONA. TRUMBULL, speaker.

To the above the President returned the following reply.

GENTLEMEN,

IT gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction which your address affords me. I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws—and the assurance which you at the same time give me of every constitutional aid and co-operation, that may become requisite on your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the house of representatives:—a perseverance in which can alone secure, under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

G. WASHINGTON.

EXPOSITION *of the Motives on which the* FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY *have proclaimed the Convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the Suspension of the Executive Power in the hands of the King.*

THE national assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping the powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing trouble into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings, menaced the liberty of France; they fancied they had a right to fix to what degree the interest of their despotism permitted us to be free, and flattered themselves that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, fall down before the arms of their slaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

The national assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; and the king employed against these decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction which the constitution granted him. In the mean time those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the king; it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority, that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the king, his relations, his former body guards. And while the correspondence of these facts with the conduct of the king authorized, nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be sus-

pended without being annihilated, shewed clearly how the veto, suspensive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the king the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the legislative body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy discontents that announced storms, and the suspicions which accused the executive powers displayed themselves with energy.

The national assembly were not discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants, not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing military stores; and the king was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept but too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negociations conducted by a ministry, weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remained unexecuted, could not but be regarded as a snare or an insult. The league of kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league, appeared the emperor, brother-in-law to the king of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to him alone, which the constituting assembly, deceived by the ministry, had maintained by sacrificing to preserve the hope at that time well founded, of an alliance with the house of Brandenburgh.

The national assembly thought that it was necessary for the safety of France, to oblige the emperor to declare, whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give succours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her, treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of separating the king from the nation, and of representing a war against the French people, as succours granted to his ally. The emperor's answer augmented the distrust which this combination of circumstances rendered so natural. In it he repeated the absurd charges against the assembly of the representatives of the French people, against the popular societies established in our cities, with which the partizans of the French ministry had long wearied the counter-revolution presses. He made protestations of his desire to continue the ally of the king, and he had just signed a new league against France, in favour of the authority of the king of the French.

These leagues, these treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had solicited them in the name of the king, had been concealed by the ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no effort to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy of monarchs, had shewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the king had sincerely united his own cause to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, struck every mind; the national assembly thought it their duty to examine with vigor the conduct of the minister for foreign affairs; and a decree of accusation was the result of this examination. His colleagues disappeared with him, and the king's council was formed of patriot ministers.

The successor of Leopold followed the course of his father. He thought proper to require for the princes, formerly possessing feifs in Alsace, indemnifications incompatible with the French constitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length he announced other causes of complaint, which could not, he said, be discussed, before having tried the force of arms.

The king seemed to feel that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying a shameful weakness; he seemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an interest in his fate, and to desire his alliance, for no purpose but to sow seeds of discord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces, and to stop or disconcert their motions, he proposed war by the unanimous voice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the assemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by shewing troops in readiness to second them on the first success, by preparing a retreat for them, by persisting in a threatening league, the king of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence ruinous in their expense, exhausted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conspirators dispersed through the depar-

ments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them and perpetuated trouble. Never did hostilities more really justify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

The national assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former ministers, on the secret councils of the king; but they soon saw the patriotic ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the king.

Our armies were tormented with political divisions; discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the ministry. Attempts were made to transform into the instruments of party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintaining the national independence.

The machinations of the priests, become more active in the moment of war, made a restraining law indispensible; one was passed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers, was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while at the same time it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their disquietudes might have produced; the formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the king, and the patriotic ministers were dismissed.

The constitution had granted to the king a guard of 180 men, and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation, or with terror; hatred of the constitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the best titles for being admitted into it.

The assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion. and the plots of counter revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation by the king bestowed praises on those very men, whose dismission from his service he had just pronounced, on those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

The new ministers excited well-founded distrust, and as this distrust could not stop at them, it fell on the king himself.

The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution.—The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition in it; they solicited the recal of the patriotic ministers, and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the national assembly; after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present the same petition to the king, and to present it under the forms established by law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed into the palace. The zeal of the mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and his patriotism gave him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the king, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

The king had mounted the ensigns of liberty, he had done justice to the citizens by declaring that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the ministers saw nothing in the events of the twentieth of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris, and those of the departments, between the people and the army, between the several portions of the national guard, between the citizens who remained at their homes and those who were flying to the defence of the

state. The very next day the king changed his language, a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies; one of their generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A considerable number of directors of department by unconstitutional resolutions, disclosed the plan they had long before formed, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives; between the national assembly and the king. Justices of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve those of the patriots, whose vigilance and whose talents were the most dreaded. Already one of those justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dextrously concerted for finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the royal authority. Letters were found from the minister for the home department, directing the employing of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the national assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of disorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished in fraternal union, the divisions that had appeared but too often in the national assembly, and from this also the means of safety might have sprung. The prosecutions commenced by the king's order, at the instance of the intendant of the civil list, might have been stopped: the virtuous Pethion punished by an unjust suspension, for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the king; and it was possible, that this long series of faults and treasons, might have fallen again entirely upon those perfidious counsellors, to whom a confiding people had long the habit of attributing all the crimes of our kings.

The national assembly then saw, that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country; they instituted a commission charged to consider of and prepare a plan of these means.

The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts, and yet in the midst of complaints unceasing repeatedly of the inaction of government, on the neglect, or ill management of the preparations for war, on the useless or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, ministers unknown or suspected, were seen to succeed one another rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity, and the same principles.

A declaration of the general of the army, which doomed to death all freemen, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In it the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the king of the French. Twenty-six millions of men were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family; their blood must wet the earth to avenge the slightest insult; and the king, instead of expressing his indignation against a manifesto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, seemed to oppose to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid disavowal.

Who then can be astonished that distrust in the supreme head of the executive power should inspire citizens with the desire of no longer seeing the forces intended for the common defence at the disposition of a king, in whose name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquility, confided to him, whose interests were the pretexts of all her troubles? To these motives, common to all France, were joined others, peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the families of the conspirators at Coblentz, forming the habitual society of the king and his family. Writers paid by the civil list, endeavoured, by base calumnies, to render the Parisians odious or suspected in the eyes of the rest of France. Attempts were made to sow division between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guard was agitated by perfidious manœuvres, in order to form in it a party of royalists. In fine, the enemies of liberty seemed to be divided between Paris and Coblentz, and their audacity increased with their number.

The constitution enjoined the king to give notice of imminent hostilities to the national assembly; and long solicitations were necessary to obtain from the ministry the tardy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The constitution pronounced

abdication against the king if he did not, by some formal act, declare his opposition to enterprizes undertaken in his name against the nation, and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the king's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military household for him out of France; and these facts were known for more than six months before the king, whose public declarations, whose remonstrances with foreign powers might have hindered the success of these measures had discharged the duties imposed upon him by the constitution.

It was on motives thus powerful that numerous petitions, sent from a great number of the departments, the wish of the several sections of Paris, followed by the general expression of the wish of the whole commons, solicited the forfeiture of the king, or the suspension of the royal power, and the national assembly could no longer shrink from the examination of this grand question.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-considered examination, after a solemn discussion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhausted; all at once, they appeared united as one man in the same will; they marched towards the place of the king's residence, and the king came to seek an asylum in the assembly of the representatives of the people, whose seat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris, with the citizens of the departments, would always render an asylum inviolable and sacred.

National guards had been charged with defending the residence which the king had abandoned, but with them Swiss soldiers were stationed. The people had long seen with painful surprize, Swiss battalions sharing the guard of the king, although the constitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been easy to foresee that this direct violation of the law, which by its nature constantly obtruded itself on every eye, would sooner or later occasion great misfortunes. The national assembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, discussions, motions made by individual members and referred to committees, had apprised the king several months before of the necessity of dismissing from about his person men, whom every where else the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not see retained about a constitutional king, in direct contradiction to the constitution, without suspecting that they had become the instruments of the enemies of their liberty.

A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, supported by the ministry, demanded changes in the decree; the national assembly consented to those changes. A part of the soldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew disquiets; and it was contrary to the sense of the national assembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of August they were employed on a service, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away, they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the instant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal signs of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the instant when a deputation of the national assembly was seen advancing in the midst of arms, to speed the words of peace and conciliation, and to prevent carnage. Then nothing could stop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of those of which they had long been the victims.

In the midst of these disasters, the national assembly, afflicted but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their post, they took the oath to save France, and they sought for the means.

They saw but one, which was that of recurring to the will supreme of the people, and inviting them to exercise immediately their unalienable right of sovereignty, which the constitution has recognised, and which it could not subject to any restitution. The public interest required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a national convention, formed of representatives invested by them with unlimited powers; it required no less than that the members of this convention should be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the national assembly could not restrain the powers of the sovereign people, from whom alone the members of that assembly hold all the powers they possess. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simple regulation traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for elections were respected, because the establishment of new forms, even sup-

posing them to have been better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws; because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a national convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature had prescribed, such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory, for which the right of citizenship is exercised, of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the national assembly have made as short as possible the periods of the operations which the convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of 40 days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the king had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people, the only means of saving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the king, when the term at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived, that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands, which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution, and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

The constitution foresaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people, those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which is fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously prescribed.

The national assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the choice into other hands. The assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given but to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious personal views; they decreed, that the election should be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attend their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our division. Woe to the man who listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself wholly to the common defence, who shall not see, that at the moment when the sovereign will of the people is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Pillnitz, and their accomplices.

It is in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss in a peaceable assembly, the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared rash among any other people, seemed to us not above the courage and the patriotism of the French; and undoubtedly we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other interest, but that of liberty, of sacrificing every other sentiment to the love of our country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your representatives have exercised for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wishes, in making a use of their powers, which neither they nor you could foresee to be necessary. For us, we have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty, that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it, at the post in which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, at least, on quitting that post, the consolation of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we shall not have to dread that of our consciences; to whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood, which a conduct more weak would have made to flow: we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed) GUADET, President.

Goujou, G. Romme, Marans, Crestin, Arena Lecointre Puiravaux, Secretaries.

Paris, August 20, 1792.

The CHRONICLE.

FRANCE.

FROM the confused, contradictory, and evidently erroneous accounts, which have been received in the course of the present month, respecting the affairs of France, little can with certainty be collected. It does not appear, that the operations of the armies have been productive of any very important or decisive event. In a London paper of the 2d of October, there is an extract of a letter from Ostend, dated the 29th of September, in which it is said, that the duke of Brunswick took possession of Chalons on the 22nd, and of Rheims on the 24th of that month; and that his advanced guard was at Meaux, about twelve leagues from Paris—the letter-writer adds, that Dumourier's army, consisting of 25,000 men, had been surrounded by the Austrians, and obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion—This intelligence wears a very suspicious appearance; as Paris accounts, to the 30th of September, received at London, took no notice of any such events.—It is worthy of remark, that in the sitting of the 29th of September, a letter from the commissioners to the northern army, dated *Chalons, Sept. 27th*, was read in the national convention, in which they mention that "the situation of the enemy was such as to give them great hopes."—French accounts state that volunteers continue to flock to their armies, which however are not well supplied with military stores; that their enemies are reduced to the greatest straits, from a scarcity of provisions, and that numbers desert daily to the standard of liberty.—M. Montesquiou has over-run almost the whole duchy of Savoy, and taken possession of Chambery, the capital. He was every where well received by the inhabitants, who seem to have a relish for the principles of French liberty.

On the twenty-first of September the national assembly was dissolved, by the meeting of the convention on that day. The national convention, having chosen M. Petion president, immediately proceeded to business. The following decree was passed on the morning of their meeting, and received with loud and long-continued applauses—"The national convention decree, that royalty is abolished in France." A com-

mittee of twelve has been appointed to prepare the plan of a constitution; which is to be published "for the examination of all free and enlightened men in France and Europe," and is not to be discussed until two months shall have elapsed, from the time of its being presented. Mr. Paine and Dr. Priestly were elected members of the convention; the former took his seat, but the latter declined serving.

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 10.

ACCORDING to a letter from Louisville, in Kentucky, (dated October 14) "A treaty was opened on the 24th of Sept. at Post Vincennes, with seven nations of Indians, viz. The Eelrivers, Weachteon, Piankishaws, Potawathemas, Kickapoos, Kiskaskias, and Musquetoes. The treaty was concluded on the 27th of the same month, These nations have buried the hatchet, and are now entirely broke off from the league of the war nations." It is added, that the principal chiefs of these nations, sixteen in number, are now on their way to this city.

The town of Fayetteville, in North-Carolina, suffered a very considerable loss by fire, on the evening of the 23d of October. About forty tenantable dwelling houses and stores were consumed, in spite of every exertion, and twenty-eight buildings of other descriptions. The whole loss in buildings is said to amount to 30,000l.—no estimate is yet formed of the loss in goods and houshold furniture, but it is thought to be considerably less than that in buildings.

The troops at and about Pittsburgh are shortly to move into winter quarters. The place fixed on for this purpose is said to be on the Ohio river near Log's-Town, where the soldies are to erect huts, to shelter themselves during the ensuing winter.

Extract of a letter from Holland.

"You have already been informed that our government has prohibited the importation of tea, coming from your ports, and now has laid an additional duty of one per cent on all American imports, and an half per cent on exports for your continent. This measure has been taken to counterbalance the prohibition lately made on your side, of Holland gin in cases; which article was one of the few we were able to furnish you with, in return for your cargoes of tobacco, rice, &c. As, by this innovation, your trade is to suffer much more than ours, your rulers may, of course, be convinced of the truth of that French adage, "Qui trop embrasse, mal etreint."

Learn this short lesson from the Dutch,
That "*they lose all who grasp too much*".

17th. On the 30th of October last, a violent gale from the eastward did some damage to the shipping in the harbour of Charleston, S.C. fortunately, it being low water on the bar, during the height of the gale, the shipping did not suffer so much as might have been otherwise expected. Some wooden buildings were blown down.

Letter from James Seagrove, *Esq. (agent for Indian affairs in the southern department of the united states) to the citizens of the state of Georgia.*

"It being (in my opinion) of some consequence to the citizens of Georgia to know the disposition of the Creek Indians towards them at this time, I have therefore taken this mode of assuring them, that, from the whole of my late communications, and the investigation of matters, I do not find any disposition in the chiefs of the Creek nation, to be unfriendly to any part of the united states. On the contrary, I have reason to think it the wish of nine tenths of that nation, to be in strict friendship with us.

Many and base have been the attempts of late to mislead those unfortunate people, notwithstanding which, I will venture to assure the citizens of this country of a continuance of peace, and a friendly intercourse between them and the Creek nation, unless the restless, vicious disposition of some of the white people among us, should oblige the Indians to adopt a different line of conduct.

All attempts from any foreign quarter to mislead them, I consider of little or no consequence; much more mischief is to be dreaded from the ill-disposed among ourselves. It therefore becomes incumbent on every good man in this country, as he values peace, and the prosperity of Georgia, to use every exertion to prevent any outrage or injury being committed on the Indians, or their property. Herewith I send, for immediate publication in the Gazette, three talks which I received a few days past from chiefs who are well known to be of the first consequence in the nation. I am in possession of many other strong proofs that we stand well with the southern tribes, but those I now send will serve to convey the wishes of the Creeks."

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of OCTOBER, 1792.

Days.	Baromet. Eng. foot. In.	1/12	1/10	Thermometer of Farenh. D.	1/10	O	Reaum. D.	1/10	O	Anemometer Prevail Wind	rain	thunder	tempest	WEATHER.
1	29	9	11	54	5		10	0		W				Fair,
	29	8	15	74	7		19	0		N	1			Overcast, rain
2	29	11	9	37	6		2	5		N	1			Rainy
	30	0	5	54	5		10	0		N				Cloudy
3	30	1	0	32	0		0	0		W				Fair
	29	11	11	60	1		12	5		SW				Idem
4	29	10	0	43	2		5	0		W				Idem
	29	11	2	68	0		16	0		SW				Idem
5	30	2	0	41	0		4	0		W				Idem
	30	2	8	65	7		15	0		NW				Idem
6	30	4	0	37	2		2	3		NW				Idem
	30	3	15	65	7		15	0		NNW				Idem
7	30	4	0	40	5		3	8		NNW				Foggy, fair
	30	2	15	68	0		16	0		NNE				Fair overcast
8	30	2	6	39	9		3	5		ENE				Fair
	30	1	15	68	0		16	0		ENE				Idem
9	30	1	3	45	5		6	0		NNE				Idem
	30	0	3	68	7		16	3		NNE				Idem
10	29	11	2	41	0		4	0		NNE				Idem
	29	10	11	78	1		20	5		SW.				Idem
11	29	10	15	45	5		6	0		SW				Idem
	29	9	15	77	9		20	4		SW				Idem
12	29	8	9	54	5		10	0		S				Overcast
	29	4	8	68	0		16	0		E	1		1	Rain, high wind
13	29	4	15	51	0		8	5		WSW	1		1	Idem, Idem
	29	8	9	70	2		17	0		W				Cloudy
14	29	10	11	47	7		7	0		SW				Fair
	29	10	11	77	0		20	0		SSW				Idem
15	29	8	15	61	2		13	0		SSW	1			Rainy, cloudy
	29	8	8	58	0		16	0		SSW				Small rain
16	29	11	6	43	2		5	0		W				Fair
	30	0	2	75	4		19	3		WNW				Idem
17	30	0	6	38	71		3	0		W				Idem
	30	0	15	64	61		14	51		W	1		1	Idem
18	29	10	6	47	7		7	0		W				Foggy
	29	10	6	46	6		6	5		NW	1			Rainy, windy
19	30	2	4	34	2		1	0		E				Fair
	30	2	3	61	9		13	3		E				Idem
20	30	1	11	39	2		3	2		ESE				Foggy
	29	11	2	65	7		15	0		ESE				Cloudy
21	29	8	12	52	2		9	0		SSW	1			Cloudy, rain
	29	9	15	56	7		11	0		W				Fair, windy
22	30	3	6	32	4		0	2		W				Idem
	30	4	6	50	7		8	3		W				Idem
23	30	6	0	28	6		1	5	0	E				Idem
	30	5	9	60	1		12	5		E				Idem
24	30	5	6	34	2		1	0		E				Idem
	30	3	4	65	3		14	8		S	1			Idem, rain
25	30	2	2	46	8		6	6		SW				Idem
	30	2	1	72	5		18	0		W				Idem
26	30	2	2	39	9		3	5		W				Idem
	30	2	1	77	0		20	0		W				Idem
27	30	4	0	40	1		3	6		E				Idem
	30	3	0	72	5		18	0		E				Idem
28	30	2	7	47	7		7	0		SW				Foggy
	30	1	4	68	9		16	4		SW				Fair
29	30	0	4	50	0		8	0		SSW				Foggy
	30	0	11	68	0		16	0		SSW				Overcast
30	30	2	5	51	1		8	5		NE				Idem
	30	3	3	59	0		12	0		NE				Idem
31	30	3	3	52	2		9	0		ENE				Idem, windy
	30	0	9	58	5		11	8		ENE	1			Rainy
RESULT.	23 gr. elev. 30 6 0			10th. gr. de. of heat 78 1 20 5										
	12th least el. 29 4 8			23d least de. of heat 28 6 1 5										
	Variation 1 1 8			Variation 49 5 22										
	Mean eleva. 30 9			Mean degree 54 9 10 2										
										0	W	9	2	Fair.

THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

Columbian Magazine,

FOR DECEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

CONTENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG, BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

TO THE PUBLIC.

SINCE the Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine came into the hands of its present proprietors, their utmost endeavours have been exerted, to render it worthy of that liberal patronage, with which it has been honoured, in almost every part of the united states. But while they gratefully acknowledge, that public approbation has kept ample pace with their endeavours to deserve it, they are under the necessity of announcing the discontinuance of this publication. A brief statement of the motives which have led to this determination, is a tribute of respect, which the proprietors owe to the numerous and respectable patrons of their past labours.

The principal motive, then, is to be sought for in the present law respecting the establishment of the post-office, which totally *prohibits* the circulation of *monthly* publications, through that channel, on any other terms than that of paying the highest postage on private letters or packages; a prohibition as injurious in its consequences, as the principles on which it is founded are partial and oppressive.—In Great-Britain, custom immemoral has insured to *magazines, as well as newspapers*, a safe and cheap conveyance to country subscribers, through the medium of the post-office. While these states were colonies of Great-Britain, *the people* enjoyed that privilege in a still greater extent, by having both newspapers and magazines conveyed to them, without any charge whatever. For some years after the revolution, this privilege was continued to the citizens of these states; and its salutary effects were apparent, in the political, and other useful information which was thus diffused among the people, of every description, and in every part of our country.

That this ancient and inestimable privilege of American citizens, derived to them from their British ancestors, should be wrested from them, so soon after their struggle for liberty and *equal* rights, by the very men whom they had appointed to watch over the liberties and welfare of their country, is at once a subject of astonishment and regret.—Of *astonishment*, that a legislature, in a country calling itself *republican*, should arbitrarily abridge the people of a right, which is not only enjoyed by the domestic subjects of a European *monarchy*, but is also extended to Nova-Scotia, and other foreign dependencies of that monarchy—and of *regret*, that we should so soon lose sight of those republican principles, on which the American revolution was founded, as to adopt a measure calculated to destroy the means of political information, and to involve the people in *more than monarchical ignorance*.

The public will doubtless be astonished to hear, that, on a motion made, in the house of representatives of the united states, by Mr, Smith, of South-Carolina, to place *monthly* publications on the same footing as *daily*, *weekly*, or other newspapers, no more than *seventeen* members rose in favour of the motion!

The operation of this *unequal* and *oppressive* law having rendered it impossible for the proprietors to convey this miscellany to their numerous subscribers in the interior parts of the country, but at the expence of losing a great proportion of them through a bad conveyance, they have determined to relinquish their undertaking; and to employ their time and capital, in a way which may be more conducive to their private interest.

*** Should any person be disposed to continue this work, under the discouragement above stated, he may be informed of the present state of the subscription list, and of any other circumstance respecting it, by applying to William Young.

N. B. Subscribers that have not been supplied with numbers for those lost, will be supplied so long as the proprietors have any unappropriated.

☞ *THOSE who have accounts against the Asylum are desired to present them for immediate payment; and those in arrears are requested to make payment, to William Young, who will furnish receipts in behalf of the proprietors.*

THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

Columbian Magazine,

FOR DECEMBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HONORIA: *Or the* MOURNER *comforted.*

MR. EDITOR,

HAVING perceived, that your compilation is truely miſcellaneous, and that you publiſh pieces, which you conceive may conduce to public utility, I flatter myſelf, that you will not reject the hiſtory of Honoria, although written by herſelf, and conſequently in a ſtyle far from being elegant. But the matter, I truſt, will atone for every other deficiency; and in that confidence I begin my narrative.

I was born in ——, in the year 1769. My parents poſſeſſed that reputation, which invariably reſults from induſtry and probity. He cultivated his farm with unceaſing aſſiduity, whilſt ſhe ſuperintended the internal concerns of the family with equal application. They were not rich, but they were poſſeſſed of competence; and I was their only child; the pleaſing ſource of their happineſs for ſome years; but afterwards, the bitter fountain of their ſorrows. At fifteen (ſuch had been the care and bounty of my parents) I was accounted the beſt inſtructed maiden in the county, and was indulged in ſuch apparel, as more frequently excites reprehenſible vanity, than laudable pride. No amuſement was denied me. The ſleigh in winter was ever at my call, and my excurſions during the reſt of the year were ſo frequent as to excite envy and provoke calumny. But I ſmiled at envy; and, as I was innocent, I deſpiſed calumny.

Hitherto I had been a ſtranger to love; for my mind had not been affected by novels. But the period approached, when I was doomed to experience that paſſion, attended with many of its horrors. Sylvanus, the ſon of a reſpected neighbour, frequented my father's houſe. His repeated viſits to the capital of the ſtate had given him an air, a manner, and a ſtyle of converſation, ſuperior to the youth of his age in the neighbourhood. He was at firſt diſtant and polite. With my father he converſed on politics, agriculture, commerce, &c. but his

eyes declared, that I was the object of his visits. So acceptable was his company to all the family, that, on the appearance of bad weather in the evening, he was as sure of a bed at our house as at his own abode. Sylvanus, however, was absent about a week. This circumstance excited our wonder; but how extreme was our sorrow, when we were informed, that a fever had hurried him from this vale of woe! Mild youth! the comfort of your parents! and honoured by your acquaintance! surely virtue will excuse the sensibility of Honoria, as she silently drops the tear, sacred to the memory of thy virtues.

And now, sir, my sufferings commenced. His frequent visits had been remarked; and I was too artless to disguise my sorrow. Reports injurious to my reputation, prevailed. When they were communicated to me, I fainted; and this proof of mental delicacy was misconstrued into guilt. A fever ensued, which supplied malevolence with a new topic for scandal. But youth, temperance, and a good constitution preserved me from the grave, that I might encounter still greater misfortunes. The calumny, which I had survived, proved fatal to my parents. They knew my innocence; but, unable to stem the torrent of obloquy, yielded to its violence. I shed the tears of filial piety over their graves; and, after a few weeks, confiding my small inheritance to the care of a worthy magistrate, quitted the scene of misery, and repaired to Philadelphia, with all my clothes, and a small supply of money. On my arrival, I met with Cleander, an old neighbour, at the house where I lodged. He had heard of the aspersions thrown on my character, and delicately hinted his conviction, that they had originated in malice. He even proceeded so far as to propose marriage to me. "No! Cleander! said I, although you are assured of my unjust sufferings, others ought to be equally convinced. It does not become a youth of character to marry a suspected woman." The tears trickled down his cheeks, and in silent agony he departed, after having deposited on the table a sum of money, which I caused to be carefully returned to him. This circumstance infused some consolation into my bosom. A man of merit had acknowledged my virtue, and had even offered me his hand in marriage.

The mistress of the boarding-house, whose temper was truly amiable, after many expressions of sympathy (for she often found me in tears) inquired into the nature of my situation. I freely communicated it to her with every material circumstance of my life. "Stay with me," she said, whilst the tears of pity trickled down her cheeks, "stay with me, till you can be better provided. You shall want for nothing, which you can in reason require. Your assistance will be of service to me; and your labour shall be light." What must have been my feelings, Mr. Editor, when I thus found at once compassion and a home! I was happy to find, that her husband was equally well-disposed towards me; and, discharging the duties of a house-keeper, I conciliated the regard of both family and customers. Yet I must confess, that some transient visitors were too often troublesome. My delicacy was frequently hurt; but my resolution to continue in the paths of industry and virtue continued firm and unshaken.

After remaining in this truly hospitable abode about six months, I received a visit from Cleander. His appearance renewed my former feelings, and the blushes of shame were diffused over my cheeks. "Innocence is at length made manifest, exclaimed the youth, and the tongue of malevolence is silenced. Thou much injured woman! peruse this note; and let peace be no longer a stranger to thy bosom." I sighed, and opened it, with trembling hands; but, on perceiving the name of Sylvanus subscribed to it, I dropped it with trepidation and horror. He took it up, and read it. It was replete with every respectful sentiment, which virtuous love and esteem could dictate; mentioned his intention of proposing marriage to me, and enjoined his heir at Law to pay me, should his disorder prove mortal, the sum of five hundred pounds. This paper, written during the remission of his fever, was carelessly thrown amongst other writings: but discovered by Cleander, whom Sylvanus had appointed his executor.

Ye, who have endured the malice of calumny, reflect on my feelings at this juncture. Although in the presence of Cleander, with streaming eyes I blessed my creator, and expressed my gratitude, almost prostrate on the floor. He raised me in the most affectionate manner; and retired, in order to summon the landlady to my assistance. I was conveyed to bed, and tenderly attended. After a few days my agitation of mind subsided; and I paid due attention to the addresses of Cleander. We were married, sir, under the roof of my once master and mistress. Every day increases my love for my husband, who evinced his regard for me, when misery seemed to be my lasting portion.

Let those, who peruse my history, console themselves with reflecting, that injured virtue is often triumphant even in this world; but at all events will find its due reward in heaven.

Yours, &c. HONORIA.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On MODERN EDUCATION.

Multa tulit, fecitque puer.—
HORACE.

SO much has been written on education, that I almost despair of being capable of throwing any new light on the subject. It is certain, that instruction was intended for our improvement; but how has it been abused? From the nursery to the senate of a nation, each disciple has been taught to err; and, what is worse, to err systematically. Paying due deference to the authority of antiquity (liable, however, to many exceptions) I mean to enter upon a liberal discussion of what I have advanced.

The right of exposing children to death by cold, famine, or the fury of wild beasts, was frequently practised by the Grecians, and

other people. With respect to "passing through the fire to Molach," I shall only say, that, if it was not attended with death, it must have been a severe law in the code of institution. The rites of public initiation, which maidens sustained in honour of a certain reputed goddess, must have been terrible in the opinion of some, altho' to others it might have appeared by no means repugnant to reason. By moderns, however, it universally reprobated, the *polished* natives of Otaheite excepted. The Orgies of Bacchus, although not unknown at present, are certainly not practised from religious motives; and the disciples of the huntress Diana, would meet with but little applause in these days.

Not adverting to Roman education, and passing over the middle ages, as we would traverse a torrent, let us advert to times (not far remote from the present æra) acknowledged by some to have been enlightened by true reason. And here, sir, be it recollected, that children then were educated nearly as parrots are now. They were stunned into a partial knowledge of dead languages; and consequently understood them like parrots. Which of mature age they were taught to heap syllogism on syllogism, like Pelion on Assa. Metaphysics supplied mountains, by which they hoped to ascend the summit of knowledge; but, like their prototypes, the fabled giants, they were overpowered by the thunder of truth, and sunk into the abyss of contempt. It is acknowledged, that too much of this system still continues. Ancient languages are still too highly valued, and the precepts of Aristotle are not as yet consigned to oblivion, with the other rubbish of the pagan schools.

But it is evident, that education begins to assume a more pleasing demeanour, and to exhibit rules tending to more general utility. Science, untrammelled by the restraints of logic, pursues her course with bolder steps. The natural and moral world are submitted to her inspection. Lightning has been brought from the clouds by the art of man. Manufactures have been advanced, and the general good of the species promoted.

Yet, we cannot but grieve at finding, that too much of the old Leaven of education still continues. Of what avail is it to the cause of science, that boys should be flageliated into a knowledge of dead languages, which, since translations of all the useful authors can be obtained with ease, are become altogether useless. Is language principally our object? or is science ultimately our end? If the former, with respect to education, claims the preference, *words* will be chiefly attended to, not things. The reverse will be the consequence, if science be duly attended to.

In every country an adequate knowledge of the force, elegance and perspicuity of the language, generally spoken in it, will be sufficient for the reception and conveyance of ideas, whether originating in nature, or communicated by art. To the cultivation of that language therefore, due attention should be paid; and since commerce, as well as true learning, demands a knowledge of some foreign tongues, the acquisition of such knowledge ought not to be neglected. But it must be insisted on, that, if the present track of instruction is

blindly followed, the meaning of my motto will be, viz.——Much has the boy endured, and much performed——And let me add,—Frequently to no good purpose whatever.

H. F. W.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

An ACCOUNT *of the late* DR. GEORGE GLENTWORTH.

THE profession of medicine embraces so many objects and duties, and unfolds such a variety in the human character, that the lives of eminent physicians have ever been considered as a very interesting branch of biography. There appears to be a peculiar latitude of merit in the gentlemen who have been distinguished in this profession, above all others. While some of its members—such as Boerhave, Haller, and Cullen are born to dazzle and enlighten the world by the splendor of their talents, there are others such as Rutherford, Plummer, and Hope, who seem destined to adorn it by the solidity of their judgements and the amiableness of their virtues; Both are equally necessary to the advancement and reputation of medicine. Of the latter class of phycisians was the late Dr. *George Glentworth.*

He was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 22nd of July 1735, and after passing through a course of academical education he served a regular apprenticeship to the late Dr. Peter Solamans who was at that time in very extensive business as a physician and surgeon in the city of Philadelphia.

After the expiration of his apprenticeship he entered the British army as a junior surgeon where he not only acquired a large stock of practical knowledge in his profession, but such a knowledge of men and things as afterwards furnished him with many of those useful and pleasant anecdotes with which he often rendered his conversation both instructive and agreeable.

In the year 1755 he went to Europe where he spent three years in attending publick lectures on medicine, and in visiting different hospitals. He received the degree of Doctor of medicine in the year 1758, after having first composed and defended a thesis on the pulmonary consumption. He was a cotemporary as a student in Edinburgh with the present illustrious professor of anatomy Dr. Monroe, with whom he contracted such an intimacy that the doctor continued for many years afterwards to speak of him with great kindness and respect.

Upon his return to his native country, his old preceptor in medicine took him into partnership with him, by which means he was suddenly introduced into extensive and profitable business.

In the year 1760 Dr. Stork, a celebrated oculist visited this city. Dr. Glentworth attached himself to him in such a manner as to be

present at all his operations, and by which means he become ever afterwards eminent for his knowledge of the diseases of the eyes, and was oftner consulted in them than any of his brethren in the city.

In the great struggle for American liberty and independence he took a decided part.—He was a genuine whig, and in 1777, he evinced the sincerity of his principles by turning his back upon his business in the city, and accepting of an apointment, first of a regimental surgeon, and afterwards as a senior surgeon in the military hospitals of the American army in which capacity he remained until 1780. —His experience acquired in the British hospitals during the last French war in America qualified him to be eminently useful in the hospitals of the united states. He was systematic and faithful in everything he did. The soldiers loved him like a father; and it was in consequence of his uncommon attention to them that he caught the hospital fever which had nearly cost him his life.

After the year 1780, he returned to private life and resumed his former business in Philadelphia.

It might afford some instruction to students of medicine to point out the circumstances which create and support a reputation in medicine. In the present instance it will be sufficient to observe that the business and reputation of the late Dr. Glentworth were derived in the *first* place from his regular education in medicine, and his great familiarity with diseases in the early part of his life. *Secondly*, from his fondness for reading new publications of every kind of medicine. *Thirdly*, from his great humanity to his poor, and his disinterestedness in his attendance upon his rich patients, and *Lastly*, from his uncommon good temper which in no one instance perhaps, in the course of his life was ever ruffled in a sick room. This last circumstance does equal honour to the good sense and spirit of a physician, for none but a coward could resent that petulance which sickness and pain sometimes produce even in the best of men.

The disease which put an end to the inoffensive and useful life of Dr. Glentworth was supposed to be a misplaced gout. He died without a sigh or groan on the 4th of Nov. 1792.

The following tribute was paid to his memory from the pulpit the Sunday following his interment by the rev. Dr. Magaw. "Thy fellow-citizens, thy neighbourhood, thy family, thy church, miss thee; venerable man! *Glentworth!* the faithful, experienced, able, successful, physician, whose pleasing, unwearied task it was, by day and night, to soften and relieve the ills of sickly human nature! *Glentworth!* the mild, the sociable, the friendly, the intelligent, the patriotic citizen! *Glentworth!* the amiable pattern of sweet domestic attention, worth, and respectability! The *testimony* to thy virtues, given in this solemn place, is *short*: not so shall be the remembrance of them."

RULES *for forming a* JUST *and* ELEGANT STYLE.

(Continued from our last—page 296.)

THERE is another extreme in obscure writers, not much taken notice of, which some empty conceited heads are apt to run into, out of a prodigality of words, and a want of sense. This is the extravagance of your copious writers, who lose their meaning in the multitude of words, and bury their sense under heaps of phrases. Their understanding is rather rarified than condensed: their meaning, we cannot say, is dark and thick; it is too light and subtle to be discerned; it is spread so thin, and diffused so wide, that it is hard to be collected. Two lines would express all they say in two pages: it is nothing but whipt syllabub and froth, a little varnish and gilding, without any solidity or substance.

The deepest rivers have the plainest surface, and the purest waters are always clearest. Crystal is not the less solid for being transparent; the value of a style rises like the value of precious stones. If it be dark and cloudy, it is in vain to polish it; it bears its worth in its native looks, and the same art which enhances its price when it is clear, only debases it if it be dull.

You see I have borrowed some metaphors to explain my thoughts; and it is, I believe, impossible to describe the plainness and clearness of style, without some expression clearer than the terms I am otherwise bound up to use.

You must give me leave to go on with you to the decorations and ornaments of style: there is no inconsistency between the plainness and perspicuity, and the ornament of writing. A style resembleth beauty, where the face is clear and plain, as to symmetry and proportion, but is capable of wonderful improvements, as to features and complexion. If I may transgress in too frequent allusions, because I would make every thing plain to you, I would pass on from painters to statuaries, whose excellence it is at first to form true and just proportions, and afterwards to give them that softness, that expression, that strength and delicacy, which make them almost breathe and live.

The decorations of style are formed out of those several schemes and figures, which are contrived to express the passions and motions of our minds in our speech; to give life and ornament, grace and beauty, to our expressions. I shall not undertake the rhetorician's province, in giving you an account of all the figures they have invented, and those several ornaments of writing, whose grace and commendation lie in being used with judgment and propriety. It were endless to pursue this subject through all the schemes and illustrations of speech: but there are some common forms, which every writer upon every subject may use, to enliven and adorn his work.

These are metaphor and similitude; and those images and representations that are drawn in the strongest and most lively colours, to imprint what the writer would have his readers conceive, more deeply on their minds. In the choice, and in the use of these, your

ordinary writers are most apt to offend. Images are very sparingly to be introduced: their proper place is in poems and orations; and their use is to move pity or terror, admiration, compassion, anger, and resentment, by representing something very affectionate, or very dreadful, very astonishing, very miserable, or very provoking, to our thoughts. They give a wonderful force and beauty to the subject, where they are painted by a masterly hand; but if they are either weakly drawn, or unskilfully placed, they raise no passion but indignation in the reader.

The most common ornaments are metaphor and similitude. One is an allusion to words, the other to things; and both have their beauties, if properly applied.

Similitudes ought to be drawn from the most familiar and best known particulars in the world: if any thing is dark and obscure in them, the purpose of using them is defeated; and that which is not clear itself, can never give light to any thing that wants it. It is the idle fancy of some poor brains, to run out perpetually into a course of similitudes, confounding their subject by the multitudes of likenesses; and making it like so many things, that it is like nothing at all. This trifling humour is good for nothing, but to convince us, that the author is in the dark himself; and, while he is likening his subject to every thing, he knoweth not what it is like.

There is another tedious fault in some simile men; which is, drawing their comparisons into a great length and minute particulars, where it is of no importance whether the resemblance holds or not. But the true art of illustrating any subject by similitude, is, first to pitch on such a resemblance as all the world will agree in: and then, without being careful to have it run on all fours, to touch it only in the strongest lines, and the nearest likeness. And this will secure us from all stiffness and formality in similitude, and deliver us from the nauseous repetition of *as* and *so*, which some so so writers, if I may beg leave to call them so, are continually sounding in our ears.

I have nothing to say to those gentlemen who bring similitudes and forget the resemblance. All the pleasure we can take, when we meet these promising sparks, is in the disappointment, where we find their fancy is so like their subject, that it is not like it at all.

Metaphors require great judgment and consideration in the use of them. They are a shorter similitude, where the likeness is rather implied than expressed. The signification of one word, in metaphors, is transferred to another, and we talk of one thing in the terms and propriety of another. But there must be a common resemblance, some original likeness in nature, some correspondence and easy transition, or metaphors are shocking and confused.

The beauty of them displays itself in their easiness and propriety, where they are naturally introduced: but where they are forced and crowded, too frequent and various, and do not raise out of the course of thought, but are constrained and pressed into the service, instead of making the discourse more lively and cheerful, they make it sullen, dull, and gloomy.

You must form your judgment upon the best models and the most celebrated pens, where you will find the metaphor in all its grace and

strength, shedding a lustre and beauty on the work. For it ought never to be used but when it gives greater force to the sentence, an illustration to the thought, and insinuates a silent argument in the allusion. The use of metaphors is not only to convey the thought in a more pleasing manner, but to give it a stronger impression, and enforce it on the mind. Where this is not regarded, they are vain and trifling trash; and in a due observance of this, in a pure, chaste, natural expression, consist the justness, beauty and delicacy of style.

I have said nothing of epithets. Their business is to express the nature of the things they are applied to; and the choice of them depends upon a good judgment, to distinguish what are the most proper titles to be given on all occasions, and a complete knowledge in the accidents, qualities, and affections of every thing in the world. They are of most ornament when they are of use: they are to determine the character of every person, and decide the merits of every case; conscience and justice are to be regarded, and great skill and exactness are required in the use of them. For it is of great importance to call things by their right names: the points of satire, and strains of compliment, depend upon it; otherways we may make an ass of a lion, commend a man in satire, and lampoon him in panegyric. Here also there is room for genius: common justice and judgment should direct us to say what is proper at least; but it is parts and fire that will prompt us to the most lively and most forcible epithets that can be applied: and it is in their energy and propriety their beauty lies.

Allegories I need not mention, because they are not so much an ornament of style, as an artful way of recommending truth to the world in a borrowed shape, and a dress more agreeably to the fancy, than naked truth herself can be. Truth is ever most beautiful and evident in her native dress: and the arts that are used to convey her to our minds, are no argument that she is deficient, but so many testimonies of the corruption of our nature, when truth of all things the plainest and sincerest, is forced to gain admittance to us in disguise, and court us in masquerade.

There is one ingredient more required to the perfection of style, which I have partly mentioned already, in speaking of the suitableness of the thoughts to the subject, and of the words to the thoughts; but you will give me leave to consider it in another light, with regard to the majesty and dignity of the subject.

It is fit, as we have said already, that the thoughts and expressions should be suited to the matter on all occasions; but in nobler and greater subjects, especially where the theme is sacred and divine, it must be our care to think and write up to the dignity and majesty of the things we presume to treat of: nothing little, mean, or low, no childish thoughts, or boyish expressions, will be endured: all must be awful and grave, and great and solemn. The noblest sentiments must be conveyed in the weightiest words: all ornaments and illustrations must be borrowed from the richest parts of universal nature; and in divine subjects, especially when we attempt to speak of God, of his wisdom, goodness, and power, of his mercy and justice, of his dispensations and providence, (by all which he is pleased to manifest himself to the sons of men) we must raise our thoughts, and enlarge our minds,

and search all the treasures of knowledge for every thing that is great, wonderful, and magnificent: we can only express our thoughts of the Creator in the works of his creation; and the brightest of these can only give us some faint shadows of his greatness and his glory. The strongest figures are too weak, the most exalted language too low, to express his ineffable excellence. No hyperbole can be brought to heighten our thoughts; for in so sublime a theme, nothing can be hyperbolical. The riches of imagination are poor, and all the rivers of eloquence are dry, in supplying thought on an infinite subject. How poor and mean, how base and grovelling, are the heathen conceptions of the Deity! something sublime and noble must needs be said on so great an occasion; but in this great article, the most celebrated of the heathen pens seem to flag and sink; they bear up in no proportion to the dignity of the theme, as if they were depressed by the weight, and dazzled with the splendour of the subject.

We have no instances, to produce of any writers that rise at all to the majesty and dignity of the Divine Attributes except the sacred penmen. No less than Divine inspiration could enable men to write worthily of God, and none but the spirit of God knew how to express his greatness, and display his glory: in comparison of these divine writers, the greatest geniuses, the noblest wits of the heathen world, are low and dull. The sublime majesty and royal magnificence of the scripture poems are above the reach, and beyond the power of all mortal wit. Take the best and liveliest poems of antiquity, and read them as we do the scriptures, in a prose translation, and they are flat and poor. Horace, and Virgil, and Homer, lose their spirits and their strength in the transfusion, to that degree, that we have hardly patience to read them. But the sacred writings, even in our translation, preserve their majesty and their glory, and very far surpass the brightest and noblest compositions of Greece and Rome. And this is not owing to the richness and solemnity of the eastern eloquence (for it holds in no other instance) but to the divine direction and assistance of the holy writers. For, let me only make this remark, that the most literal translation of the scriptures, in the most natural signification of the words, is generally the best; and the same punctuality, which debases other writings, preserves the spirit and majesty of the sacred text: it can suffer no improvement from human wit; and we may observe, that those who have presumed to heighten the expressions by a poetical translation or paraphrase, have sunk in the attempt; and all the decorations of their verse, whether Greek or Latin, have not been able to reach the dignity, the majesty, and solemnity of our prose; so that the prose of scripture cannot be improved by verse, and even the divine poetry is most like itself in prose. One observation more I would leave with you: Milton himself, as great a genius as he was, owes his superiority over Homer and Virgil, in majesty of thought and splendour of expression, to the scriptures: they are the fountain from which he derived his light; the sacred treasure that enriched his fancy, and furnished him with all the truth and wonders of God and his creation, of angels and men, which no mortal brain was able either to discover or conceive: and in him, of

all human writers, you will meet all his sentiments and words raised and suited to the greatness and dignity of the subject.

I have detained you the longer on this majesty of style, being perhaps myself carried away with the greatness and pleasure of the contemplation. What I have dwelt so much on with respect to divine subjects, is more easily to be observed with reference to human: for in all things below divinity, we are rather able to exceed than fall short; and in adorning all other subjects, our words and sentiments may rise in a just proportion to them: nothing is above the reach of man, but heaven; and the same wit can raise a human subject, that only debases a divine.

After all these excellencies of style, in purity, in plainness and perspicuity, in ornament and majesty, are considered, a finished piece of what kind soever must shine in the order and proportion of the whole; for light rises out of order, and beauty from proportion. In architecture and painting, these fill and relieve the eye. A just disposition gives us a clear view of the whole at once; and the due symmetry and proportion of every part in itself, and of all together, leave no vacancy in our thoughts or eyes: nothing is wanting, every thing is complete, and we are satisfied in beholding.

But when I speak of order and proportion, I do not intend any stiff and formal method, but only a proper distribution of the parts in general, where they follow in a natural course, and are not confounded with one another. Laying down a scheme, and marking out the divisions and sub-divisions of a discourse, are only necessary in systems, and some pieces of controversy and argumentation: you see, however, that I have ventured to write without any declared order; and this is allowable, where the method opens as you read, and the order discovers itself in the progress of the subject: but certainly, of all pieces that were ever written in a professed and stated method, and distinguished by the number and succession of their parts, our English sermons are the completest in order and proportion; the method is so easy and natural, the parts bear so just a proportion to one another, that among many others; this may pass for a peculiar commendation of them: for those divisions and particulars which obscure and perplex other writings, give a clearer light to ours. All that I would insinuate, therefore, is only this, that it is not necessary to lay the method we use before the reader, only to write, and then he will read, in order.

But it requires a full command of the subject, a distinct view, to keep it always in sight, or else, without some method first designed, we should be in danger of losing it, and wandering after it, till we have lost ourselves, and bewildered the reader.

A prescribed method is necessary for weaker heads, but the beauty of order is its freedom and unconstraint: it must be dispersed and shine in all the parts through the whole performance; but there is no necessity of writing in trammels, when we can move more at ease without them: neither is the proportion of writing to be measured out like the proportions of a horse, where every part must be drawn in the minutest respect to the size and bigness of the rest; but it is to be taken by the mind, and formed upon a general view and consider-

ation of the whole. The statuary that carves Hercules in stone, or casts him in brass, may be obliged to take his dimensions from his foot; but the poet that describes him is not bound up to the geometer's rule: nor is an author under any obligation to write by the scale.

These hints will serve to give you some notion of order and proportion; and I must not dwell too long upon them, lest I transgress the rules I am laying down.

A perfect mastery and elegance of style is to be learned from the common rules, but must be improved by reading the orators and poets, and the celebrated masters in every kind; this will give you a right taste, and a true relish; and when you can distinguish the beauties of every finished piece, you will write yourself with equal commendation.

I do not assert that every good writer must have a genius for poetry; I know Tully is an undeniable exception: but I will venture to affirm, that a soul that is not moved with poetry, and has no taste that way, is too dull and lumpish ever to write with any prospect of being read. It is a fatal mistake, and simple superstition, to discourage youth from poetry, and endeavour to prejudice them against it; if they are of a poetical genius, there is no restraining them: Ovid, you know, was deaf to his father's frequent admonitions. But if they are not quite smitten and bewitched with love of verse, they should be trained to it, to make them masters of every kind of poetry, that by learning to imitate the originals, they may arrive at a right conception, and a true taste of their authors: and being able to write in verse upon occasion, I can assure you is no disadvantage to prose; for without relishing the one, a man must never pretend to any taste of the other.

Taste is a metaphor, borrowed from the palate, by which we approve or dislike what we eat and drink, from the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the relish in our mouth. Nature directs us in the common use, and every body can tell sweet from bitter, what is sharp or sour, or vapid, or nauseous; but it requires senses more refined and exercised, to discover every taste that is most perfect in its kind; every palate is not a judge of that, and yet drinking is more used than reading. All that I pretend to know of the matter, is, that wine should be, like a style, clear, deep, bright, and strong, sincere and pure, sound and dry (as our advertisements do well express it) which last is a commendable term, that contains the juice of the richest spirits, and only keeps out all cold and dampness.

It is common to commend a man for an ear to music, and a taste of painting; which are nothing but a just discernment of what is excellent and most perfect in them. The first depends entirely on the ear; a man can never expect to be a master, that has not an ear tuned and set to music; and you can no more sing an ode without an ear, than without a genius you can write one. Painting, we should think, requires some understanding in the art, and exact knowledge of the best masters' manner, to be a judge of it; but this faculty, like the rest, is founded in nature: knowledge in the art, and frequent conversations with the best originals, will certainly perfect a man's judgment; but if there is not a natural sagacity and aptness, experience will be of no

great ſervice. A good taſte is an argument of a great ſoul, as well as a lively wit. It is the infirmity of poor ſpirits to be taken with every appearance, and dazzled by every thing that ſparkles: but to paſs by what the generality of the world admires, and to be detained with nothing but what is moſt perfect and excellent in its kind, ſpeaks a ſuperior genius, and a true diſcernment; a new picture by ſome meaner hand, where the colours are freſh and lively, will engage the eye, but the pleaſure goes off with looking, and what we ran to at firſt with eagerneſs, we preſently leave with indifference: but the old pieces of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Tintoret, and Titian, though not ſo inviting as firſt, open to the eye by degrees: and and the longer and oftener we look, we ſtill diſcover new beauties find new pleaſure. I am not a man of ſo much ſeverity in my temper as to allow you to be pleaſed with nothing but what is in the laſt perfection; for then, poſſibly, ſo many are the infirmities of writing, beyond other arts, you could never be pleaſed. There is a wide difference in being nice to judge of every degree of perfection, and rigid in refuſing whatever is deficient in any point. This would only be weakneſs of ſtomach, not any commendation of a good palate; a true taſte judges of defects as well as perfections, and the beſt judges are always the perſons of the greateſt candour. They will find none but real faults, and whatever they commend, the praiſe is juſtly due.

I have intimated already, that a good taſte is to be formed by reading the beſt authors; and when you ſhall be able to point out their beauties, to diſcern the brighteſt paſſages, the ſtrength and elegance of their language, you will always write yourſelf, and read others by that ſtandard, and muſt therefore neceſſarily excel.

I ſhall make no formal recapitulation of what I have delivered. Out of all theſe rules together, riſe a juſt ſtyle, and a perfect compoſition. All the latitude that can be admitted, is in the ornament of writing; we do not require every author to ſhine in gold and jewels: there is a moderation to be uſed in the pomp and trappings of a diſcourſe: it is not neceſſary that every part ſhould be embelliſhed and adorned; but the decoration ſhould be ſkilfully diſtributed through the whole: too full and glaring a light is offenſive, and confounds the eyes: in heaven itſelf there are vacancies and ſpaces between the ſtars; and the day is not leſs beautiful for being interſperſed with clouds; they only moderate the brightneſs of the ſun, and, without diminiſhing from his ſplendour, gild and adorn themſelves with his rays. But to deſcend from the ſkies: It is in writing as in dreſs; the richeſt habits are not always the completeſt, and a gentleman may make a better figure in a plain ſuit than in an embroidered coat: the dreſs depends upon the imagination, but muſt be adjuſted by the judgment, contrary to the opinion of the ladies, who value nothing but a good fancy in the choice of their clothes. The firſt excellence is to write in purity, plainly, and clearly; there is no diſpenſation from theſe: but afterwards you have your choice of colours, and may enliven, adorn, and paint your ſubject as you pleaſe.

In writing, the rules have a relation and dependence on one another. They are held in one ſocial bond, and joined, like the moral virtues, and liberal arts, in a ſort of harmony and concord. He

that cannot write pure, plain English, must never pretend to write at all; it is in vain for him to dress and adorn his discourse; the finer he endeavours to make it, he makes it only the more ridiculous. And on the other side, let a man write in the exactest purity and propriety of language, if he has not life and fire, to give his work some force and spirit, it is nothing but a mere corpse, and a lumpish, unwieldy mass of matter. But every true genius, who is perfect master of the language he writes in, will let no fitting ornaments and decorations be wanting. His fancy flows in the richest vein, and gives his pieces such lively colours, and so beautiful a complexion, that you would almost say his own blood and spirits were transfused into the work.

BENEVOLENCE *not to be* DISCOURAGED.

NOTHING more benumbs the exertions of ardent youthful virtue, than the cruel sneer which worldly prudence bestows on active goodness; and the cool derision it expresses at the defeat of a benevolent scheme, of which malice, rather then penetration, had foreseen the failure. Alas; there is little need of any such discouragements. The world is a climate which too naturally chills a glowing generosity, and contracts an expanded heart. The zeal of the most sanguine is but too apt to cool, and the activity of the most diligent, to slacken of itself: and the disappointments which benevolence encounters in the failure of her best-concerted projects, and the frequent depravity of the most chosen objects of her bounty, would soon dry up the amplest streams of charity, were they not fed by the living fountain of religious principle.

I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without animadverting on the too prompt alacrity, even of worthy people, to disseminate, in public and general conversation, instances of their unsuccessful attempts to do good. I never hear a charity story begun to be related in mixed company, that I do not tremble for the catastrophe, lest it should exhibit some mortifying disappointment, which may deter the inexperienced from running any generous hazards, and excite harsh suspicions, at an age, when it is less dishonourable to meet with a few casual hurts, and transient injuries, than to go cased in the cumbersome and impenetrable armour of distrust. The liberal should be particularly cautious how they furnish the avaricious with credible pretences for saving their money, as all the instances of the mortification of the humane are added to the armoury of the covetous man's arguments, and produced, as defensive weapons, upon every fresh attack on his heart or his purse.

He who is once convinced that he is to assist his fellow creatures, because it is the will of God, and one of the conditions of obtaining his favour, will soon get above all uneasiness when the consequence does not answer his expectation. He will soon become only anxious to do his duty, humbly committing events to higher hands. Disappointments will then only serve to refine his motives, and purify his virtue. His charity will then become a sacrifice less unworthy of the

altar on which it is offered. His affections will be more ſpiritualized, and his devotions more intenſe. Nothing ſhort of ſuch a courageous piety can preſerve a heart hackneyed in the world from relaxed diligence, or criminal deſpair.

OBSERVATIONS *made in a* JOURNEY *through* SPAIN.

I SHALL devote the firſt part of this letter to the deſign of entertaining you with a conciſe account of the principal diverſions at Madrid. One of them is as remarkably ſingular, as another is common to all the nations of Europe. The peculiar amuſement I mean is their bull-feaſt; the univerſal one, card-playing or gaming. I have lately aſſiſted at both, and ſhall in the firſt place give you the particulars of the bull-feaſts, which are regular combats, or duels, if you pleaſe, between men and bulls. The ceremonial of opening a bull-feaſt at Madrid is much more ſolemn and important than that of declaring war againſt France or England.

A vaſt theatre is prepared upon the Place Major, or grand ſquare, for the accommodation of all perſons of rank of both ſexes. The royal family are always preſent, the king and queen arriving moſt pompouſly attended in grand proceſſion, and all the grandees have ſeats near the throne, according to their quality and ſtate offices. The firſt animal, whoſe death is to commence the diverſion, cannot periſh but by a royal decree; the king ſigns an act to ſlaughter him. The butchers for the day are all knights, or gentlemen of illuſtrious families. Some are on foot, and others on horſe-back, and they paſs for men of approved valour, when they have plunged their ſpears into the bodies of a number of theſe animals, though there is not the leaſt peril in theſe rencounters, nor the ſmalleſt degree of perſonal courage. They rehearſe their bloody performances for a long time before they execute them in public, and they will not enter the liſts till they are ſure of acquiring Spaniſh glory, which conſiſts in the applauſes of the ladies. On the defeat of each animal, the loudeſt acclamations are heard from all the ſpectators, ſo that a ſtranger muſt naturally conclude, that the death of each bull augments the renown and ſtrength of this ancient kingdom. Nothing more need be ſaid on this ſavage entertainment, which has filled ſo many pages to little purpoſe in many books of travels, for it is the ſame dull ſcene it ever was, without variation, and will ſo continue till it is aboliſhed; and of this there is a faint rumour, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent king, who is more of the Frenchman than the Spaniard.

After the bull-feaſt, I was invited to paſs the evening at the hotel of a lady, who had a public card aſſembly. This recreation, innocent and trifling when firſt invented, is become a regular profeſſion in France and Spain. This vile method of ſubſiſting on the folly of mankind, is confined in Spain to the nobility; none but women of quality are permitted to hold banks, and there are many whoſe Pharoah banks bring them in a clear income of one thouſand guineas per

annum. The lady to whom I was introduced is an old countess, who has lived near thirty years on the profits of the card tables in her house. They are frequented every day, and though both natives and foreigners are duped of large sums by her and her cabinet junto, yet it is the greatest house of resort in all Madrid: she goes to court, visits people of the first fashion, and is received with as much respect and veneration, as if she exercised the most sacred functions of a divine profession. Almost all the widows of great men keep gaming-houses, and live splendidly on the vices of mankind. If you are not disposed to be either a sharper or a dupe, you cannot be admitted a second time to these assemblies. I was no sooner presented to the lady before-mentioned, than she offered me cards; and on my excusing myself, because I really could not play, having never been able to reconcile myself to the needless study of learning any one game on the cards, she made a wry face, turned from me, and said to another lady in my hearing, she wondered any foreigner should have the impudence to come to her house, for no other purpose but to make an apology for not playing. My Spanish conductor, unfortunately for him, had not the same apology; he played and lost his money, two circumstances which constantly follow one another in these houses.

While my friend was thus playing the fool, I attentively watched the countenance and motions of the lady of the house. Her anxiety, address, and assiduity, was equal to that of some skilful female shopkeeper, who has a certain attraction to engage all to buy, and a diligence to take care that none shall escape the net. I found out all her privy counsellors, by the arrangement of her parties at the different tables; and wherever she shewed an extraordinary eagerness to fix one particular person with a stranger, the game was always decided the same way, and her good friend was sure to win the money. In short, it is hardly possible to see good company at Madrid, without you resolve to leave a purse of gold at the card assemblies of their nobility. I have therefore taken the pains to write to you express on this subject, that when you arrive here on your proposed tour of Europe, you may be apprised of the custom, which, if I am rightly informed, begins to take place at London.

It has always been my custom, when I saw any fashionable vice predominant with people of high rank in any country, to endeavour to counterbalance it by some favourite virtue equally in vogue. Thus in England you may balance scandal or defamarion, a reigning vice, by charity, which is in no country so much in fashion as it is among the British people of quality, who are all patrons of some charitable institution or other, for the relief of the indigent, the sick, the lame, and the insane; but at Madrid the most fashionable article, next to gaming, is religion; it is however very far from counterpoising the evil of card-playing, for I cannot find that the morals of these people are in the least affected by it.

You may think it a paradox, but I assure you the devotions of these people borders upon irreligion, for they believe in every thing but God. A revolution must take place in heaven to rectify religion in Spain. There are too many saints in the Spanish paradise. The prayers they address to the celestial throne are intercepted half way

by a cloud of ſuppoſed delegates of the Supreme Being. No terms can be ſufficiently ridiculous to expreſs the contemptible ideas of the Spaniards in their devotions. The Holy Virgin, as ſhe is ſtiled here, is the principal object of divine worſhip, becauſe ſhe gave birth to Chriſt; and if it were not for the mother, the ſon would not be held in any degree of veneration.

Religion, which ſhould enlighten the underſtanding, and render men happy, ſerves here only to obſcure their genius, and diſtract their imaginations. Superſtition, the daughter of deſpotiſm and ignorance, keeps their ſenſes enſlaved. Before the common people will labour for their own ſubſiſtence, or the good of the community, they muſt obſerve the feſtival of their ſaints. Above one hundred and fifty days are employed in invoking the aid of their idols, for ſucceſs to their induſtry the remainder of the year: during all theſe holidays the ſtate languiſhes, and the government is inactive. What ſhall we ſay of a people, over whom falſe devotion has ſuch an influence, that it impoveriſhes the commonwealth, and cuts the nerves of political power?

I have ſaid there are other cauſes of their decline beſides ſuperſtition, and I ſhall now recite them.

There are no laws in Spain to prevent idleneſs. The employment of its citizens does not enter into the plan of government. Individuals may be loſt, dead to the community, forty years before they are buried, becauſe a man may be a ſubject of Spain, without exerciſing any profeſſion or trade whatever. Inaction is not reckoned a vice in this country: on the contrary, it is a virtue, or at leaſt a title to honours and high offices in the ſtate. When a man can prove ſix hundred years of idleneſs in his family, deſcending from father to ſon, he acquires nobility, with all the privileges annexed to it. A poor man of quality, who ſhould take it in his head to leave the path of his anceſtors, and employ himſelf in ſome work of induſtry or ingenuity, would be immediately degraded in the eyes of his countrymen: it would be ſtiled a degeneracy; and though he ſhould acquire an immenſe fortune by his induſtry, neither himſelf nor his children could recover the rank of his forefathers; and this is the true reaſon why the Spaniſh nobility will prefer begging or ſtarving to trade or commerce.

The king of Spain has three hundred thouſand ſubjects ſhut up in cloiſters; fifty thouſand who have nothing to do but to ground their firelocks, then ſhoulder them, and finally to repoſe themſelves and their arms, daily, after an hour's parade; and twenty thouſand idle nobility and gentry, who retain forty thouſand domeſtics to ſupport their lazineſs.

As ſoon as a citizen of Madrid has gained a yearly income of one hundred ounces of ſilver (under thirty pounds ſterling) by his induſtry, he quits his vocation to be a gentleman, and to have the privilege of being idle from morning to night.

A people, my dear friend, who are induſtrious, becauſe it is one principle of the government they live under to promote and reward it, muſt be a great and flourihing nation; while ſuch as Spain gradually falls into contempt and indigence. The contraſt between Hol-

land (which country I propose very soon to visit, and on which you shall have my free thoughts) and Spain, is a full proof of what I have asserted.

I shall now recapitulate, in a few words, all the grievances of this government, which is the most feeble and languishing of any in Europe.

An iniquitous tribunal, misnamed the holy office, or inquisition, under the veil of religion, destroys the civil virtues of social life, and fills the state with cowardly, superstitious souls. An innumerable host of lazy bigots, living in a state of celibacy, continually diminishes population. Fictitious riches prevent real opulence. A vast accessary dominion, separated by immense oceans, absorbs the principal. Agriculture abandoned, traffic destroyed, idleness established, manufactures discouraged, and gaming pursued eagerly, must in time produce a dissolution of the Spanish government.

To you, however, I will communicate the means of rendering this monarchy flourishing and powerful; my maxims may serve you for political reflections on this country, but you need not apprehend they will be put in practice here, for there are too many people interested in the present system of administration.

1. Abolish the inquisition.
2. Diminish the priests, friars, and nuns, two thirds at least.
3. Shut up the gold and silver mines.
4. Desert America.
5. Cultivate the lands in Old Spain.
6. Encourage industry,
7. Revive the polite and liberal arts.
8. Augment manufactures.
9. Ennoble commerce, in imitation of the Chinese, by making merchants grandees of Spain.

ENQUIRY *into the* CHARACTER *of* COLUMBUS.

THE character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance as no impediments, dangers, or sufferings could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue. His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologizes for his severity toward the natives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought: The change of climate, and the indispensable labours which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivers were declining daily; whilst such was the irreconcileable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards would not have been effectual to regain their good will. This apology seems to have been generally admitted; for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendation, unmixed with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted me-

rit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions can only originate in weak minds, and can only be countenanced by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny into facts can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character.—That Columbus had formed a design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and, consequently, before he was apprized of the destruction of the people whom he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his providing himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs. Having found the inhabitants peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities: The cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony; for, as the grand incentive to undertake these distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as Columbus had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize. The Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives; and those were so constitutionally indolent, that no allurements of presents or gratifications could excite them to labour.—To rescue himself, therefore, from disgrace, and secure future support, he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter or slavery. Such as survived the massacre of that dreadful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountainous and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust, in order to support life; a tribute being imposed upon them, which was most rigorously exacted. These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness and amenity, compelled to labour for the support of life, a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered insupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims of European avarice. Such are the facts which have ever been admitted; yet, strange contradiction! Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodness: But should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler, professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion? and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity, when they stopped the career of his ambition? Ferdinand Columbus, his son and Biographer, has with great address covered the blame of his father; whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

[*Pinkerton's Geography.*

The LIFE *of* CERVANTES*.

MICHAEL de Cervantes Saavedra, whose writings have given celebrity to Spain, amused all Europe, and improved the age in which he lived.—himself dragged on a miserable existence,—and died scarcely regretted.

It is but very lately that the place of his birth has been ascertained. Madrid, Seville, Luchen, and Alcala, have severally laid claim to him. Cervantes, (as well as Homer, Camoens, and other illustrious men) has, since his death, been held in the highest estimation, though he lived almost in want of common necessaries.

The Spanish academy, under the patronage of the king, has at length thought proper to pay—to the memory of Cervantes—those honours which were so justly his due. An edition of 'Don Quixote,' of unparalleled typographical splendour, has been newly published. The editors, having their national honour at heart, seem, by the extraordinary care and expence bestowed upon the work, desirous to atone for the stupid, and almost criminal neglect of the author.

Materials for Cervantes's life have been very sedulously collected, and wrought up by a distinguished member of the academy: from which it appears he was of a gentleman's family; being son of Roderick de Cervantes and Leonora de Cortinas. He was born at Alcala de Henares, a town in New-Castle, the 9th day of October, 1547, in the reign of Charles V.

From his earliest infancy he was fond of books. He studied at Madrid under a very eminent professor; and soon distinguished himself from the rest of his school-fellows by his superior genius.

A proficiency in the Latin language, and an insight into theology, made up the learning of those days. His parents intended him either for physic or the church; those two being the only lucrative professions then followed in Spain: But, Cervantes had this in common with many celebrated poets—he made verses in spite of his parents.

An elegy on the death of queen Isabella of Valois,—several sonnets—and a poem entitled *Filena*, were his first productions. The indifferent reception these met with, seemed to our young author such flagrant injustice, that he thereupon took the resolution of quitting his native country, and went to settle at Rome. There penury constrained him to enter into the service of Cardinal Aquaviva, in the humble capacity of valet de chambre.

Disgusted very soon with an employ so little suited to the ardor of his disposition, he quitted it to inlist for a soldier: and distinguished himself for his bravery at the famed battle of Lepanto, won by Don Juan of Austria. It was there he received a musket-shot in his left hand, which deprived him for ever of the use of it. The only recompence he got for his maimed limb, and the display of extraordinary personal valour, was that of being sent, along with his wounded companions, to the hospital at Messina.

* Prefixed to a late splendid edition of Don Quixote, published by the Spanish Academy.

Little as he had reaped by his first campaign, the trade of a soldier, with all its ills, seemed to Cervantes preferable to that of a neglected poet. As soon as he was cured of his wounds, he enlisted anew, and served three years in garrison at Naples.

As he was returning, after that, to his own country, aboard a vessel belonging to his sovereign, Philip II. he was captured by Mami, the most formidable pirate of those times, and was carried to Algiers.

Though fortune seemed to persecute Cervantes with her utmost malice, she could not break his enterprising spirit. Become a slave,—and that to a cruel master;—almost certain of being put to the torture,—and not improbably—to death,—if he made any attempt to gain his liberty;—he had the hardiness to concert, with fourteen other captive Spaniards, upon the means of escape.

The plan agreed upon was this. One of them was to be redeemed at their general expence; was to go straight to Spain, and procure a vessel, to return in as soon as possible to Algiers; and carry off, under favour of night, his captive countrymen.

To put such a scheme in execution was no very easy matter. In the first place, they had to scrape together a sum of money sufficient to ransom the adventurer; and then they had to effect their escape from their respective masters; and to find out a convenient place for a rendezvous, where they could remain concealed until the day of their liberated fellow's return: nor was it to be supposed but he would have many difficulties to encounter on his part.

In short, the obstacles were so many and great, that it was next to an impossibility to effect their purpose. But,—what will not the love of liberty incite us to?

One of the Spaniards happening to serve in the capacity of a gardener, was of most essential use; for, having to cultivate a very extensive piece of ground which lay along the sea-shore, he undertook to dig, in a part of it little frequented, a cavern large enough to contain them all. As he could only work at it by stealth, it took him up no less than two years to complete it.

In the mean time, what with the money collected by alms, and what they earned by dint of labour, they had amassed a sum sufficient to ransom one Viano, a Majorcan; whom they pitched upon for the arduous undertaking, as well on account of his intimate knowledge of the coast of barbary, as for the implicit confidence which they all reposed in him.

Although the redemption-money was ready, and the cavern completed, six other months elapsed before all the captives found means to effect their escape. At length, however, they were assembled: Viona was ransomed, and parted; first solemnly pledging himself to use all possible dispatch in procuring a vessel, and to return and liberate his countrymen.

As Cervantes had all along been the soul of the undertaking, his ardor is no wise abated now. He took upon himself the greatest trouble, and ran the greatest risk. Every night, as soon as it was dark, he ventured out to purchase provisions; taking care always to be back before break of day.

The gardener was the only one of the confederated ſlaves that had not eloped; and for the very obvious reaſon, that he could beſt ſerve the common intereſt by remaining as he was. The appointment of any other to his place would, in all probability, have led to a diſcovery of the cave. So long as he continued in place, he might be conſidered as a centinel on duty in a watch-tower, from whence to give alarm to the little garriſon in caſe of any enemy's approach; or, which was of equal importance, to appriſe them of the coming of auxiliary troops. In other words, from the nature of his employ and his ſituation, he was beſt enabled to regulate their movements; and at the ſame time he could keep a conſtant look out for the anxiouſly expected Majorcan.

Viano kept his word. He had no ſooner arrived at Majorca, than he waited on the viceroy; made him acquainted with his countrymen's ſituation; and demanded (as it was a national concern) his aſſiſtance. The Viceroy forthwith furniſhed him with a ſloop; and Viano joyfully ſet ſail for the coaſt of Barbary.

He arrived at Algiers on the 28th day of September, 1577; exactly one month from the day he quitted it. He had taken ſuch very accurate note of the quarter where the garden was ſituated, that he contrived, as had been concerted, to ſtand in for it at the cloſe of day.

The gardener, who had ſome time perceived the veſſel making for land, flattered himſelf that it might poſſibly be Viano's. He kept his eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon it; his mind, the while, ſuſpended betwixt anxious hope and fearful diſappointment. But when the veſſel drew in ſo near that he could deſcry the agreed-on ſignal flying at the maſt-head, how extravagant was his joy! He haſtened to his fellows to communicate the felicitous tidings.

Delicious moment! What a tranſition from deſpondency to joy! The care-worn wretches have already forgot their ſufferings. They congratulate, they embrace each other; they ſhed even tears of joy; and in wild tumultuous ecſtaſy hurry headlong out of their cavern.

It is even ſo;—the gardener has not deceived them:—It is; it can be no other than Viano's bark. And, look! the very ſignal. Nearer,—and yet a little nearer,—and they deſcry Viona himſelf ſtanding at the helm. With what emotion they beheld him! they uplift their hands, and with one general voice, hail him their 'deliverer.'

Now the veſſel's keel is ploughing up the ſhore, and the mariners are letting down a ladder to facilitate their embarkation;—when,—ah! ſad chance! a party of moors at the very inſtant appear, and ſeeing ſo many chriſtians aſſembled about a bark, give the alarm, ſhouting, 'To arms!—to arms!' Viona put to ſea again; and his miſerable compatriots fled back with precipitation to their hiding place: there to bewail their cruel diſappointment.

Cervantes did every thing in his power to cheer his drooping companions. He bade them hope Viona would return; for ſo he either really thought or affected to think.—But Viano was never more heard of.

As their minds grew more and more deſpondent, their bodies kept pace in ſufferance. From the dampneſs of their ſubterraneous habitation, and for want of air and exerciſe, the major part of them fell

dangerouſly ill. So long as Cervantes had ſtrength ſufficient left, he miniſtered to their wants; procured them proper aliment; tended upon, and comforted them; but at length falling ſick himſelf, he was obliged to have recourſe to others. He inſtructed one of his companions, who was yet well, where he was to go, and how he was to conduct himſelf, in order to procure proviſions.

As if the meaſure of their griefs was not yet full, this man, on whom their ſecurity and very exiſtence depended, proved a traitor. He went ſtraight to Azan the king, and made diſcovery of the whole —and having, the better to ſecure his pardon, turned Mahometan, the infamous wretch unheſitatingly conducted a party of ſoldiers to the ſpot where his countrymen lay concealed.

The wretched Spaniards were immediately ſeized and put in irons; and carried to the palace to receive ſentence. When they came into the king's preſence, he promiſed them pardon, if they would diſcover their ringleader.—'That am I, (exclaimed Cervantes;)—ſave my innocent companions, and lead me to death.'—The king, ſtruck with his magnanimity, remitted him his crime, and delivered him to his maſter Mami, with ſtrict injunctions not to inflict puniſhment on ſo brave a fellow. The reſt too were pardoned, except the poor gardener, who was executed upon the ſpot.

Cervantes, hardly dealt with by fortune,—betrayed by a countryman, his friend too and companion,—one like himſelf, in miſery, and reduced again to the condition of a ſlave,—inſtead of giving way to deſpondency, did but ſo much the more impatiently ſtrive to regain his liberty. Four ſeveral times he attempted it, but ſtill without ſucceſs. His laſt ſcheme was worthy of a daring mind: it was no leſs than to cauſe a general revolt of the ſlaves of whatſoever nation—to overpower the barbarians, and make himſelf maſter of the city.

The conſpiracy was diſcovered; and Cervantes, though known to be the author of it, again eſcaped puniſhment. So true is it, that undaunted courage forces reſpect even from our enemies.

It is probable Cervantes meant to ſpeak of himſelf, when, in the ſtory of 'The Slave,' (one of the moſt intereſting epiſodes in 'Don Quixote,') he ſays,—'The cruel Azan king of Algiers, never ſhowed any mercy, except to one Saavedra, a Spaniſh ſoldier; who often times, at hazard of his life, formed enterpriſes of ſo daring a nature, that the infidels are not likely ſoon to forget them.'

Though Azan ſpared Cervantes's life, he did not choose to truſt ſo formidable a captive in other hands than his own; and therefore purchaſed him of his maſter Mami, and cauſed him to be watched very narrowly.

Not long after he was in his poſſeſſion, the king was obliged to go to Conſtantinople, but was willing to be rid firſt of a perſon whom he conſidered in ſo dangerous a light: he therefore gave intimation to Cervantes's relations of his captive ſtate; in order that they might, if they thought proper, redeem him.

Cervantes's mother, who was ſtill living, a widow, and very poor, diſpoſed of what few valuables ſhe had; and haſtened with the product, about three hundred ducats of ſilver, to the Trinity fathers at

Madrid; whose particular business it was to negotiate for the ransom of Spanish captives. This sum, though the widow's all, was not deemed adequate. The king insisted upon five hundred golden crowns. The holy fathers,—for such, in this instance, they may be truly called,—compassionating the widow's distress, made up, with their own money, the sums required; and Cervantes was redeemed on the 19th of September, 1580, after a captivity of five years.

Upon his return to his native land, Cervantes, out of love with a military life, resolved to devote himself to letters. He settled in lodgings with his mother; and indulged the pleasing hope, that by his labours he should be able to procure her a comfortable subsistence.

He was then three and thirty years of age. His first publication was 'Galatea:' of which he gave only six books; but never finished it, although it met with a tolerable reception.

This same year Cervantes married Donna Catharina de Pelacios: a lady of good family, and doubtless of great personal merit,—for he had no fortune with her. To support his family, he took to writing for the stage; and he assures us, with very good success. Nevertheless, he soon quitted his theatrical concerns for an employ obtained at Seville, where he went to reside. It was there he wrote his 'Novels,' in which he has so well pourtrayed the manners and vices of that great city.

Cervantes was in his fiftieth year, when business called him to La Mancha. The inhabitants of an inconsiderable village, called *Argamazilla*, upon some frivolous pretext quarrelled with him, and dragged him to prison; where he was a considerable time confined. It was in that very prison he began his incomparable 'Don Quixote.' He thought to revenge himself for the ill treatment he met with, by laying the first scenes of this hero's extravagancies in that neighbourhood; though he forebore mentioning the name of that particular village throughout the whole romance.

He began with publishing only the 'First Part of Don Quixote;' which not meeting with its deserved success, Cervantes, who knew thoroughly the disposition of mankind, immediately wrote a little piece, which he entitled 'The Serpent.' This pamphlet, which is no where to be met with now, (not even in Spain) seemed, on the face of it, to be a criticism on 'Don Quixote;' but was in effect a cutting satire upon the blockheads who detracted from the merit of that excellent work. Every body read the satire; and 'Don Quixote' thereby gained a reputation which its own intrinsick merit ought rather to have procured it.

Hereupon all the witlings in Spain combined against the author. Tho' living themselves in a state of warfare and hatred one of another, they were not so occupied but they could observe the hasty strides which our literary giant was making towards the temple of Fame; and they were sensible that, he having once gained admission, the doors would be shut against them forever. For this reason, they agreed for the present to lay aside their animosities; and not only patched up a truce amongst themselves, but entered into a league against ther formidable rival. Against him they drew up all their forces; against him pointed their envenomed shafts, and directed all

their artillery: but not in the way of honest open enemies; not by boldly facing him in the field, but by harrassing him on his march. They attacked him, not as grammarians and philologists, but as quibblers, cavillers; not with arguments, but insults: nor blushed they even to add the grossest calumny to the most malicious criticism. In fine, Cervantes's growing fame proved more fatal to him than the neglect he formerly experienced.

Whether from the tyranny of the kings of Spain, or her sub-tyrants the priests (be it remembered that it is still an absolute monarchy, and the inquisition subsists in full force)—that nation has been justly reproached with being very far behind the rest of Europe in learning. At the time, in particular, in which Cervantes lived, men of real knowledge and sound judgment were very rare. So few indeed were they who had taste enough to relish the humour, or discern the beauties of his writing, that, overawed by the host of scribblers in combination against him, he durst not for many years put any thing to press. His means of support thus cut off, he fell into extreme indigence.

Happily for him, the Count de Lemos and the Cardinal of Toledo were not insensible of his worth, and occasionally relieved him. Their patronage and bounty, which Cervantes's grateful nature infinitely magnified, were continued to him to his death; but were neither proportioned to their rank and ability, nor to his penury and merit.

Cervantes eagerly embraced the first occasion which presented of testifying his sense of the Count's favours, by dedicating to him his 'Novels;' a work which made its appearance about eight years after the 'First Part of Don Quixote.' The year following he published his 'Journey to Parnassus.' Neither of these productions turned to much profit: and the Count's pecuniary assistance was so very trifling, that to keep his family from starving, he was constrained to publish 'Eight Plays' which had been refused at the theatre.

It was Cervantes's hard lot to suffer great humiliation as well as great misery. An Arragonian, who called himself *Avellaneda*, had the impudence to publish, during our author's life, 'A Continuation of Don Quixote.' A most wretched performance it was said to be; wholly devoid of wit, spirit, or taste: but it abounded in scurrility and personal abuse of poor Cervantes. This circumstance alone, which ought to have rendered Avellaneda and his work together odious, brought them both into repute.

Our author answered this unmerited abuse, as all abuse is best answered, by taking no manner of notice of it; but contented himself with publishing 'A Second Part of Don Quixote,' more excellent, if possible, than the 'First.'

Every one was now convinced of Cervantes's superior talents; and yet,—(how unjust mankind are!)—the more reason they had to be satisfied with our author's worth, the less they seemed disposed to pass censure on his execrable rival. Spain is not the only country in the world where malice is let loose to hunt down real merit, and detraction is taken into favour. As long as Cervantes lived, Avellaneda was talked of: as soon as he was dead, Avellaneda was forgotten.

The 'Second Part of Dox Quixote' was the last of our author's writings published in his life-time. He was at work upon his 'Persiles and Sigismunda,' when he was attacked by a dropsy, of which he died. As he was sensible how small was his chance of cure, he grew very anxious to complete the work; and by too constant application, aggravated his disorder, and thereby accelerated his death.

As Cervantes, his whole life thro', had borne up manfully against the heaviest pressure of misfortunes, his fortitude did not at the last forsake him. Four days only before he died, he ordered his romance, 'Persiles,' to be brought him; and in his then weak state, and with a feeble hand, traced out the Epistle dedicatory to the Count de Lemos. This Dedication is too remarkable to stand in need of apology for inserting it here.

To Don PEDRO FERNANDES DE CASTRO, *Count of* LEMOS, *&c. &c.*

"We have an old Spanish Romance, the beginning of which is but too applicable to my present condition:—

Death has fast hold of me, yet I
Would write to you before I die.

This is exactly my case. Yesterday I received extreme unction; to day I am at the point of death; and am sorry that I cannot therefore properly express to you my congratulations upon your safe return to Spain. The pleasure that it gives me might one would think, be the means of saving my life; but—God's will be done.

"Your excellency will know at least that my gratitude has lasted as long as has my life.

"I regret that it is not in my power to finish certain of my works which were to be dedicated to your Lordship, viz. 'The Garden Calender;—'The Great Bernard;'—and the 'Last Part of Galatea,' for which I know you have a sort of partiality. But, to accomplish all this, I had need beg of the Almighty to work a miracle in my favour; whereas my most earnest prayer is,—that He will keep your Excellency in his special care.

MICHAEL DE CERVANTES."

Madrid, April 19, 1616.

The twenty-third of the same month he died, aged sixty-eight years six months and some days.

He who could manifest upon so many trying occasions such spirit and intrepidity—could compose himself, when a captive, as Cervantes did—could write such a book as 'Don Quixote,' and in a prison too—and could pen such a Dedication on his death bed,—was certainly a man above the ordinary stamp.

On Epigrammatick Composition.

SCALIGER obſerves that an epigram in its original ſtate was nothing more than an *inſcription*, which the etemology of the word ſufficiently proves. When the memory of an hero was immortalized by a ſtatue or trophy, it was uſual to prefix a ſhort poem, as an illuſtration of the honour: Hence a ſudden turn and quickneſs of thought neceſſarily aroſe from the narrowneſs of its extent, which was not improperly named the ſting; though the generality of Greek epigrams are not ſo remarkable for the acuteneſs of their cloſe, as a continued train of ſublime thought.

This ſpecies of compoſition has long laboured under the contempt of moderd criticks, and Addiſon, in his Allegory on True and Falſe Wit, repreſents it ſtationed in the rear of the former, to prevent a deſertion to the latter, as it was ſtrongly ſuſpected of diſaffection. To diſſent from an opinion eſtabliſhed by ſuch formidable authorities would almoſt ſeem preſumption; yet though an epigram does not claim the moſt eminent part of Parnaſſus, it is difficult to ſay why it ſhould be degraded to the loweſt, unleſs the fondneſs, which juvenile writers betray for this line of poetry, may have drawn into diſgrace: Yet a genius, when matured by age and experience, ſhould not look back on its firſt eſſays as trifling, without reflecting how few excel in theſe trifles. The nicety attending its accompliſhment evinces its ingenuity. Some ſpecies of falſe wit may be attained by intenſe application; ſuch as that of including a poem within the exact ſymmetry of any particular form—

> Where thou may'ſt wings diſplay and altars raiſe,
> And torture one poor word a thouſand ways. *Dryden.*

But an epigram muſt flow with all the lightneſs of poetick fancy—a laboured thought or ſtyle deſtroys its fire, and the vivacity of an author is in nothing more conſpicuous than in this lively production of unfettered genius. As it is not well adapted to the deſcriptive or pathetic, ſatire or panegyric ſeem beſt ſuited to its airy meaſures, which the writer may vary as his fancy prompts him; though there are numerous examples of good epigrams on more ſerious ſubjects. With reſpect to its extent, the ſtricteſt attention ſhould be paid to brevity, as far as is allowable, without obſcurity; for as it ought to have only one thought in view, it ſhould not be ſtretched, at farthest, beyond the length of eight or ten lines.—On reading an epigram, the mind is led, from the nature of the compoſition, to expect conciſeneſs, which if prolixity ſuperſedes, it is too much fatigued by expectation to reliſh the ſharpneſs of the cloſe, which ſhould be poliſhed to the fineſt point of wit, and not inſerted in a ſeparate clauſe, but drawn out imperceptibly from the preceding lines.

In an intereſting novel, when the contents of a chapter are prefixed at the beginning, the pleaſing gratification of curioſity is deſtroyed; ſo if an introduction is required more copious than the epigram, anticipation robs us of its greateſt beauty, viz. an expected turn of wit;

and it seems a paltry resource to tell the reader what a perusal would not discover. The following, though an epigram according to the strictest rules, lies under this predicament.

On a spacious Bridge *built by the D—ke of M—lb—gh over a contemptible stream at B—nh—m.*

The lofty arch his high ambition shews,
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows.

Though it may be justly alledged in excuse for this example, that being originally written on the bridge, it did not require the explanation, and lost its beauty only by being translated into a book.

Puns have been long reprobated as mere *nugæ canoræ*, and it must be confessed that they do not heighten their dignity much by the ornamental dress of poetry: But such is the fluctuation of taste in literature, that Quintillian greatly commends a punning epigram of Cicero, *(Fundum Verro vocat, quod possum mittere funda, &c.)* which according to modern judgment would disgrace a much inferior genius.—Addison recommends the translation of a piece of wit into a different language, which, like an essaying oven, would prove its purity, or baseness. This is an infallible method to detect a pun, and ancient as well as modern epigrams must sometimes feel its effects. Much cannot be advanced in the justification of a pun, though it does not wholly deserve the most abject contempt.—When a pun is introduced, the object of its aim is delight, and not defiance to the severe rules of criticism; and its design, if well conducted, is confessedly crowned with success.

The brevity, stile, and lightness of an epigram recommends it to judgment as a proper field for the first exercise of genius, and not feeling, or not acquainted with the severe beauties of criticism, a pun by almost the same qualifications appears to them in full brilliancy of wit, and is often immoderately indulged. But though the epigram, which bears Mr. Addison's test of truth, is considerably more deserving of praise, yet a pun ought not to be totally consigned over to contempt, since it requires some ingenuity to introduce it with ease, and without stretching its allusions too remotely: for as it requires delicate treatment, no species of false wit is more abject than a far fetched pun; like a dangerous medicine, which with skilful management may be used as a safe and infallible remedy, but if its qualities are mistaken, is attended with the most pernicious consequences.

MEMOIRS *of* LINNÆUS.

[*By Mr.* COXE.]

CARL. Von Linné, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldest son of Nils Linnæus, a Swedish divine, was born on the 24th of May 1707, at Rashult, in the province of Smoland.

His inclination for the ſtudies in which he afterwards made ſo wonderful a progreſs, commenced at a very early period of his life, and took its riſe from the following circumſtance:—His father uſed to amuſe himſelf in the garden of his parſonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was ſoon led to take a ſhare in this entertainment; and, before he was ſcarcely able to walk, expreſſed extreme ſatisfaction when he was permitted to accompany his father into the garden. As his ſtrength increaſed, he delighted in digging and planting; and afterwards obtained, for his own uſe, a ſmall portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He ſoon learnt to diſtinguiſh the different flowers; and, before he attained the tenth year of his age, made ſmall excurſions in the neighbourhood of Raſhult, and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being ſent, in 1717, to ſchool at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permiſſion of continuing his excurſions, he paſſed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himſelf acquainted with their names and qualities. He was ſo abſorbed in this favourite purſuit, as totally to diſregard his other ſtudies; and made ſuch an inconſiderable progreſs, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the Gymnaſium in the ſame town, his new maſter repeatedly complained of his idleneſs.

Urged by theſe remonſtrances, his father conceived his ſon to have no taſte for literature, and propoſed to bind him apprentice to a ſhoemaker. This deſtination would have taken place, if a neighbouring phyſician, whoſe name was Rothman, ſtruck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply ſkilled in a ſcience, to which he ſeemed naturally inclined.

This ſagacious obſerver, having prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his ſon's education, took the boy into his houſe, ſupplied him with botanical books, and inſtructed him in the firſt rudiments of phyſic, in which he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs. When his father had aſſented to this advice, he had deſigned him for the church; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree, that he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of botany and phyſic.

In 1727 he was ſent to the univerſity of Lund, where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the firſt ſyſtematic principles of natural hiſtory. Being lodged in that profeſſor's houſe, he enjoyed many opportunies of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of foſſils, ſhells, buds, and plants.

In 1728 he was removed to the univerſity of Upſala, where his narrow circumſtances involved him at firſt in diſtreſſes unfriendly to the purſuits of ſcience, but which did not, however, obſtruct his uſual exertions. About this period he began to arrange his Bibliotheca Botanica, his Claſſes, and Genera Plantarum; from whence we may collect, how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to ſuch perfection.

His knowledge was conſiderably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciencies at Upſala, in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of that unknown region. But as he received only a gratuity of about eight

pounds towards defraying this expence, he was obliged to travel almost the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and spirit.

He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May 1732; stayed some time at the mines of Fahlain; visited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardships; escaped imminent perils: and returned to Upsala in the month of October of the following year, after having traversed near four thousand miles.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmest ambition, the professorship of botany in the university of Upsala. He turned his principal attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden, which, at the time of his appointment to the professorship, scarcely contained forty exotics: but produced, in 1748, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from the severity of the climate, eleven hundred species exclusive of indigenous plants and varieties.

By his incomparable lectures he raised the university to the highest repute, and induced many foreigners to resort to Upsala. He was always attended by a numerous audience, and his great art was not only in satisfying the curiosity, but in gaining the affection and esteem of the students. His lectures were distinguished by the conciseness and precision so conspicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a spirit and animation, which irresistibly caught the attention of the hearers; for he spoke with a persuasion, which was inspired by his deep insight, his just conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature. He diffused a sudden spirit of enquiry, and kindled among his students—a new zeal for the study of natural history.

During the first years of his residence at Upsala, he gave public herborising lectures in the spring and summer. In these botanical excursions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French horns, and sallied out at the head of two or three hundred students, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or insect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the students, the stragglers were called together by the sound of music, and, crowding round their master, listened in respectful silence, while he offered his observations.

His reputation was now so widely spread in foreign countries, that he received the most flattering invitations to Petersburgh, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid, where he was offered, by the king of Spain, a very considerable stipend, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the prospect even of the most splendid advantages could not seduce him from his native country, where he had acquired the esteem of his sovereign, and the general respect of his countrymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His services, in promoting every branch of natural history, were acknowledged in the fullest manner, and every assistance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuse his favourite science. A new house was raised for him at the public expence, close to the physic-garden. He was occasionally deputed by the states to make excursions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement

of natural history. For this purpose, he, at different times, visited the islands of Gothland and Oeland; the provinces of Skone and West Gothland; and communicated to the public, in his native language, the itineraries of his travels, which are said to be replete with curious and philosophical observations; the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural history to economical uses.

Many of his scholars were also, under his auspices, dispatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular societies; and they all seem to have caught from their beloved master a spirit of emulation and zeal for science. The communications, which he received from their unremitted labours, furnished him with such information, as enabled his comprehensive mind to appropriate, as it were, their discoveries, and to "exemplify, in a more perfect and detailed manner his system of nature." Thus his genius may be said to have diffused itself through the most distant regions of the globe; and his spirit still continues to animate the zealous disciples of the Linnæan school.

In the year 1776, a paralytic stroke deprived Linnæus of the use of his right side, and confined him wholly to his bed. His strength gradually forsook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropsy, brought on a tranquil dissolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the seventy-first year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upsala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and respect could inspire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be struck, expressive of the dejection of Science upon the death of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his ashes. His majesty also attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration speech was delivered; and, as a still higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a speech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loss which Sweden had suffered from his death.

To the honour of his country and the present age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his superior genius, by the unsolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the polar star, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconsiderable emolument; while his salary as professor, his practice as a physician, and the presents which he occasionally received from his scholars, rendered him easy and independent. He purchased, in the neighbourhood of Upsala, two estates, at Hanmarby and at Sæfja; at the former of which he built a villa; and at his decease bequeathed an ample provision to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one son, Charles Linnæus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and died on the first of November, 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion. He always testified in his conversation, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being; and was so strongly impressed with the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his library, *Innocui vivite, numen adest.*

OBSERVATIONS *on* EXALTED *and* HUMBLE FORTUNE.

[*Translated from the Spanish of Feyjoo.*]

THOSE were blind themselves who feigned Fortune to be blind; and they were unjust who accused her of partiality. This error is corrected by religion, when it teaches us, that what is meant by the word fortune is nothing else but the Divine Providence, which is all eyes, and proceeds in every thing from the justest motives: But, although the error is corrected in the essential, the deception is not so effectually dispelled, but there is still left remaining a faint appearance of the principle. The complainers of fortune compute the inequality of men's lots according to the greater or less parade and figure which they make among their fellow-creatures; and seeing that, in a great measure, this inequality is not proportioned to men's merits, the wicked attribute it to the chimerical force of accident, the idolaters to the caprice of a blind deity, and the true believers to the disposing will of a Supreme Providence.

These last conclude well, but they suppose ill; for thus it is: the circling wheel of fortune, and all its movements, are directed by a divine hand; and the raising up some, and casting down others, is so ordered and regulated with the most wise design, It is also certain (and this reflection is of infinite importance) that, with respect to many, we see but one half of the wheels turning, the remainder of its circuit being reserved for completion in the other world. We observe that fortune raises some, and never lowers them; and that it casts down others, without ever raising them. What is this? Nothing more than that Providence, in this mortal life, gives the wheel but half a turn; the round is concluded in the other hemisphere; so that those who rise here go down there, and those who descend here are there mounted up. This is the most ordinary course, although there is no rule without an exception.

But, supposing what I have just premised is admitted, notwithstanding all the solutions and precautions we can advert to, a serious and pernicious deceit continues to impose on, and in some sort govern the world, which is derived, as I have already observed, from those who conclude well, but suppose badly. In the distribution they make of happy and unhappy people, they suppose an inequality, which in reality does not exist; nor is it to be found in the fortunes of men. He who occupies posts of dignity; he who inhabits a magnificent palace; he who possesses great riches; and much more, he whose temples are adorned with a crown, is reputed the happiest of men. On the contrary, he who, beneath an humble roof, is scarce known to the world; who to subsist, and enable him to live, has no more than is absolutely necessary, is considered as unhappy. At least the fortune of this last is judged to be as much inferior to that of the other, as a little fountain is to the whole stock of waters confined in the Nile.

Very different was the sentiment of the oracle of Delphi, who, when he was asked by Gyges, king of Lydia, who was the happiest man in the world? replied, "Agalus Psophidius, the possessor of a

little eſtate in a confined corner of Arcadia, is the moſt happy man who inhabits the globe." The king, who expected to be told that himſelf was the happieſt man, remained equally confounded and ſurpriſed.

Agathocles was a monſter of fortune: From being the ſon of a poor potter of the city of Regio, he roſe to the ſoverign of Sicily; with all which, I believe, that, by comparing his fortune with that of his father Carcinus, we ſhall find that the father was the more happy man of the two. It is certain he did not live in that continual uneaſineſs which agitated the whole life of Agathocles; nor did he ſuffer any grief ſo intenſe, or of ſo long duration, as that of Agathocles, which was occaſioned by the death of his ſons, who were barbarouſly beheaded by his own ſoldiers.

Pliny, in his ſeventh book, ſpeaking of thoſe Romans, who, in ſome inſtances, were the moſt remarkable favourites of fortune, ſuch as the dictator Sylla, the two Metulluſes, and Octavius Auguſtus, points out, at the ſame time, ſo many counterpoiſes to their good luck, as to leave it doubtful whether the ſcale of their adverſity or of their proſperity preponderated.

The labour would be infinite, if, by turning over hiſtory, you were to inſtance all thoſe to whom the hand of fortune has alternately dealt the moſt cruel blows, and adminiſtered the moſt tender gratifications; nor would ſuch an inquiry be of any avail to our purpoſe, becauſe every one will readily grant there is no aſylum in this world to protect us from the rigours of fate; nor is there any privilege annexed to high dignity, which exempts it from the juriſdiction of miſfortune. The beſt method then is, to weigh the one and the other fortune, the exalted and the humble, and eſtimate them according to what, in their common and ordinary ſtate, they are found to contain in themſelves, abſtracted from any extraordinary accidents, either favourable or adverſe.

I ſay, then, that humble fortune, according to its intrinſic value, if it does not exceed, is at leaſt equal to the exalted. In order to give at once a clear and ſolid proof of this fact, which may ſeem a myſtery, it ſhould be underſtood as a certain truth, that riches do not conſtitute happineſs in men in proportion to their material magnitude, but in proportion to what is enjoyed of them, either with reſpect to convenience, or the pleaſure they occaſion. What is a rich man the better for having his table covered with a variety of delicate eatables, if he has loſt his appetite? With all his dainties, he cannot be ſaid to regale himſelf; and it fares much better, in point of gratification, with a poor man who eats of a coarſe diſh, if his palate embraces it with earneſtneſs.

The compariſon of reliſh with reſpect to food, may be applied to all other ſenſes and faculties with reſpect to their objects; for, let theſe be gratified and delighted to whatever degree you can ſuppoſe, the pleaſure produced in every individual will tally with the diſpoſition of the organ; and therefore the greater or leſſer degree of felicity of the ſubject, in the uſe of thoſe objects, ſhould be meaſured, not by the intrinſic magnitude which is contained in them, but by the delight they afford. This being the caſe, you will find that vaſt riches do not furniſh to an opulent man greater enjoyments, nor turn aſide

from him more vexations, than is afforded to, and diverted from, a poor man with his ſcanty means; and you will conclude thoſe are not more happy than theſe, and that conſequently the fortunes of both are equal.

To eſtimate the felicity of any man, you ſhould not conſider the good he poſſeſſes, but the enjoyment he receives from the poſſeſſion of them. Although the rich man always ſits down to a ſplendid banquet, a poor man regales himſelf better than he, if, as is moſt commonly the caſe, he knows better what he eats. No man will ſay that the exiſtence of riches without their uſe is of any value. It is neceſſary, in order to reliſh their ſweets, that you ſhould expend them. They are a good of ſuch a nature, that they can only be enjoyed when you part with them. He who keeps his gold in a cheſt may receive ſome ſatisfaction in contemplating that he has it at his command; but that is much inferior to the inevitable chagrin which attends his continual care and anxiety. Horace chanted wiſely, who held that convenience conſiſted more in the want than in the poſſeſſion of ſuch goods, which, through concern for their preſervation, kept people in conſtant alarms and terrors night and day, leſt a thief ſhould break in and ſteal them, an unfaithful ſervant purloin them, or a fire conſume them.

Quickſilver occaſions continual tremors to him who works it in the mines—gold and ſilver to him who keeps and turns them over in a cheſt. There is no doubt but the pleaſure of finding himſelf rich is greateſt in a covetous man, but his care and anxiety exceed alſo in proportion to it. Beſides this, he is not ſo much gratified by the goods he enjoys, as he is made uneaſy by the deſire of poſſeſſing thoſe he is not maſter of. There is always in his heart an immenſe *vacuum*, as obnoxious to his avarice as a *vacuum* in all bodies is to nature; and his thirſt is of the dropſical kind, ſo that the more he drinks, the more he craves.

Upon a ſuppoſition then, that, inſtead of convenience, there is evil and vexation in the mere poſſeſſion of riches, let us proceed to take a view of the benefits that may reſult from their uſe. And, firſt, riches to a very large amount are exceedingly ſuperfluous for furniſhing the accommodations of life. If a man, poſſeſſed of a few thouſand crowns, can find ſufficient to purchaſe all that can be reaſonably deſired, of what uſe are the millions? To what purpoſe ſhould he, who finds water ſufficient for all his occaſions in a little fountain, bring a river into his houſe. He would acquire nothing by ſuch an act but the hatred and indignation of thoſe who ſee that, without utility to himſelf, a man monopolizes a ſtock of water ſufficient to accommodate a whole town, by doing which he expoſes himſelf to the malicious deſigns that a wicked and perverſe perſon may form to take away his life, in hopes that, by perpetrating the fatal deed, he might become maſter of his property; and it is certain that many perſons, from ſuch a motive only, have fallen victims to the knife or to poiſon; ſo that an exceſs of doubloons to the owner, are rather things of weight than things of worth. I mean that, inſtead of a convenience, they are dangerous, and an evil of life.

A CURIOUS DISSERTATION *on the* TONGUE.

THE Tongue, by Anatomists, is defined to be the instrument of tasting, speaking, and swallowing, made up of a fleshy and spongy substance, compassed about with a thin membrane, and is placed in the mouth and throat, a very convenient situation to discover the diseases that lie hid in the interiour parts of the body. It appears to be not the only part susceptible of taste, as some who are possessed of it have none; instances of which there are many, in coughs, colds, &c. and some who have lost it by accident, or otherwise, have declared themselves not at all deficient in that sense.

The word tongue is often understood for its action; speech, or language, one of the greatest blessings we enjoy, being the channel or communication by which we convey our sentiments; which when guided by reason, the most apparent distinction placed by the Deity to shew his excellent master piece Man from the brute creation: The benefits that we derive from it are innumerable; all the smaller divisions of trade would in a great measure be lost, if a stop was put to speech. And here it may not be amiss to observe how far nature exceeds art, by endeavouring to point out in what manner a deficiency of speech may be atoned for by the latter.—Writing, although it possesses the peculiar excellency of conveying thoughts to a distance, yet is far beneath speech; it may be misunderstood; and perhaps, by the casual omission of a stop, letter or word, convey a contrary meaning to what was intended: Besides, it takes up more time, as the same thing may be done by speech in a much shorter space, without the least possibility of misconstruction.—Chiromania, or the art of conversing by the hands, has been by many justly applauded, and numbers of dumb persons at this day make themselves understood by that means; yet I do believe if speech had not existed prior, Chiromania never would have had being: And suppose it possible, the difficulty of affixing an alphabet, and the time required to complete a language, would so retard the progress of learning, that in regard to the conveniences of life we should have been by far worse off than the inhabitants of Otaheite or New Zealand.

The action of the tongue is divisible into many parts, as lying, flattery, oratory, grammar, and scolding; the first two of which I style common, because they are frequently used; the third a refinement of the tongue; the fourth contains certain rules for the better regulation of words; and the fifth, although a science practised by the passionate, ignorant, and women only, has been proved to equal, if not excel, the other four. Lying is a very ancient science, and was practised by the serpent on Eve, as is recorded in scripture: The success was great; she practised it in her turn upon Adam; and some contend even now, that the same chain of government exists.

"When Beelzebub first to make mischief began,
He the woman attack'd, and she gull'd the poor man.
This Moses has told us, and hence we infer,
That Woman rules man, and the Devil rules her."

Notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid againſt this action of the Tongue, yet lying is in its place very neceſſary for the livlihood of thouſands of all deſcriptions; in ſhort, it is the vital part of trade. Flattery is but a part of lying, and is called the ſcience of courtiers; many by their excellency in this alone have been fortunate enough to ennoble and enrich themſelves; but when made uſe of for ſuch ends is, in my opinion, a moſt dangerous thing. It was the obſervation of a wiſe perſon, "That the tongue of man was made for the praiſe of God."—Oratory, the next part for conſideration, well deſerves the appellation given it, "the refinement of the tongue." Of oratory there are various kinds. A late wit declared it was divided into three parts, "that of the bar, the pulpit, and the gallows;" but I can bring no greater proof of the force of eloquence than our preſent miniſters of the church of England; the converts they make for religion are permanent proofs of the ſolid learning and force of argument they poſſeſs; and I will be bold enough to ſay, that no age ever produced better or abler Orators than the preſent. The ancients boaſt of their Cicero, Demoſthenes, Tully, and others; but our preſent divines as far exceed the ancients, as the cauſe they promote; and happy am I to affirm, that if vice gains ground, it is in no wiſe owing to the inability of the clergy. But to return to the ſubject: nothing has a greater effect on the mind of man, than a well timed oration gracefully delivered.

Grammar is the ſtandard by which the degree of civilization of a country may be judged, and a perſon who is ignorant of its rules, is comparable to a labourer in a lead mine; whilſt a grammarian is to be conſidered in the degree of an ingenious artificer and mathematician who knows its defects, excellencies, and the principles on which it operates.

Scolding, the laſt point to be conſidered, is ſuppoſed by the ancients to be a peculiar excellency of the goddeſs Juno; and it is affirmed that ſhe once had a trial of ſkill with Jupiter, and, notwithſtanding the noiſe and effect of his thunder, had nearly driven him out of heaven; and they generally upon that account, wrote on the front of her temple, "Juno has her thunder too." Nevertheleſs, this praiſe, in my opinion, is falſely attributed to her; and I am perſuaded, if a third part of the huſbands in this metropolis were aſſembled together, they could in one day produce five hundred Junos, far ſuperior in this action of the tongue. To conclude: The tongue is by no means culpable; it is but a ſervant to the will; and if the will is ſubject to the paſſions, the tongue will, by flattery, lying, cenſure, and diſſimulation, not only work woe and miſery to others, but total deſtruction to the poſſeſſor. [*European Mag.*]

On GAMING: *A* FRAGMENT.

IT is ſomewhere recorded, that Cobilon the Lacedemonian, being ſent to Corinth with a commiſſion to conclude a treaty of friendſhip and alliance, when he ſaw the captains and ſenators of that city

playing at dice, returned home without doing any thing, saying, "That he would not so much sully the glory of the Spartans, as that it should be said they had made a *league* with *gamesters*." Hence it should seem that this honest heathen took every man addicted to gaming for a fool or a knave, and therefore resolved not to have any dealings with such, as neither of those characters could be depended on.

The perniciousness of *gaming* was so well understood by the grand impostor Mahomet, that he thought it necessary to prohibit it expressly in the Alcoran, not as a thing in itself *naturally* evil, but only *morally* so, as it is a step to the greatest vices; for, whilst we captivate ourselves to chance, we lose our authority over our passions, being excited to immoderate desire, excessive hope, joy, and grief; we stand or fall at the uncertain cast of the dice, or the turning up of a card; we are slaves to the feeblest wishes, which if they succeed not, we grow furious, profligate, and impious; banishing all prudence, temperance, and justice, we become impudent, and fit for the blackest crimes. Hence the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths, and blasphemies amongst the men and amongst the women, the neglect of household affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent passion, and lastly, the known inlet to all lewdness, when, after an ill run, the fair one must answer the defects of the purse; the rule on such occasions holding true in play as it does in law.—*Qui non habet in crumena, luat in corpore.*

If christians have not humility enough to conform to the rule of life laid down in holy writ, let them at least have pride enough to be shamed out of this detestable vice by the example of Pagans and Mahometans.

On the PATHOS *of* HOMER, *and the* CHARACTERS *of the* ILIAD.

IT is generally allowed, I believe, that in true pathos, Homer, where he admits it, is superior to all uninspired writers. Some inquiry into the causes of this excellence, such at least as have escaped the notice of other writers, may not be unacceptable.

1. Homer's Pathos, always lies chiefly in the idea, or sentiment itself. It has seldom, or never, any artificial preparation, or affected language, which in general tend to defeat the purpose they are meant to serve. It will generally be found to consist of the most natural and affecting circumstances that the poet can supply; frequently familiar, which imparts a simplicity of the most becoming kind; and is always of a sort nicely adapted to the character of the speaker. "You could not," says Andromache, when dying, "stretch forth to us your hand from your couch, nor utter any advice or consolation that we might have repeated in remembrance of you, during the remainder of our sorrowful days and nights." This is at once a simple, natural, and highly affecting circumstance; and, like those of the best scenes of

our own admired dramatiſt, excites at one ſtroke an irreſiſtible ſympathy with the ſufferer, and affords a memorable example of the triumph of nature over the frigidity of art.

The pathos of Priam is of a different kind, but equally in character. He is repreſented ſtruggling with the Trojans, and with difficulty prevented from encountering all the horrors of war without the walls, in order to redeem the body of his ſon, whom he ſees dragged in the duſt by the ſavage Achilles.—"Let me go, my friends," ſaid he; "let me go among the Greeks, and entreat this outrageous and violent man. Peradventure he may reverence my years, and pity my misfortunes. For he has himſelf a father, old like me, who brought him up to be a peſt to this country, and the whole Trojan race." Here we may obſerve equal nature and ſimplicy, but ſomewhat more vehemence and manly dignity. Still more of both theſe latter requiſites are conſpicuous in the noble apoſtrophe of Agamemnon; who, after reproaching the Greeks for their former boaſtings, and their preſent cowardice, thus breaks forth:—"O Jupiter! what monarch didſt thou ever thus ſuddenly deprive of all his hard earned glory, and ſubject to ſuch ruin and ſlaughter! But, O Jupiter! at leaſt fulfil this my humble vow. Suffer us now merely to eſcape; nor permit the whole Grecian people thus to be exterminated by their enemies." The well known apoſtrophe of Ajax, ſo celebrated by Longinus, and admired by every reader, may ſerve as the apex of this ſcale of pathetic exclamation.

But, the great ſuperiority of Homer over all other poets, in the genuine pathetic, ſhines no where brighter than in the ſo much celebrated interview of Hector and his wife, in the fifth book of the Iliad. The very powerful effect of which ariſes chiefly from what I deem a ſecond cauſe of Homer's excellence in this ſpecies of writing; his occaſionally putting the tendereſt ſentiments in the mouths of perſons of heroic dignity and fierce demeanour. The wonderful heightening this imparts to the pathetic is no where better exemplified than in the Othello of Shakſpeare; except it be in this beautiful incident of Homer. The tenderneſs the fierce warrior diſplays towards his little Aſtyanax:—his putting off his helmet on obſerving the child's alarm at the nodding plumes it was ornamented with; his ſpeech to Andromache, full of a ſad, yet reſolutely-expreſſed preſentiment of his own approaching fate, and the deſtruction of his native country; his ſolicitude for his wife's welfare, after his death; and, laſtly, his prayer for that of his hapleſs infant, are all circumſtances highly affecting, and, as yet, unequalled and unimitated by other poets.

A third cauſe of this pre-eminence in the pathos of Homer ſeems nearly allied to the laſt: the contraſt theſe tender ſcenes receive from the ſurrounding horrors of pitileſs war and continual ſlaughter. On this, as it every where occurs, and muſt ſufficiently ſtrike every attentive reader, it would be uſeleſs to dilate.

Virgil has alſo theſe opportunities; but ſeldom makes the like powerful uſe of them. His pathos is very much the effect of art, and is greatly enforced, if not often entirely created, by the ſweet flowing parhetic caſt of his general diction. It will ſeem no ſmall preſumption to cenſure a poet of ſuch celebrity without ſome proof of this defect.

Let me venture to give one, which may ſerve for all ;—where Anna in the very extremity of her grief, on beholding her ſiſter in her laſt agonies, is made to exclaim, with the air of an orator who is looking around him for ſomething to excite the commiſeration of his audience, "Quid primum, deſerta querat ?" What, ſhall I thus deſerted firſt begin to lament ? How different this from the unaffected effuſions in Homer ; and how well will it confirm the truth of the above remark, to thoſe who can diſtinguiſh well-concealed art from undiſguiſed nature !

With reſpect to Homer's characters, they have a vivid force that none of his ſucceſſors have been at all able to emulate. Our Milton, evidently, from the nature of his plan, and the very ſmall number of human characters it would admit ; and Virgil, I ſuppoſe, from as evident an inferiority of genius, which would be ſtill more conſpicuous, were it not for his beautifully finiſhed and nicely-adapted language. The characters of the former, have, however, been ſometimes injudiciouſly compared with thoſe of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. But, for ſuch, Milton had no exemplar in writing. Of courſe all their ſentiments, except the few that could be gleaned from holy writ, are new, and invented ſolely for them. To compare them with Homer's deities, who mix in battle with more than human animoſity, and rail at each other with more than vulgar vehemence, were a waſte of time. In reading the poems of Homer and Virgil, we are frequently obliged to put on a temporary compliance with the prejudices of the poet, and of the age in which he lived. It is neceſſary to follow them to their wars, with all the intereſt we can excite in ourſelves for their little contentions of a day. We muſt exult with them over a fallen enemy, and continually allow an importance to events which it is difficult for a philoſophick mind to admire. In Milton no ſuch compliance is neceſſary. The principal characters in him are of a kind that all muſt venerate The incidents are ſuch as muſt equally intereſt the chriſtian, the philoſopher and the man. The very human perſonages are of a ſuperior claſs. They have, as yet, imbibed none of the little prejudices that have ſince adhered to their deſcendants. Their ideas are general, and of a dignified ſimplicity : ſuch as beſt become the progenitors of mankind, while in a ſtate of innocence, and purity.

Reading Homer with theſe reaſonable allowances, we ſhall find he made human characters above all competition, and above all praiſe. They ſeem frequently to break through the calm inſpiration of the poet, into all the pathos and vehemence of the moſt impaſſioned drama. "Others ſtill are ſuffered to retain their ſpoils, cries the enraged Achilles ; from me only has he raviſhed the reward of all my toils ; the beloved maid in whom I found ſuch delight.—Why have the Greeks attacked this city ? Wherefore has Atrides collected ſo immenſe a force ? Is it not for the ſake of Helen ? Do then the ſons of Atreus alone, of all men, love their wives ?" By ſtrokes of nature like this, which are ſparingly admitted by other poets, but copiouſly by Homer, the epic adds to its dignity, the excellencies of the drama. His characters ſeem every where naturally to develope themſelves

almost without the assistance of the poet, and harrangue, not like orators, but real personages. Even their wanderings and abruptness, which Pope has sometimes (perhaps judiciously enough) connected and smoothed down, have their effect on a lover of simplicity; and on one who willingly contemplates the remote unpolished age in which the poet wrote. No succeeding author seems to have possessed any comparable share of that vehemence of mind, and fervour of affections, which enabled Homer to mix with such peculiar warmth in all the actions, passions, and sentiments of his heroes.

An Essay *on the* Ascent *of* Vapour.

[*From the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester.*]

THERE are few phenomena in nature, which have puzzled philosophers more, than the ascent of vapour: and the different theories laid down by Doctors Halley and Desaguliers, have been rejected, while another, not less liable to objections, has been almost universally received.

This theory, which I shall presently mention, was at first invented by a french gentleman, Monsieur le Roi, and afterwards revived by lord Kaimes, and doctor Hugh Hamilton. It is this—that the air dissolves water, as water does saline substances; the solution being perfect, the air will become transparent.

Objections. 1. Were this theory true, evaporation could not be performed without air; but Mr. Watt, contrary to the theory supported by lord Kaimes and Dr. Hamilton, has proved, that when water in vacuo was boiled with a degree of heat very little greater than that of the human body, the steam came over, and was condensed in the refrigeratory. But he relates, that the evaporation was not quicker than in the open air.

2. Were the doctrine of solution true, the air would be heavier, the more water it contained; and, as clouds contain a great portion of water, they ought to float on the surface of the earth, and not in the higher regions, as we daily observe.

3. We never could expect any rain, unless the air was supersaturated with water, and it would only yield to us, what it could not retain in solution.

4. It is universally allowed, that heat contributes, very much, towards converting water into vapour, which is again condensed by cold. In what manner will the doctrine of solution account for the spontaneous evaporation of water, and its being suspended in air, in the coldest weather, even when the thermometer is below the freezing point? Though I cannot allow of such a solution as above-mentioned, I can, however, readily admit of a strong attraction betwixt air and water; for no air is found without water, and no water without air.

Water, which is eight hundred times heavier than air, by a very small degree of heat, may be converted into vapour, which vapour is one thousand eight hundred times lighter than air, according to Mr. Watt. It consequently follows, that vapour will rise up in the atmosphere, to the height of its own specific gravity; but, long before it could reach to so high a region, it would be condensed by cold, and return to the earth in rain, were it not for the latent heat it contains, and the electric matter in the air.

Whatever I mention concerning electricity, is from facts, and not from any theory, written about it, which is above my comprehension. But as the terms now in use, viz. positive and negative, or plus and minus, are generally best understood, I shall express myself by them. The Abbe Nollet has proved, that water electrified, will evaporate faster, than water which is not electrified. Does it not follow, that the more electric matter is in the air, the quicker the evaporation of water will be? And Mr. Cavallo has proved, that at all times the atmosphere is electrified, but much stronger in frosty, than in warm weather; and by no means less in the night than in the day: it is likewise stronger in elevated, than in low places. From these facts we may be enabled to account, why evaporation is carried on during very cold weather. All the heat contained in water, above what is sufficient to keep it in a fluid state, will convert it into vapour; which, in a north or north-east wind, when the electric matter greatly abounds, will be carried off with much rapidity; and, by the power of electricity, will be rendered still lighter, the higher it ascends: each particle repelling each other, and preventing the cold from condensing the vapour, in its ascent through the cold regions of the atmosphere. The higher it rises, the more space there is for expansion; and the more it is expanded, the clearer will the atmosphere appear, and probably, the higher the mercury will rise in the barometer.

It likewise appears, that the electric matter is more sensible near the surface of the earth, in cold northern countries, than in warm southern places. Mr. Volta, with a very simple apparatus, on the upper gallery of St. Paul's, produced an electric spark, which, he told me, in Italy could not be done, but on a very high mountain, or in a situation greatly elevated. This seems a wise provision in nature, that the electric matter should appear near the surface of the earth in cold climates, to raise up and suspend the vapour in the air, which otherwise, would be condensed by the cold: whereas, in warm countries, the heat of the earth will be sufficient to raise vapours to a great height, which are afterwards carried still higher, by the electric matter in the upper regions. This, perhaps, is the cause, why the air is so clear and transparent in warm climates. By making some observations on the falling of rain, we shall have other proofs, that the electric matter is the great cause, by which vapour is supported in the atmosphere.

Here I must observe a fact, well known, that bodies electrified, by the same electric power (no matter whether positive or negative) repel each other; and when electrified by the different powers, that is, the one plus and the other minus, attract each other: on coming

into contact, an equilibrium is restored, and neither of them will shew any signs of electricity.

From this it follows: If two clouds are electrified by the same power, they will repel each other, and the vapour be suspended in both; but when one is positive and the other negative, they will attract each other, and restore an equilibrium. The electric power, by which the vapour was suspended, being now destroyed by the mutual action of the clouds on each other, the particles of water will have an opportunitity of running together into each other, and, as they augment in size, will gain a greater degree of gravity, descending in small rain, or a heavy shower, according to circumstances.

A cloud, highly electrified, passing over a high building or mountain, may be attracted by, and be deprived of its electricity, without or with a violent explosion of thunder. If the cloud is electrified plus, the fire will descend from the cloud to the mountain; but, if it be electrified minus, the fire will ascend from the mountain to the cloud.

In both cases, the effect is the same, and generally, heavy rain, immediately, or soon after follows; this is well known to the inhabitants of, and travellers among, mountains.

From this, we can easily account, why thunder-showers are often partial, falling near, or among mountains, and the rain in such quantities, as to occasion rivers to be overflowed; whilst, at the distance of a few miles, the ground continues parched up with drought, and the roads covered with dust.

It often happens, that one clap of thunder is not sufficient to produce rain from a cloud, nor even a second: in short, the claps must be repeated, till an equilibrium is restored, and then the rain must, of consequence, fall. Sometimes we may have violent thunder and lightning without rain, and the black appearance of the heavens may be changed to a clear transparent sky, especially in warm weather. To account for this, it must be remembered, as I lately said, that one or more claps of thunder are not always sufficient to produce rain from the clouds: so, if an equilibrium be not restored, little or no rain will fall, and in a short time, the electric matter, passing from the earth to the clouds, or the superabundant quantity in the air, will electrify those black clouds by which means the particles of vapour will be expanded, raised higher, and the air become clear. Clouds may be melted away; even when we are looking at them, by another cause, this is, by the heat of the sun. We know, that transparent bodies are not heated by the sun, but opaque ones are; the clouds being opaque bodies, are warmed by the rays of the sun shining on them, and any additional quantity of heat will rarify the vapour, and occasion its expanding in the air, which will soon become transparent. When vapour is made to expand, more than it would otherwise do, a certain quantity of absolute heat is necessary to keep it in the form of vapour; therefore, when the receiver of an air-pump is exhausting, it appears muddy, and a number of drops are found within it; the moisture contained in the air, in the form of

vapour, being made to occupy a greater space than what is natural to it, and receiving no addition of heat, a part of it is condensed*.

If therefore, the air is suddenly rarified, a few drops of rain will descend, as may often be observed in the summer season.

I have repeatedly observed, especially during the summer, when the wind is at north-east, that the weather is, in general, cold and dry, with a clear atmosphere. Should the wind suddenly change to south-west, in a few hours, black clouds begin to gather, vegetables look sickly, and droop their leaves: and, soon after, comes on a violent storm of thunder, with heavy rain.

This change, I imagine, is not so much owing to the south-west wind bringing rain, as to the atmosphere's being changed from an electric state, capable of suspending vapour, to a state of parting with its moisture.

As soon as the storm is going off, vegetables revive from their languid state, and the air recovers its usual aspect. From this we may conclude, that no instrument can be made to ascertain the quantity of moisture in the air: all that is, or ought to be expected from a hygrometer, is to shew, whether the air be in a state to retain, or part with its moisture. In apparent dry weather it may point to rain; and when it rains, it may point to fair. For this reason, the stones of halls, and smooth substances, are often bedewed with wet, in dry warm weather, (that is, the air is in a state to part with its moisture) and, vice versa, they will dry in the time of rain.

I shall pass over those observations, which might be made on fogs or mists; a few excepted, which I shall subjoin in a note†. I shall, therefore, conclude with a short summary of the whole.

1. That, heat is the great cause, by which water is converted into vapour, which is condensed by cold.

2. That, electricity renders vapour specifically lighter, and adds to its absolute heat, repelling its particles; which particles would be condensed by cold; and that, electricity is the great agent by which vapour ascends to the upper regions.

* On this principle, we can readily account for the mist, which appears, on discharging an air-gun: the condensed air in the chamber of the barrel, on being set free, will expand suddenly, occupying a larger space, and no additional heat being acquired, the vapours must necessarily be condensed in the form of mist.

† Fogs are produced by two causes as different as their effects are opposite. A fog may be produced by a precipitation of rain, in very small particles, like a cloud floating on the surface of the earth. In this case the air is moist and damp, and never fails to wet a traveller's cloths; the stones of the street, painted doors, and hard, cool, smooth bodies are generally covered with moisture, which often runs in large drops; this, I dare say, has been observed by every person. Secondly, a fog may be produced by the absorption of moisture, when the air is too dry, and differs from the other just described; for it will not impart any of its moisture even to dry bodies, no damp is to be met with on stones, polished marble, &c. This fact is well known to the inhabitants on the sea coast of Fifeshire, who during their summer months, have frequent opportunities of observing a fog in the afternoon, driving up the firth of Forth, with a drying east wind, which often blasts the trees and young vegetables, and therefore, in a small degree, resembles the Harmattan in drying up the ground, and robbing vegetables of their moisture.

3. That, when the electric power, by which vapour is suspended in the atmosphere, is destroyed, a heavy mist, small rain or thunder-showers, will be the consequence. Had the advocates for the doctrine of solution, made heat and electricity, the solvents, their theory would have been less exceptionable.

The Folly *of* Self-Tormenting.

MR. Addison says, that when people complain of weariness or indisposition in good company, they should immediately be presented with a night-cap, as a hint that it would be best for them to retire. I own, I am one of those that have no idea of carrying either my cares, or my infirmities out of my own habitation, except in such instances as I am sensible they can receive relief, or mitigation: Why should I unnecessarily wound the good nature of my friend, or make myself contemptible to my enemies?—if the communication of my grievances really interrupts the satisfaction of those amongst whom I am cast, I have hurt them without benefitting myself; and, on the contrary, if they only dissemble with me, it is a species of ridicule which my mind is not calculated to sustain—but you will allow me to observe, that I confine myself on this occasion to the valetudinarian, and the magnifier of trifles into calamities—for to deny the severely attacked, whether mentally or corporally, the relief of complaining, would be to strike at the root of humanity, and forfeit the characteristics of our nature.

To come, however, more immediately to the point, I must tell you, that I have perhaps the most curious set of relations you ever heard of.—My mother, poor woman, her afflictions are sanctified by their poignancy and sincerity—the loss of the man she loved, and a consequential decay of constitution—but then I have an aunt that is evermore upon the rack of her own imagination; not a change of weather, or a change of situation, that does not produce some present or prospective agony.—If the day is fine, her corns inform her that we shall have rain to-morrow—if the sun is tolerably powerful, she expires with heat, or, if temperate, she anticipates the inconveniencies of an approaching winter—if she perceives a cloud, she is for running into an obscure corner to preserve her eyes from lightning—and when she beholds a clear horizon, trembles for the consequences of a drought. Not a melancholy intimation is dropped in her hearing, but she instantly recollects a thousand dreadful disasters she has either experienced or escaped; and when she is told of any extraordinary piece of good fortune's reaching people unexpectedly, she repines at the ungraciousness of her stars, that withholds every such blessing from falling to her share.

A brother of this lady's, consequently an uncle of mine, who had met with a cruel disappointment in love, at a very early period of his life, was so morose as to insist upon it, that women are universally unworthy, and universally unfaithful.—Tell a story to their advantage, and he is petulant; mention them with severity, and you apparently

tear open his old wounds—if he was treated respectfully by them, they were deceitful, and if they behaved coolly, he complained of being despised—when the younger part of his relations were disposed to be merry, his head ached, and when they were serious, they treated him as if he was a bug-bear—when he was consulted what he would chuse for dinner, he was teazed, and when unconsulted, he was neglected.—But to sum up all—after years of assiduity and attention, on the part of all his relations, excepting your humble servant, whose independent spirit frequently incited him to raillery, he died, and left me every shilling of his fortune as a reward for my sincerity.

A young fellow, who stands in the relationship of cousin-german to me, is what may justly be entitled a constitutional self-tormentor—for he was so from his infancy. When a school-boy, whatever was in another's possession, was always considered by him as much better than his own—his top never spun so well, nor his marbles rolled so dexterously as those of his companions—his task was always harder than any body's else, and his repetition of it listened to with prejudiced ears by our master.

On entering into life, this strange humour increased upon him; he conceived every dinner he was not a partaker of, much more excellent than the one he participated—Every tailor, if he changed a dozen times in a month, was smarter than those he employed, and every estate he heard of, happier situated, and better improved than his own, though the rents were absolutely inferior to what he was in the receipt of. He attached himself to a fine accomplished girl, but soon found out that her sister was much more charming. The sister had a young friend who had as much the advantage of her, and that friend a relation that surpassed them all. His strange humour and inconsistency soon marked him for an object of contempt; and however, out of respect to his family, he is to this day received in some few houses; he is tolerated, not approved; pitied, not honoured, notwithstanding his birth, education, and estate.

I have a sister, which is the last oddity I introduce to you at this period, that is evermore labouring under some imaginary disease—She sits down to table without an appetite, it is true—but then she has been eating all the morning—her complexion is extremely fine—but the bloom of nature is called a hectic—her voice, that is naturally sweet, is changed into an affected whine, and her nerves are so delicate, that one of my honest laughs are sufficient to throw her into hysterics—I have taken great pains to convince her of her folly, but if I attempt to rally, she bursts into tears, and I am hurried out of the room as the greatest of all barbarians. I make daily resolutions to renounce all connection with so ridiculous a groupe of wretches; my resolutions, nevertheless, (barbarian as I am) are dissolved by their applications to return to them, though the infallible consequence of our re-union is an abrupt separation.

Is it not astonishing, that people in no degree deficient in understanding, and blessed with affluence, should be such enemies to their repose, that instead of attending to the distresses of others, which they have the power so amply to relieve, they thus defeat all the gracious

purposes of Providence, where their own happiness is concerned, and neglect all the opportunities of doing good, that lie before them?

GEORGE GOOD-FELLOW.

A PLAN *for the general* REFORMATION *of* MANNERS.

IN the few nations that serve as examples, we find government with punishment in one hand, and rewards in the other, always attentive to, and operating upon, every class of the community. On one side are seen deprivations, degradations, disgrace, and chastisements of every kind; and, on the other, pecuniary gifts, public distinctions, precedency, titles, statutes, and crowns: vices fly at the approach of correction, and virtues assemble at the prospect of gratification.

Punishment and recompence must therefore be continually in search of vice and virtue, in order to do justice to both; the great difficulty lies in carrying on this inquiry with equity, constancy and perseverance. If the matter in question concerned only a little republic, where every thing is brought into a narrow compass, the regulation would be almost as easy as in a private family; but when it relates to an empire of vast extent, what is the plan to attain it?

This plan must be sought for in history; for by adhering to facts we run no risk of roving into systems. Had Descartes, in his attempt to discover the laws of the physical world, taken experiments for his guide, he would have been the Newton of France, and of all other nations. But to reduce the moral world to order by a consistent plan, is a work of much greater importance; and such as has not been attempted by any moralist. They all cry out, make the people virtuous, if you wish they should be happy and respected; nay, if you mean they should be triumphant and illustrious. Government is perfectly sensible of this: but the more a remedy is thought of, the more they despair of success, from the difficulties that present themselves. We are not unacquainted, say they, with the force of rewards and punishments; but there are so many vices to be rooted out, and so many virtues to be planted, that the clearest sight is confound and lost in the chaos. But the light of history has dissipated much obscurity.

In these virtuous nations I have mentioned, while government is incessantly occupied in rewarding and punishing, its attention is, at the same time, employed in facilitating the execution and distribution of both. By dividing and subdividing large societies into small bodies, a superintendant may be appointed to each.

We learn from Diodorus, that in Egypt, all the citizens being registered, served as a guard upon each other; and that the whole body of the state was, by a judicious distinction, united against the profligate. The Persians, under Cambyses, were divided into tribes; each tribe had its president, and every subdivision its overseer; and when Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, by enlarging his father's plan, had

re-united the empires of Babylon, and of the Medes, in the Perſian, he was able to ſupport theſe virtuous inſtitutions through a widely extended monarchy.

Athens, before the time of Solon, had no regulation of public manners; by diſtributing the citizens into as many claſſes as was requiſite to enable the Areopagites and Archons to adminiſter a good police, univerſal order was eſtabliſhed. The prophecy of Anacharſis to Solon, that his laws reſembled cobwebs, wherein the weak would be entangled, but which the rich and powerful would break through, was not fulfilled till the ſprings of government were relaxed, and the legiſlator's plan forſaken.

The Roman nation was ſubdivided into wards, or hundreds; ſo that every hundred men, notwithſtanding the amazing increaſe of people in the flouriſhing times of the republic, had a centurion over them, who could eaſily diſcover thoſe that merited puniſhment or reward.—Charlemagne, who collected together the corrupted remnant of the Roman empire, felt the neceſſity of dividing ſuch a multitude of people into many diſtricts, which he increaſed in a ſuitable proportion to the wholeſome regulations he deſigned to eſtabliſh. Before his time, theſe diſtricts were intruſted to the management of one duke only; but he foreſaw, that one magiſtrate alone, at the head of each province, would either neglect his duty, or abuſe his power; and, therefore, divided the adminiſtration among ſeveral earls, in order to render it more eaſy and exact. He went farther; officers, ſelected out of the order of prelates, and nobility, called Royal Envoys, were directed to viſit each diſtrict every three months, and give an account of their inquiries to the prince. In ſuch a conſtitution, the manners of individuals could hardly eſcape the notice of the magiſtrates; and the magiſtrates themſelves were narrowly watched. If Charlemagne did not fully ſucceed in his deſign, it was owing to his proſecuting only one part of his plan.

Alfred carried the diviſion of his ſubjects farther, for the benefit of regulation. The whole nation was diſtributed into counties, the counties into hundreds; and every head of a family was made anſwerable for the conduct of his children, his ſervants, and even his gueſts. The ten heads that lived neareſt together, formed a ſort of community, and were reſponſible for one another; by which means every individual found his own ſecurity in watching over the behaviour of his neighbour; and in ſome meaſure guaranteed the probity of his own claſs. It is thus that, in an army of one or two hundred thouſand men, by dividing them at firſt into brigades, brigades into regiments, regiments into battalions, battalions into companies, and by placing vigilant officers at the head of each grand or leſſer diviſion, in ſubordination to each other, military licentiouſneſs is repreſſed, and a diſcipline eſtabliſhed, which, in the opinion of competent judges, confers more honour on a general than a victory; becauſe it is, in itſelf, the foundation of victory.

It is with the eſtabliſhment of manners as with the culture of the earth; grant large tracts of land to one man, and he will cultivate only ſuch a portion as produces moſt profit with the leaſt expence;

divide this territory among a thousand husbandmen, every part will be cultivated and produce something. In like manner, large political societies must be divided into such small bodies, that each may feel the hand of government by means of their immediate director; and this will form a set of moral people. Our divisions into provinces, generalities, and governments, have relation only to geography, revenue, and military disposition, but are not in the least relative to manners. Even those jurisdictions that seem to aim at this point, what effect do they produce? Without taking cognizance of merit, crimes are punished, and yet vices still subsist.

FOF THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A PROJECT *for* UNIVERSAL LIBERTY.

THE principles of freedom are as extensive as animal existence, this general principle, renders it a subject worthy of examination and attention; such is the importance of the subject, that the most able pens have been employed in its service, and the finest pencil to present its native beauty to an interested world.

The bravest minds have engaged to procure and defend it, at the expence of life and property; death brandishes its sword with a feeble arm when compared with slavery——freedom has inspired her offspring with such courage that they oppose any enemy, hazard any experiment, and brave any danger in defence thereof—If at any time overpowered, they are at no time conquered—To die in the defence, or live the possession of freedom—is their motto.

The united states were early honoured, with those sparks of liberty which have been so accumulated, as not only to illuminate this continent, and the contiguous islands, but the brightness thereof has dispelled the clouds in the eastern world, and its power has dismounted kings from their thrones, their armies have been put to flight before the standard of liberty.

Something still remains to be done, to render freedom universal, shall we sit at ease and behold so many of the same species in chains of slavery in the united states? what may the tyrants of the east say: may they not say to us, that we are guilty of the same or worse crimes than they are, while we profess to be the friends of freedom, we retain in slavery all in our power, as much as they do—is your land free, where three-fifths of the black inhabitants of some states are held in perpetual servitude; when America shall emancipate her negroes, than she may become arbitress between us and our subjects, but until that is done we stand on equal ground. If our subjects are in subjection, they are not consigned to perpepetual ignorance like the slaves in the united states. Let Americans not only profess but shew themselves the friends of liberty—let an unhappy race be free, let them be educated, let us shew liberty in practice as well as in theory, let us set a fair copy before the admiring world, at this important hour, when thrones of kings, and the bulwarks of slavery, are no longer an asylum to the tyrant. Many powerful objections may be

offered against the general emancipation of the negroes. Many have their whole property in slaves, if they are set at liberty, such families are ruined—unaccustomed to labour themselves, and their families depending on the labour of the slaves, they would at once be deprived of that subsistence and comfort they were born to enjoy; this would render them and their families miserable. It may be observed, that no man in his senses would have his property solely of this sort, unless he deemed himself of no other use in the world, but to hold others in slavery; and if they are only a part of his property, the remainder of it may be otherwise improved, if not to render his interest so great, it would at least be more honourable.

Were objections of this sort admissible, they are more applicable to kings and tyrants, who hold themselves born to power, and who require pomp and equipage to prevent the eye from beholding the monster in full view.

But why emancipate negroes, say some, they are more happy than if they were free: every thing is provided for them: how this may be in fact with some, I cannot say; but if I rob a man of all his property, and that he shall spend his life more happy without it, than I should in the use of it, will that justify robbery? it may well show him to be a better man than I, but it will never, with regard to me, obliterate the crime.

We are told that they have not that love of liberty that would justify their emancipation and that they could not govern themselves or enjoy it with prudence. The first part of this objection contradicts a principle common to mankind; and examples are are at hand to shew that some of them, after paying for their own freedom, have purchased it for their children at the expence of every thing comfortable and dear to them, and often at the highest price; the question is, whether the seller or the buyer was most possessed of the love of liberty and humanity? If we consider the last part of the objection, it is the language of the duke of Brunswick to the freemen of France, or rather the whole is the language of tyrants and kings to those under their yokes, the brave king of Poland excepted.

Others have recourse to the sacred book, and produce examples of slavery mentioned therein, they may as well vindicate murder because we have many examples recorded therein; these examples of the vices of mankind shew the ancient and universal depravity of our nature, to which the precepts of the sacred volume are every where opposed. Not so in this case, say some, the Mosaic dispensation required the Children of Israel to take slaves from the nations around them. These objectors do not consider that the divine command was to punish those nations, and at the same time afforded them the knowledge of the truth as amongst the Jews, and at the end of every seven years give them liberty to return into their own nation, by which means they might promulgate the true religion among the nations around them. If slaves are taken from among the Indian tribes around us, on the same terms and for the same purposes, then perpetual slavery is no more.

But for what purpose is complaint raised without a project for removal of the causes?—The following is humbly offered to pave the way for a better.

Let a general tax be laid for the immediate purchase of a certain number of slaves; as the sales are general, it is not probable that more will be wanted than shall be offered. This annual sum appropriated, will accumulate by adding to the number of freemen, the objects of taxation, and diminishing the number of slaves. Or if practicable, to borrow a sum sufficient to emancipate the whole in a short time, would be more desirable. No freemen deserves the name, who would not cheerfully contribute his share, to render the blessing of natural liberty universal in the united states. Such noble exertions and disinterested benevolence, would be an example sufficient to inspire the whole world with the love of freedom.

Surely it would be an insult to the good understanding of Americans to suppose that any person would refuse his share for the payment of this debt, a debt which we owe to nature; natures laws requires it. Have we bought liberty to ourselves, shall we not show the invaluable estimate we put upon it, in constant endeavours to cause its sweets to be known and enjoyed by those who have an equal claim to it.

The possible amount would be small, compared with the object to be obtained. If we regard the law of nature, the principles of freedom, or the liberty of our children, we will be zealous in this business. Can the cause of liberty flourish in the midst of slavery? will our children grow up with sentiments favourable to liberty, while surrounded with slaves?

Let us dread slavery as a Canker-worm that will finally blast the fruit of liberty, and penetrate into the vitals of freedom.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The PREMATURE ADVISER.

MR. EDITOR,

TO give such advice, as may suit the temper, views, and interests of the person advised, is a task replete with delicacy and difficulty. Yet we daily find, that what might puzzle a sage is undertaken without hesitation by every pretender to prudence, and every dabbler in maxims. Alphonzo, who was gilted in his youth, instead of apathy in age has recourse to invectives against courtship and matrimony; and, in the true style of exasperated disappointment, exclaims, that none but a fool or a knave would marry. A young man applies to him for advice on this momentous subject; he seems to listen with due attention; then shakes his head in disgust, and summons every common-place argument against this (generally) delightful union. Silk, laces, and ribbons; the abused economy of the kitchin, and unseasonable visits, whether received or paid, are objects of his cynical animadversions.

"If you marry, says this Pseudo-philosopher, one who is inferior to you in circumstances, you will experience the levity of upstart consequence; if you marry an equal with respect to property, she will

undoubtedly conteſt with you the palm of ſuperiority; but ſhould you unfortunately eſpouſe a woman ſuperior to yourſelf in wealth, and connexions, you will, after a very ſhort ſpace, be compelled to bid adieu to earthly happineſs, at leaſt during her exiſtence." As a man, who is a candidate for matrimony, muſt infallibly wed either an inferior, an equal or a ſuperior in property, it inevitably follows from the arguments of this adviſer, that matrimony ought to be annihilated. The young man however marries, and is competently happy.

Hilarius, poſſeſſed of an active mind and a decent capital, applies to this monitor for counſel with reſpect to that route of commerce, which he might purſue with the greateſt probability of advantage. The countenance of the cynic aſſumes on this occaſion a double portion of auſterity; and, diſplaying all his importance, he thus delivers his ſentiments in a tone of voice now deep, now querulous; expreſſive of the growl of the maſtiff and the yelping of the cur. "Young man! you tell me that you are poſſeſſed of three thouſand pounds. Is not the intereſt, which will ariſe from this capital, ſufficient to ſupport you in eaſe? It certainly is; and what more can you, conſiſtently with reaſon, require? Should you be ſucceſsful in trade, you will be expoſed to the wiles of flattery and deceit, againſt which even men of experience are not always on their guard. But ſhould you prove unſucceſsful, think but for a moment on the condition of the unfortunate man. Although he has approved his integrity and induſtry, obloquy will be his bitter portion, Talk not to me of thoſe benefits, which by your commercial exertions you may confer on your country. Your country may ultimately enroll you amongſt the denizans of an alms-houſe, unleſs private charity ſhould prevent you from being a charge to the public."

Such is the advice of this ſplenetic man! were it generally followed, emulation in trade, manufactures, arts and ſciencies would languiſh, and at length be totally ſuppreſſed. The candidate for wealth, diſregarding, however, the opinions of Alphonſo, is now an ornament to the commercial part of the world.

It muſt be acknowledged, that in the inſtances, which I have adduced, Alphonſo is not altogether worthy of cenſure, inaſmuch as his counſel was applied for. But his obtruded advice is highly reprehenſible; and let me tell him, that he has never derived eſteem or reſpect from it; but on the contrary, diſregard and even contempt.

Yours, &c. W.

To make a SHORT SWORD LONG ENOUGH.

A King of Arabia ſhewing his courtiers a Damaſcus ſword that had been preſented to him, it was the opinion of them all, that the only fault it had was its being too ſhort. The king's ſon, who was preſent, obſerved, that there was no weapon too ſhort for a brave man, as there needed no more but to advance one ſtep to make it long enough.—The ſufficiency of the heart ſupplies whatever is wanting.

THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A BURLESQUE PASTORAL.

OVIS *and* HIRCA; *or the* CONTENDING LOVERS.

THE Arcadian shepherd dropt his beams from high,
Rising the fervid zenith of the sky:
Over the parch'd fields, no lowing oxen strayed,
No sheep were bleating, and no zephyrs played;
Its lay, no more the feather'd songster weaves,
But silent droops beneath the placid leaves.

'Twas now that OVIS o'er a fountain stood,
Her beauteous phiz admiring in the flood;
Hirca—the fairest of the goaty kind,
Upon the bank, thro' indolence reclined;
While in her eyes, love's gentle powers shone,
She thus to *Ovis* spoke in charming tone.

"Ovis! you love; I too a flame confess
For one, whose beauties are than thine not less;
Therefore I dare you to yon grateful shade,
Form'd by the branches of the rising glade;
Thy lover's charms I dare thee there to sing,
The praise of mine shall make the meadow ring.

OVIS.

Nor dar'st in vain: with pleasure I assume,
To sing the charms, which round my lover bloom,
I,ll bet the wool, that o'er my bosom flows,
More soft than down, more white than driven snows,
That brighter charms around my *Ramus* rove,
Than deck the proudest monarch of your love.

HIRCA.

I'll stake the graceful beard upon my chin.
My lover's worth from thine the palm will win.
Gruntus, who now in yonder mire lies,
To judge the contest, at our wish, will rise.

Now with judge *Gruntus*, to the shade they mov'd,
To sing the lustre of the swains, they lov'd.

GRUNTUS.

Ovis! 'tis your's the contest to commence:
And mine the prize with justice to dispense.

OVIS.

Had I the voice of oxen—all around
Should with thy charms, oh *Romus!* loud resound:
Thy martial forehead and thy winning eyes,
I'll bellow forth, and echo thro' the skies.

HIRCA.

Could I as loud as regal lions roar,
The hills should catch thy beauties, o'er and o'er—
Dear *Friscus!* then those charms should be exprest,
Which play such havoc in my tender breast.

OVIS.

Beside my love—o'er all the flock supreme,
Niggard and mean his stateliest subjects seem.
'Twas when against a huge rebellious foe,
With iron head, he aim'd a fatal blow,
I saw—admiring saw the grand affray:
But ah! the conqueror stole my heart away.

HIRCA.

O'er all the herd, my *Friscus* also reigns—
Supreme o'er hills; supreme o'er all the plains.
'Twas when the herd together met to try,
What one could leap most actively on high,
Them all my capering lover far outshone,
Ah! could I see; and call my heart my own.

OVIS.

Soft is the down, which flows upon my love;
Grand are his horns, and tower far above;
Sweet is his voice—far sweeter to my ear;
Than to my eye, the vernal flowers appear.

HIRCA.

Sleek is the hair, which o'er my lover glides;
Soft is his skin, his hair smooth-gliding hides;
Burnish'd the horns, which on his brow appear,
Sweeter his fragrance than the vernal air.

OVIS.

When I appear among the fleecy throng,
My *Ramus* hails me with his sweetest song:
Stately he moves, till I assume my seat;
Then, proudly humble, crouches at my feet.

HIRCA.

Whene'er I move and frolicsome appear,
My lover skips and prances thro' the air;
But when sedately I my footsteps guide,
He capers not, but muses by my side.

OVIS.

For me alone, he every danger braves,—
Brouses the grass, and in the wild brook laves;
For me alone he snuffs the fragrant gales,
And spurns the fair, who rove amid the vales.
If any beauties on the plain reside,—
These he deserts to gambol by my side.

HIRCA.

Friscus, my love that he alone may share,
Mounts the wild rocks, and wanton's thro' the air;
O'er craggy steeps he leaps, from brow to brow,
Capers aloft, and spurns the void below.
No charms in any other he espies,
But views all beauties, center'd in my eyes.

GRUNTUS.

Cease---cease your prating: by my snout I swore,
You nought but grossest falsities declare:
Begone! nor dare such themes to sing again;
Such themes are phantoms of a madden'd brain.

Now *Ovis* bleated; *Hirca* frisked with ire;
And *Gruntus* waddled to his bed of mire.

BELCOUR.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The REVOLUTIONS *of* FASHION.

THE *zone* of *beauty* long has been renown'd;
The graces poets gloried to resound.
This Venus lent to Jove's imperious wife,
The ills to soften of connubial life.
It turn'd the tide of passion in the dame;
Anger it banish'd, and reviv'd love's flame;
It gave the brightest lustre to her eyes;
It added soothing softness to her sighs;
It harmoniz'd the temper of her mind;
And Jupiter grew fond---for she was kind.

Those married dames, Discretion's rules who own,
Admire the magic charms of *Beauty's zone.*
Old Homer—ladies! venerate the sage—
By fable wish'd to hush connubial rage;
And taught these morals to each thinking mate:
" Mildness alone can bless the married state,
" Shape, air, and features some attention claim;
" But softness only can preserve love's flame."

Fashion, intent our wonder to excite,
Seems nature for the marvellous to slight,
Now on the head the bonnet soars, design'd
To show a towering, bold, ambition mind.
Now swells the petticoat, a spacious round,
And now in length three yards, or more, is found.

Tow'r, like the Titans, heaven appear to scale,
As Fashion's arbitrary laws prevail;
The stays' shark peak with star-like lustre glows,
And the paste-buckle glitters on the toes.

These wanderings of taste we may excuse;
Assisting by Politeness Beauty's views.
Powder! bestow thy cleanly, cheering aid:
Be Nature's tresses amiably displayed!
But may no curling-tongs heat that brain,
Where cool discretion should in triumph reign.
Still will those follies! frame tyrannic laws!
Now dealing in cork-hips, and now in *craws*?
Must delicacy to thy power submit?
Wilt thou yield ample scope for sneering wit?
The fair shall never suffer in my verse;
And simply thus a cynic's thoughts rehearse.
"There was a time (perhaps that time remains)
"When feathers gave the ton to female brains.
"Each whim the fair with readiness embrac'd;
"Since to be flighty was a proof of taste.
"There was a time, attach'd to liberal arts,
"When ladies sooth's our minds, and cheer'd our hearts.
"By moderate art, ye fair! preserve your reign;
"Prudence alone your empire can maintain.
"From delicacy hope sincere applause;
"Your *hearts* men wish to gain, but slight ——your *craws*.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

LINES *addressed to a* LARK.

CHILD of nature! freely fly;
Skim the earth, or mount the sky.
Shelter'd listen to the gale,
Roaring over hill and vale;
And at times, in pensive mood,
Hear the rushing of the flood.

In the grove, or cultur'd bower,
Taste the fragrance of each flower.
True to Nature ever sound,
Let the woods thy thanks resound;
Thanks, which instinct still inspires,
Glowing with celestial fires.

Man, of passion oft the slave:
Dares forbidden dangers brave.
With some rays of reason blest,
More his follies shine confess'd,
Than to instinct if allied,
He had! Reason! scorn'd thy pride.

See him over ocean roll,
And despise the freezing pole!
See him, fond of useless ore,
Earth! thy hidden depths explore!
And, for follies to atone,
See him weep, and hear him groan!

Now he bids, in fancy wise,
Lofty roofs ascend the skies.
But, too often weak, the base
Sinks the owner in disgrace,
Or the roof, by tempests torn,
Leave the haughty wretch to mourn.

Does he at Ambition's fane
Hope reward and fame to gain?
E'er the summit he ascends,
Scornful foes and envious friends—
On his conduct shall reflect;
These condemn, and these suspect.

Does he glow with love's true flame,
And expect a parent's name?
Wife and children often prove
False to duty, false to love.
Lark! since blest in Nature's plan,
Weep the woes of reasoning man.

Yet thy sorrows, Lark! repress;
Suffering man still heaven shall bless.
Thou wert form'd to mount the skies;
Man on bolder wings shall rise;
And, whilst cherubims applaud,
Shine before the throne of GOD.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The DISTRESSED MAIDEN.

BRIGHT were the prospects of my earlier days—
My parents' comfort, and the theme of praise.
Taught admiration, as a right, to claim,
Say, who my youthful levity could blame?

I danced, the envy of the maiden throng,
And sweetest music warbled from my tongue.
Willing the old and young at once to please,
With grace I rallied, or I spoke with ease.
At once I chanced, in converse formed to shine,
The ready lawyer and the grave divine.

O happy state of youth! were youth but wise,
And would the snares of vanity despise!

The unworthy flattered—one at length stood forth,
Praised for his genius, honoured for his worth,
Formed to delight, by nature and by art,
He charmed my fancy, and he won my heart.
Soothed by his tongue, which promised faithful love,
With him I trod the lawn, or pierced the grove:
He wished to see me in each circle shine;
And at the ball his ready hand was mine.
The day was fixed, when Hymen should unite
Hearts, formed each other fully to delight——
The day was fixed—but horror interposed,
And my bright scenes of bliss for ever closed.

Ah! who on Hope's gay vision can depend!—
Death snatched away my lover and my friend!—
In vain from books my mind some comfort sought;
For calumny was now my hapless lot.
Envy, her rage by Innocence unquelled,
Had long our happy intercourse beheld;
And guilt imputed to this hapless breast,
Solely by virtue, honour, love possessed.

Since converse can no longer ease supply,
Far from the cheerful haunts of men I fly—
My wish to live unknown—in peace to die.

Philadelphia, 1792.

On Delia.

AN epigram brisk Delia doth prefer;
And why?---'Tis very short and smart, like her.

December, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On the Gout.

BEGONE! approach not! (thus to Gout I spoke)
Haste to the men who revelry invoke;
Seek the vile scenes which passions oft disclose,
Or in the lap of luxury repose.—
Wilt thou not quit me?---still I feel thy rage—
Dar'st thou with moderation to engage?
Ever obedient, Temperance! to thy power,
Calm was my morn, my noon, my midnight-hour.

Tell me---a parent's legacy art thou?
Or must I to my own sad follies bow?
Prompted to act by reason on life's scene,
Mild were their days; their nights alike serene:
Of vice unconscious, all their lives applaud;
They bowed to reason, and to reason's God.
Gout! tell me then (in fury thus I cried)
Whence can proceed thy pains?---Thus Gout replied—

Shun idleness, thou wretch! plant, plough, or sow,
Level the harvest, and the meadow mow;
Walk, ride, run, labour—Nature gave for use.
Talents, to gen'ral good which must conduce.
Scorn in excess your fellows to surpass;
Tom bears his bottle, William scarce his glass.
If single, of intemperance be afraid;
If married---but I think enough is said.

Thus spoke the power of Gout——my nerves confessed
How much my mind by horror was oppressed,
And, though to temperance bowing, yet my toes,
In fancy oft th' approaching ill disclose.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

Hypocrisy Universal.

HYPOCRISY in all things may be seen;
Hence oft the zealot is beheld serene;

The miser seems to sympathize with woe,
Statesmen, at times, some moderation show;
Beauties no admiration wish to raise,
And modest author's shun the voice of praise.
Religion! then, no longer bear the blame;
Since all are hypocrites---tho' not in *name.*

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HYMN.

SING Jehovah's praise aloud;
Bend to him, ye strong and proud!
Bow to him, ye learned and wise,
Ruler of earth, seas and skies!

Hear his voice the world alarm;
See his bare and outstreched arm!
Rage o'er Europe's wretched coasts
Shows the offended LORD of HOSTS.

Ah! be war by all abhorred,
Nations! drop the cruel sword:
Bid the cannon cease to roar;
Stain the fields with blood no more.

Far as earth's remotest bound
Be each milder virtue found---
When, dire rage and faction cease,
All shall hail the GOD of PEACE!

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

VERSES *for the* CLOSE *of the* YEAR 1792.

RASH is the bard who dares to praise
that land,
Which e'en from envy must applause command:
Yet custom orders (custom all revere)
To hail with genial strains the coming year.

Hushed are the trumpet's notes; and, Peace, thy strain
Sounds in each grove, and echoes o'er each plain,
Where once the sword with cruel lustre shone,
The plough-share shines, with lustre all its own.

Where late the cannon threatened earth and skies,
The maiden listens, as her lover sighs.
Wisdom her happy, favoured sons calls forth,
And education forms each mind to worth.
(Ah! could the muse but cast Oblivion's veil
O'er Indian wrath, and all their wrongs repeal;
Then should her verse with tenfold rapture rise,
And paint our land an emblem of the skies.
Oh! may the approaching year bid slaughter cease,
And western plains exult in heaven-born peace!)

Blest be that era, when the world was taught
That freedom never can be dearly bought.
Tho' in the conflict many a patriot died,
Others survive, a nation's steps to guide;
Ambitious of true fame, the world they tell,
Those should preside, in wisdom who excel.
Genius too often is conjoined with pride;
But worth and wisdom ever are allied---
Yet Genius too is ours. Ye Arts! proclaim
Each candidate for excellence and fame.---
So great the crowd, the attempt I must decline,
And to some abler pen, the task resign.

Yet, whilst we view the lofty mast ascend,
The stately mansion rise, the forest bend;
Commerce adorning, Delaware! thy tide,
Each harvest flourish, and the shuttle glide,
Cold must that bosom be, which does not feel
The sacred warmth of patriotic zeal.

December, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ANACREONTIC.

FROM the cellar bring that beer,
Meant our thirsty hearts to cheer.---
Hast thou brought but *one!*---there's plenty.
Blockhead! haste, and bring up *twenty.*

Perfected by skill and care,
See the toils of honest *Hare!*
To my frame it ease dispenses,
And invigorates my senses.

Lo! it foams above the glass—
Name thy friend, or toast thy lass,
Let us mirth from reason borrow,
Since too soon will come to-morrow.

Bacchus! can thy juice compare
With this draft of worthy Hare?
Thou canst weaken all our senses;
He found health and wealth dispenses.

This best produce of our lands
Every patriot's praise demands;
Since, while beer and freedom charm us,
Foreign foes shall ne'er alarm us.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The COUNTRY SWAIN'S ADDRESS *to his* CITY CHARMER.

COULD I in my verse combine
All the graces which are thine;
Could I rose and lily blend,
Nature's beauties to commend,
Those perfections, all would say,
Were but stars, compared with day.

Fancy! dare not here intrude;
She at once is fair and good.
Hear that tongue, which sense refines;
See that form where beauty shines;
In the tablet be combined
All the graces of the mind.

Music in her words is heard,
And morality revered;
Genius, bending from his throne,
Bows to her, and her alone.
From her tongue, which all revere,
Truth is rendered doubly dear.

Since the city little yields,
Seek with me the distant fields;
Where, if Delia should prove kind,
I to toil will bend my mind;
Cleave the logs and turn the soil—
Love will pleasure yield to toil.

Gentle Delia! be but mine;
We no courtiers shall outshine;
But, with every virtue blest,
Rise in joy, repose with rest.
Pride, ambition, we resign——
Be contentment yours and mine!

Delia! listen to my strain;
Bless with mutual love thy swain,
Who the forest will subdue,
And will only bend to you.
Be this truth by all confessed—
Love and *virtue* make us blest.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The SUPERANNUATED MAIDEN.

MILD Thyrsis at forty to me paid his vows,
And promised to make me the happiest spouse.
Such starchness appeared in this gay ancient beau,
That I smiled at his offers, and tittered "No; no!"

I then was just twenty, and scarcely surmised,
That by wrinkles my forehead should e'er be surprised:
Health bloomed on my cheek, and so gay was my mien
That many imagined I scarce was fifteen.

Young Damon approached me, and chanted his pains
With passion, expressed in sweet melody's strains.
I listened; but said 'twas a sorrowful truth,
That in age want oft flowed from bright genius in youth.

By dozens obliged silly fops to discard,
'Twixt Thyrsis and Damon I shared my regard;
But coquetted so long, that, bereft of each heart,
Both Damon and Thyrsis I forced to depart.

But must I the worst of all miseries speak?
The sorrows of age are sunk deep in my cheek;
And, whilst I still chat with the flirt and the beau,
My cheeks look like buff, and my locks are like snow.

Philadelphia, 1792.

TRUTH *an* EPIGRAM.

TRUTH! should I try to trace thee to thy fane,
Where every virtue owns thy happy reign,
Where shall I find thy glories best expressed?
In Henry's head, or Mira's gentle breast?

On hearing the accomplished Miss MARIA B--. *sing* "Mary's Dream."

A Cherub's face, an angel's air
Meekly grace the charming fair;
Whose voice--- blest music of the sky!---
Proclaims a lovely seraph nigh;
Thrilling, swelling, quav'ring, dying:
Murm'ring, sweet as zephyr sighing,
Melts at will the soften'd soul,
Or bids wild throbbing rapture roll.

As from her lips, where proudly glows
The charms which blushes o'er the rose,
The heaven-descending accents glide,
Upon the floating breeze's tide;
On its happy bosom flowing,
With ambrozial fragrance glowing,
They sighing gently rise on high;
And flutter to their native sky.

BELCOUR.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On SATIETY.

AM I not with plenty blest?
Might not rapture swell my breast?
Yet that plenty I disdain,
And that rapture turns to pain.
Thus I feel those pangs of woe,
From satiety which flow.

Philadelphia, 1792.

ENVY.

OH! never let me see that shape again!
Exile me rather to some savage den,
Far from the social haunts of men!
Horrible phantom! pale it was as death!
Consumption fed upon its meagre cheek,
And ever as the fiend essay'd to speak,
Dreadfully steam'd its pestilential breath!
Fang'd like the wolf it was, and all a-gaunt,
And still it prowl'd around us and around,
Rolling its squinting eyes askaunt,
Wherever human happiness was found.

Furious thereat, the self-tormenting sprite
Drew forth an asp, and (terrible to sight)
To its left pap th' envenom'd reptile prest,
Which gnaw'd and worm'd into its tortur'd breast.
The desperate suicide, with pain,
Writh'd to and fro, and yell'd amain;
And then, with hollow dying cadence, cries—
"It is not of this asp that ENVY dies;
'Tis not this reptile's tooth that gives the smart;
'Tis other's happiness that gnaws my heart."

SONNET: *To* MARIA.

'TIS not thy flowing hair of orient gold,
Nor those bright eyes, like sapphire gems that glow;
Nor check of blushing rose, nor breast of snow,
The varying passions of the heart could hold:

Those locks, too soon, shall own a sily'ry ray,
Those radiant orbs their magic fires forego;
Insatiate Time shall steal those tints away;
Warp thy fine form, and bend thy beauties low;

But the rare wonders of thy polish'd mind
Shall mock the empty menace of decay;
The gem that in thy spotless breast enshrin'd,
Glows with the light of intellectual ray;
Shall, like the brilliant, scorn each borrow'd aid,
And, deck'd with native lustre, never fade!

BEAUTY.

GO tell the vain, the insolent, and fair,
That life's best days are only days of care;
That beauty, flutt'ring like a painted fly,
Owes to the spring of youth its rarest die;
When winter comes, its charms shall fade away,
And the poor insect wither in decay:
Go bid the giddy phantom learn from thee,
That Virtue only braves mortality.

POLITICAL REGISTER.

REPORT *of the* SECRETARY *of the* TREASURY, *respecting the* REDEMPTION *of the* PUBLIC DEBT, *and the* REIMBURSEMENT *of the* LOAN *made of the* BANK *of the* UNITED STATES.

IN obedience to two resolutions of the house of representatives, one of the 21st instant, directing the secretary of the treasury to report a plan for the redemption of so much of the public debt as by the act entitled "an act making provision for the debt of the united states," the united states have reserved the right to redeem; the other of the 22d instant, directing him to report the plan of a provision for the reimbursement of the loan made of the bank of the united states, pursuant to the XIth section of the act entitled "an act to incorporate the subscribers to the bank of the united states;" the said secretary respectfully submits the following

REPORT.

THE expediency of taking measures for the regular redemption of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government, being wisely predetermined by the resolution of the house of representatives referring the subject to the secretary, nothing remains for him but to endeavour to select and submit the most eligible means of providing for the execution of that important object.

With this view, the first enquiry, which naturally presents itself, is, whether the existing revenues are or are not adequate to the purpose?

The estimates which accompany the report of the secretary of the 14th instant, will shew, that during the continuance of the present Indian war, the appropriations for interest and the demands for the current service, are likely to exhaust the product of the existing revenues; though they afford a valuable surplus beyond the permanent objects of expenditure, which it is hoped may, ere long, be advantageously applied to accelerate the extinguishment of the debt.

In the mean time, however, and until the restoration of peace, the employment of that resource in this way, must of necessity be suspended; and either the business of redemption must be deferred, or recourse must be had to other expedients.

But did no such temporary necessity for resorting to other expedients exist, the doing of it would still be recommended by weighty considerations.——It would appear, in the abstract, adviseable to leave the surplus of the present revenues free, to be applied to such casual exigencies as may, from time to time occur; to occasional purchases of the debt when not exhausted by such exigencies, to the payment of interest on any balances which may be found due to particular states upon the general settlement of accounts; and finally, to the payment of interest on the deferred part of the debt, when the period for such payment arrives.

There is a reasonable prospect, that if not diverted, it will be found adequate to the two last important purposes.

Relinquishing, then, the idea of an immediate application of the present revenues to the object in view, it remains to examine what other modes are in the option of the Legislature.

Loans, from time to time, equal to the sums annually redeemable, and bottomed on the same revenues, which are now appropriated to pay the interest upon those sums, offer themselves as one expedient, which may be employed with a degree of advantage. As there is a probability of borrowing at a lower rate of interest, a material saving would result; and even this resource, if none better could be devised, ought not be neglected.

But it is obvious, that to rely upon this resource alone would be to do little towards the final exoneration of the nation. To stop at that point would consequently be neither provident nor satisfactory. The interests as well as the expectations of the union require something more effectual.

The establishment of additional revenues is the remaining resource. This, if the business is to be undertaken in earnest, is unavoidable; and a full confidence may reasonably be entertained, that the community will see with satisfaction the em-

ployment of those means, which alone can be effectual, for accomplishing an end, in itself so important, and so much an object of general desire. It cannot fail to be universally felt, that if the end is to be attained, the necessary means must be employed.

It can only be expected that care be taken to choose such as are liable to fewest objections, and that in the modifications of the business in other respects, due regard be had to the present and progressive circumstances of the country.

Assuming it as the basis of a plan of redemption, that additional revenues are to be provided, the further inquiry divides itself into the following branches:

I. Shall a revenue be immediately constituted, equal to the full sum, which may at present be redeemed, according to the terms of the contract?

II. Shall a revenue be constituted, from year to year, equal only to the interest of the sum, to be redeemed in each year—coupling with this operation an annual loan, commensurate with such sum? Or,

III. Shall a revenue be constituted each year, so much exceeding the interest of the sum to be redeemed as to be sufficient, within a short definite term of time, to discharge the principle itself; coupling with this operation also, an annual loan, equal to the sum to be annually redeemed, and appropriating the revenue created to its discharge, within the term which shall have been predetermined?

The first plan, besides being completely effectual, would be eventually most œconomical; but considering to what a magnitude the revenues of the united states have grown in a short period, it is not easy to pronounce how far the faculty of paying might not be strained by any sudden considerable augmentation, wherefoever immediately placed; while the rapid progress of the country in population and resource seems to afford a moral certainty, that the necessary augmentation may be made with conveniences by successive steps, within a moderate term of time, and invites to temporary and partial suspensions, as capable of conciliating the reasonable accommodation of the community with the vigorous prosecution of the main design. For these and for other reasons which will readily occur, the course of providing immediately the intire sum to be redeemed, is conceived *not* to be the most eligible.

The second plan, though much more efficacious than that of annual loans, bottomed on the revenues now appropriated for the payment of interest on the sums to be redeemed, does not appear to be sufficiently efficacious. The schedule A. will shew the effect of it to the 1st of January 1802, when the deferred debt will become redeemable in the proportions stipulated. Supposing the investment of the interest which is each year liberated, together with that which has been, and will be released by purchases, pursuant to provisions heretofore made, in the purchase of 6 per cent stock; a sum of principle equal to 2,043,837 dollars and 7 cents would be sunk, and a clear annuity, equal to 459,212 dollars and 82 cents would be created, towards further redemptions; but the fund then necessary for the future progressive redemption of the debt, according to the right reserved, would be 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents, exceeding by 667,403 dollars and 62 cents, the amount of the redeeming fund.—Something more effectual than this is certainly desirable, and appears to be practicable.

The last of the three plans best accords with the most accurate view which the secretary has been able to take of the public interest.

In its application it is of material consequence to endeavour to accomplish these two points: I. The complete discharge of the sums annually redeemable within the period prefixed, and the reimbursement within the same period of all auxiliary loans which may have been made for that purpose. II. The constituting by the expiration of that period, a clear annual fund competent to the future redemption of the debt to the extent of the right reserved.

The period to which it is conceived the plan ought to refer, is the first day of January, 1802; because *then*, the first payment on account of the principal of the deferred debt, may rightfully be made.

In conformity to these ideas, the following plan is most respectfully submitted: Premising that the sum redeemable for the first year of the 6 per cent stock, bearing a present interest, is computed at 550,000 dollars.

Let an annual fund be constituted, during the present session, equal to 103,199 dollars and 6 cents, to begin to accrue from the first of January, 1793.—Let the

ſum of 550,000 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within five years, that is by the firſt January 1799. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1794, to the firſt payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1799, and will be thenceforth free for any further application.

The ſum redeemable the ſecond year, that is on the firſt of January 1795, is computed at 583,000 dollars.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the ſecond ſeſſion after the preſent, equal to 109,391 dollars and 60 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January 1794. Let the ſum of 583,000 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity reimburſeable within five years, that is, by the firſt of January, 1800; the ſum borrowed to be applied on the the firſt of January 1795, to the ſecond payment on account of the principle of the debt. The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1800, and will be thenceforth free for any further application.

The ſum redeemable the third year, that is, on the firſt of January 1796, is computed at 617,980 dollars.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the third ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 115,955 dollars and 17 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January 1795. Let the ſum of 617,980 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within five years, that is, by the firſt of January 1801.

The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1796, to the third payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1801.

The ſum redeemable the fourth year, that is on the firſt of January 1797, is computed at 655,058 dollars and 80 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the fourth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 122,912 dollars and 48 cents; to begin to accrue from the firſt of January, 1796. Let the ſum 655,058 dollars and 80 cents, be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within five years; that is by the firſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1797, to the fourth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the fifth year, that is on the firſt of January 1798, is computed at 694,362 dollars and 33 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the fifth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 152,743 dollars and 12 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January 1797.—Let the ſum of 694,362 dollars and 33 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within four years, that is by the firſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1798 to the fifth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the ſixth year, that is on the firſt of January 1799 is computed at 736,024 dollars and 7 cents.

Let an anuual fund be conſtituted during the ſixth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 197,680 dollars and 20 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1ſt of 1798. Let the ſum of 736,024 dollars and 7 cents, be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within three years, that is by the firſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1799 to the ſixth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the 1ſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the ſeventh year, that is, on the 1ſt of January 1800, is computed at 780,185 dollars and 52 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the ſeventh ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 272,843 dollars and 38 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1ſt of January 1799. Let the ſum of 780,185 dollars and 52 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this an-

nuity, reimburseable within two years, that is, by the 1st of January 1802. The sum borrowed to be applied on the 1st of January 1800 to the seventh payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest, by the 1st of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the eighth year, that is, on the 1st of January 1801, is computed at 826,996 dollars and 65 cents.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the eighth session, after the present, equal to 423,583 dollars and 64 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1st of January 1800. Let the sum of 826,996 dollars and 65 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburseable within one year, that is, on the 1st of January 1802.

The sum borrowed to be applied on the 1st of January 1801 to the eighth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest on the 1st of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the ninth year, that is, on the 1st of January 1802, is computed at 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents. The then existing means for the discharge of this sum, arising from the operation of the plan, will be

1st The amount of the annuity constituted the third year, which will have been liberated by reimbursement of the third loan.

2d. The arrears of interest not previously appropriated, and which are computed at 200,000 dollars. There will consequently be a deficiency this year of 810,661 dollars and 17 cents, which will require to be supplied by a temporary loan to be reimbursed out of the surplus of the fund which on the 1st day of January 1802 will exist for future redemptions, and which surplus will be sufficient to reimburse this temporary loan in about thirteen years and an half.

It may be proper to remark, that this deficiency upon one year, is suffered to exist to avoid an unnecessary augmentation of revenue, materially beyond the sum permanently requisite. No inconvenience ensues, because this temporary deficiency is made up by the surplus of the permanent fund, within the period mentioned. And that fund, from the 1st January 1802, is adequate to all future redemptions, in the full propoption permitted by the contract.

The table in the schedule B, herewith submitted, will shew in one view the principles and operation of this plan.

The schedule C will exhibit the mens of constituting the several annuities proposed to be established. From it, will be seen, that the proposed annuities are to be composed, partly of taxes to be successively laid, at the respective periods of creating them, partly of the surplus dividend to be expected on the stock belonging to the government, in the bank of the united states, beyond the interest to be paid on account of it, and partly of the funds heretofore pledged for the payment of interest, which will have been liberated upon so much of the debt, as will have been extinguished,

The respective amounts of the taxes to be severally laid, will be:—In the first year 43,199 dollars and 6 cents; in the second year 109,391 dollars and 60 cents; in the third year 115,955 dollars and 17 cents; in the fourth year 102,912 dollars and 48 cents; in the fifth year 102,743 dollars and 12 cents; in the sixth year 107,680 dollars and 20 cents; in the seventh year 109,649 dollars and 32 cents; making together 691,530 dollars and 95 cents.

The sum which will have been redeemed *prior* to the first day of January 1802, will be 5,443,607 dollars and 37 cents. The sum redeemable on the first of January 1802, will be 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents; and the fund which will thenceforth exist for the purpose of future redemption, (as is particularly shewn by the schedule D.) will be 1,210,744 dollars and 34 cents, exceeding the sum strictly necessary by 84,127 dollars and 90 cents—a fund, which, including the interest from year to year liberated, will, as already intimated, be completely adequate to the final redemption of the whole amount of the 6 per cent. stock, (as well the deferred as that bearing a present interest) according to the right which has been reserved for that purpose.

In the mean time, a further impression will be made upon the debt, by the investment of the residue of the funds heretofore established, in the purchase of it; and it is hoped, that the restoration of peace with the Indians will enable the applica-

tion of the ſurplus of the exiſting revenues, together with the proceeds of the ceded lands in our weſtern territory, to the ſame object. Theſe, whenever they can be brought into action, will be important aids; materially accelerating the ultimate redemption of the entire debt. The employment of theſe reſources, when it can be done by increaſing the intereſt fund, will proportionably leſſen the neceſſity of uſing the reſource of taxation for creating the propoſed annuities, if the government ſhall judge it adviſeable to avail itſelf of the ſubſtitute, which may accrue from that circumſtance.

Having now given a general view of the plan, which has appeared upon the whole the moſt eligible, it is neceſſary in the next place, to preſent to the conſideration of the houſe the requiſite funds for commencing the execution of it. Theſe will embrace a proviſion for the firſt annuity only; that alone requitting, by the plan, immediate proviſion. With regard to a proviſion for the ſubſequent annuities, which is propoſed to be ſucceſſive, the ſecretary will content himſelf with this general obſervation, that he diſcerns no intrinſic difficulty in making proviſion for them, as faſt as ſhall be neceſſary, with due convenience to the people, and conſiſtently with the idea of abſtaining from taxing lands and buildings (with the ſtock and implements of farms) reſerving them as a reſource for thoſe great emergencies, which call for a full exertion of all the contributive faculties of a country.

The following means for conſtituting the firſt annuity, are reſpectfully ſubmitted, viz.

Annual ſurplus of the dividend on the ſtock of government in the bank of the united ſtates, beyond the intereſt to be paid out of the ſaid dividend eſtimated at

Dollars 60,000

Tax on horſes, kept or uſed for the purpoſe of riding or of drawing any coach, chariot, phæton, chaiſe, chair, ſulkey, or other carriage for *conveyance of perſons* - - - - -

Excepting and exempting all horſes which are *uſually* and *chiefly* employed for the purpoſes of huſbandry, or in drawing waggons, wains, drays, carts, or other carriages for the tranſportation of produce, goods, merchandize, commodities, or in carrying burthens in the courſe of the trade or occupation of the perſons to whom they reſpectively belong, and the horſes of perſons in the military ſervice of the united ſtates, viz.

For very horſe not above excepted or exempted, at the rate of one dollar per annum, where only one is uſed or kept by the ſame perſon; with an addition of fifty cents per annum, per horſe, where more than one and not more thon two horſes are kept or uſed by the ſame perſon—with an addition of one dollar per annum, per horſe, where more than two, and not more than four, are kept or uſed by the ſame perſon— and with an addition of one dollar and a half dollar per horſe, per annum, where more than four are kept or uſed by the ſame perſon.

Provided, that this addition ſhall not be made in reſpect to horſes uſually employed in public ſtages, for the conveyance of paſſengers.

This progreſſive increaſe of rates on the higher numbers, has reference to the preſumption of greater wealth which ariſes from the poſſeſſion of ſuch higher numbers.

The product of this tax will probably be about equal to the reſidue of the propoſed annuity, which is 43,199 dollars and 6 cents How near the truth this eſtimate may prove, experiment alone can, in ſo untried a caſe, decide. An aid to this fund may be derived from the ſurplus dividend on the bank ſtock, for the half year ending the laſt of December next, which, it is preſumed, will not be leſs than 20,000 dollars. Should a deficiency appear, upon trial, it can be ſupplied by a future proviſion. Proper regulations for the collection of this tax, will, it is believed be found not difficult, if the tax itſelf ſhall be deemed eligible. Its ſimplicity has been a conſiderable recommendation of it. Qualified, as it is, it is not likely to fall on any but ſuch who can afford to pay it. The exemption from the tax, in regard to horſes which are appropriated to the purpoſes of huſbandry, or of any trade or occupation, or to the tranſportation of commodities, ſeems to obiate all reaſonable objection.

If, however, there ſhould appear to the legiſlature, reaſons for preferring a tax on carriages for pleaſure, which, it may be obſerved, will operate on nearly the

ſame deſcription of perſons, the ſum required may, it is believed be produced from the following arrangement of rates, viz. Upon every coach, the annual ſum of four dollars—Upon every chariot, the annual ſum of three dollars—Upon every other carriage *for the conveyance of perſons*, having four wheels, the annual ſum of two dollars—and upon every chair, ſulkey, or other carriage *for the conveyance of perſons*, having leſs than four wheels, the annual ſum of one dollar.

The collection of this tax will be as ſimple and eaſy, and perhaps more certain, than that which has been primarily ſubmitted.

With regard to the ſecond object referred to the Secretary, namely the plan of a proviſion for the reimburſement of the loan made of the bank of the united ſtates, purſuant to the XIth ſection of the act by which it is incorporated, the following is reſpectfully ſubmitted, to wit, That power be given by law to borrow the ſum due. to be applied to that reimburſement; and that ſo much of the dividend on the ſtock of the government in the bank as may be neceſſary, be appropriated for paying the intereſt of the ſum to be borrowed.

From this operation, it is obvious, that a ſaving to the government will reſult, equal to the difference between the intereſt which will be payable on the new loan and that which is payable on the ſum now due to the bank.

If the propoſed loan can be effected, at the rate of thoſe laſt made in Holland, the nett ſaving to the government may be computed at the annual ſum of 35,000 dollars; which ſaving, whatever it may be, is contemplated as part of the means for conſtituting the propoſed annuities.

The benefit of this arrangement will be accelerated, if proviſion be made for the application of the proceeds of any loans heretofore obtained to the payment ſuggeſted, on the condition of replacing the ſums which may be ſo applied, out of the proceeds of the loan or loans, which ſhall be made purſuant to the power above propoſed to be given.

It will alſo conduce to the general end in view, if the Legiſlature ſhall think proper to authoriſe the inveſtment of the funds deſtined for purchaſes of the debt, in purchaſes of 6 per cent. ſtock, at the market price, though above par. The comparative prices of the ſeveral kinds of ſtock have been and frequently may be ſuch, as to render it more profitable to make inveſtments in the 6 per cents, than in any other ſpecies of ſtock.

All which is humbly ſubmitted.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
Secretary of the Treaſury.

Treaſury Department, Nov. 30, 1792.

——A——

TABLE ſhewing the effect of a ſum annually created, equal to the intereſt of the ſum to be redeemed within each year, for a period of nine years, commencing from the firſt of January, 1793—on the ſuppoſition that the intereſt on the ſum annually redeemed be inveſted, as it is liberated, in the purchaſe of 6 per cent. ſtock, at the price of 22 ſhillings on the pound.

Periods of Redemption	*Sums annually Redeemable.*	*Intereſt annually liberated*	*Sums annually purchaſed.*
	Dols Cts.	*Dols. Cts.*	*Dols. Cts.*
January 1ſt, 1794	550,000.	33,000.	291,172. 04
ditto 1795	583,000.	34,980.	262,523. 05
ditto 1796	617,980.	37,078. 80	231,916. 56
ditto 1797	655,058. 89	39,303. 52	199,233. 86
ditto 1798	694,362. 33	41,661. 73	164,349. 20
ditto 1799	736,024. 07	44,161. 44	127,129. 15
ditto 1800	780,185. 52	46,811. 13	87,432. 33
ditto 1801	826,996. 65	49,619. 79	45,180. 90
ditto 1802	1,126,616. 44	67,596. 41	61,451. 28
Intereſt on debt paid in and purchaſed.		65,000.	576,520. 79
		459,212. 82	2,043,837. 07

Treaſury Department, November 30, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Secretary of the Treaſury.

—B—

TABLE exhibiting a View of the proposed Plan of Redemption.

Periods of Redmption, or Payment.		Sums redeemable.		Temporary Loans. Times of Reimbursement.		Years duration.	Amount of Sums borrowed, with compound Interest to the respective Periods of reimbursement.		Years when annuities begin to accrue.	Years Annuities.	Annuities.	
		Dols.	Cts.				Dols.	Cts.			Dols.	Cts.
January 1st,	1794	550,000.		Jan. 1st,	1799	5	701,954.		1793	6	103,199.	06
ditto	1795	583,000.		ditto	1800	5	744,071.	24	1794	6	109,391.	60
ditto	1796	617'980.		ditto	1801	5	788,715.	51	1795	6	115,955.	17
ditto	1797	655,058.	80	ditto	1802	5	836,038.	44	1796	6	122,912.	48
ditto	1798	694,362.	33	ditto	1802	4	843,997.	41	1797	5	152,743.	12
ditto	1799	736,024.	07	ditto	1802	3	852,021.	46	1798	4	197,680.	20
ditto	1800	780,185.	52	ditto	1802	2	860,154.	53	1799	3	272,848.	32
ditto	1801	826,996.	65	ditto	1802	1	868,346.	48	1800	2	423,583.	64
ditto	1802	1,126,616.	44									
Total Sum redeemed by the 1st of January, 1802.		6,570,223.	81									

N. B. All the Calculations in this Table, proceed upon a Rate of 5 per Cent. Interest.

Treasury Department, November 30th, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Secretary of the Treasury.

—C—

Mode of Constituting the proposed Annuities.

			Dols.	Cts.
1793.	Surplus dividend of the bank stock, beyond the interest which will be payable, estimated at	60,000		
	Tax	43,199. 06	103,199.	06
1794.	Tax		109,391.	60
1795.	Tax		115,955.	17
1796.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	20,000		
	Tax	102,912. 48	122,192.	48
1797.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	50,000		
	Tax	102,743. 12	152,743.	12
1798.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	90,000		
	Tax	107,680. 20	197,680.	20
1799.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	60,000		
	Annuity of the first year now liberated by reimbursement of the first loan	103,199. 06		
	Tax	109,649 32	272,848.	38
1800.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	220,000		
	Annuity of second year now liberated by reimbursement of 2d loan	109,391, 60		
	Part of arrears of interest to be applied for balance of annuity of this year	94,192. 04	423,583.	64

But a supplementary provision will be to be made for the second year, equal to the sum of 94,192 dollars and four cents, as the fund in that particular is not annual. This may also arise from the arrears of interest.

The payment to be made on the first of January 1802, may proceed from the following funds.

Amount of annuity of 3d year liberated by reimbursement of 3d loan	115,955. 17		
Unapropriated arrears of interest	200,000		
Temporary loan	810,661. 27	1,126,616.	44

Treasury Department, November 30th, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Secretary of the Treasury.

—D—

View of Redeeming Fund, to and upon the 1st January 1802.

								Dols.	Cts.
Interest which will have been liberated by purchases and payments into the Treasury, exclusive of redemptions, according to the proposed plan,								65,000	
Jan. 1st,	1794,	*by redemption of*		550,000		*dollars rate 6 per cent.*		33,000	
ditto	1795,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	583,000	*at ditto*		34,980	
ditto	1796,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	617,980	*ditto*		37,078.	80
ditto	1797,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	6[illegible]5,058.	80	*ditto*	39,303.	52
ditto	1798,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	694,362.	33	*ditto*	41,661.	73
ditto	1799,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	736,024.	07	*ditto*	44,161.	44
ditto	1800,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	780,185.	52	*ditto*	46,811.	13
ditto	1801,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	826,996.	65	*ditto*	49,619.	79
ditto	1802,	*by*	*ditto*	*of*	1,126,616.	44	*ditto*	67,596.	98
								459,273.	39

Taxes which will have been laid.

1793	*dollars*	43,199.	06	
1794	——	199,391.	60	
1795	——	115,955.	17	
1796	——	102,912.	48	
1797	——	102,743.	12	
1798	——	107,680.	20	
1799	——	109,649.	32	
				691,530. 95
Surplus dividend of bank stock beyond the interest which will be payable out of it				60,000
			Dollars	1,210,744. 34

Amount of Interest converted into Annuities.

1796	*dollars*	20,000	
1797	——	50,000	
1798	——	90,000	
1800	——	220,000	
Annual sum at the end of 1800		380,000	*dollars.*

Treasury Department, November 30, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Secretary of the Treasury.

The CHRONICLE.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Extracts from Leyden Gazettes of the 9th and 12th October, 1792.

BONN, (Germany) *October 5.*

THE necessity in which the generals of the combined armies in France have been under, of drawing successively to them all the German troops which were on the Rhine, first, the army of general prince de Hohenloe Reickberg, then the corps which had remained under the orders of count d'Erback, has left the field open to the French, not only on the side of Thionville where they carried off a considerable convoy, but also on the Rhine: Having come from Stratsburgh and Fort-Louis, they attacked with a far superior force the 3000 Austrians which formed the garrison of Spire, killed or made them prisoners, took possession of the city, and sent the military stores that were in it to Landau; the alarm was spread to Manheim, Worms, and even to Mentz. The inhabitants are taking to flight, and the consternation is general. This expedition took place on the 29th September. Above, on the Moselle, the French have made a second irruption into the electorate of Triers; 5000 Frenchmen with 9 cannon entered Metzig on the 29th, at 7 o'clock A. M. forced the garrison to evacuate, destroyed the provisions, &c.

Extract of a letter from Mentz, 2d October.

"The invasion which general Custine* has made, by order of general Biron, into the territory of the empire; and the taking of Spire†, with the general magazine of military stores for the Imperial army; has spread terror and consternation through all this part of Germany. Our city is shut up; no one can enter or go out of it. Even the navigation of the Rhine is stopped, to the great detriment of commerce. The number of fugitives come here from Heidelberg, Worms, and all that part of the Rhine, is considerable. Out of 3000 men who, under the orders of general Winkelmann, guarded Spire and the military stores, very few have escaped. They were almost all killed, drowned in the Rhine, or made prisoners they did not however give up without making the bravest defence. The French, the greatest part of whom came out of Landau, were a body of 17 or 18,000 men. Their superiority was therefore too great to be resisted. It is said they intend to pursue their march to this city. Having advanced to the distance of one league from Kircheim Pohland, where the prince of Nassau Weilbourg resides, the court retired in haste at 10 o'clock at night, with their most precious effects, and arrived at Weilbourg. It was on the 30th of September that Spire was taken, a stroke which must be considered as a most important, if not a decisive one."

LEYDEN, *October 11.*

We are now no longer in an uncertainty, respecting the success of the French armies.

Late advices received by way of London, that the combined armies, after attempting a negociation without success, had retired with so much haste that they had left 4 or 5000 sick in the hospitals, lost 200 prisoners, and abandoned 20 waggons loaded with provisions and ammunition; that instead of forcing the French army to capitulate, they had been pursued themselves in their retreat: and that from the direction of the march of part of their forces, it was probable they would meet general Custine, who is now master of all that part of Germany which borders the Rhine, from Spire to Mayence.

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* *Formerly the count de Custine. He was colonel of the regiment of Saintonge, in general Rochambeau's army, in America.*

† *An imperial city in the electorate of Triers.*

On the 12th of Oct. General Dumourier delivered the following speech to the National Convention.

"CITIZEN LEGISLATORS,

"LIBERTY is every where triumphant; guided by philosophy, it will overspread the universe, and it will establish itself on all thrones, after having crushed despotism and enlightened the people.

"The constitutional laws which you are about to frame, will form the basis of the happiness and fraternity of nations. This war will be the last, and tyrants and privileged orders, mistaken in their criminal calculations, will be the sole victims in this struggle of arbitrary power against reason. The army, which the confidence of the nation entrusted to my command, have deserved well of their country. Reduced when I joined them, on the 28th of August, to 17,000 men, and disorganized by traitors, whom punishment and shame every where pursue, they were neither intimidated by the number, discipline, threats, barbarity, nor first successes of 80,000 satellites of despotism. The armies of the forest of Argon were the Thermopylæ, where this handful of soldiers of liberty made a respectable resistance for fifteen days to that formidable army. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were supported by two armies, animated by the same spirit, whom we joined at the impregnable camp of St. Menehould. The enemy, in despair, wished to attempt an attack, which adds a new victory to the military career of my colleague and friend Kellerman.

"In the camp of St. Menehould, the soldiers of liberty displayed other military virtues, without which courage even may be hurtful—confidence in their chief, obedience, patience and perseverance. That part of the republic which consists of a dry soil, destitute of wood and water, the Germans will remember it; their impure blood will perhaps fertalize these barren plains which are now drenched with it. The season was uncommonly rainy and cold; our soldiers were badly clothed; were destitute of straw to lye upon; had no covering, and remained sometimes 2 days without bread, because the position of the enemy obliged our convoys to take a long circuit, by cross-roads, which are very bad at all seasons, and which were then spoilt by the long rains; for I must do justice to the purveyors of provisions and forage who, notwithstanding all the obstacles of bad roads, wet weather, and the secret movements, which I was obliged to conceal from them, supplied us in abundance, as far as was possible; and I am happy in declaring, that we are indebted to their care for the good health of the soldiers. [Applauses.] I never heard them murmur. Songs and joy would have made one take this formidable camp for one of those camps of pleasure, where the luxury of kings formerly embodied automats for the amusement of their mistresses and children. The soldiers of liberty were supported by the hope of conquest; their fatigues and sufferings have been rewarded; the enemy have sunk under famine, misery and disease. This formidable army, diminished one half, has fled; the roads are strewed with the carcases of horses and dead bodies; Kellerman is in pursuit of them with more than forty-thousand men, while I shall march, with a like number, to the assistance of the department of the North, and of the unfortunate and respectable Belgians and Liegeoise.

"I have come to spend four days here, only for the purpose of settling, with the executive council, the plan of the winter campaign. I embrace this opportunity of presenting my respects to you. I shall not take any new oath—I shall shew myself worthy of commanding the children of liberty, and to support those laws which the sovereign people are going to establish for themselves, by you their representatives."

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

Extract of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkinson, to the Secretary at War, dated at Fort-Hamilton, 6th November, 7 o'clock P. M.

"Just as I was about to dispatch this, I received a letter from Major Adair, commandant of the Kentucky mounted infantry, of which the enclosed is a copy: The check which the enemy experienced in this little affair, will produce good effects, and the event reflects honour upon the major and the yeomanry of Kentucky; but the immediate consequence will be an entire stop to the transport of forage to the advanced post, as our pack horses are either destroyed or disabled, and the riflemen dismounted. In this situation, I am perplexed by difficulties, as from my ignorance of the designs of government, and for the want of explicit orders, I am at a loss whether to direct the purchase of more pack horses, or to encourage the riflemen to remount themselves. On these points I shall duly deliberate, and will make such decision as my judgment may direct, relying confidently on the liberality of government, for

an excuſe, ſhould I err; and in the mean time, I ſhall urge forward the tranſport of forage from Fort Waſhington to this poſt, by every means left in my power.

As this affair happened near to and in ſight of Fort St. Clair it may be inquired why the commanding officer did not ſupport major Adair? The anſwer is ſhort, and will, I hope, prove ſatisfactory—The garriſon under his command is poſted for defence, and not offence, and altho' it appears that in this inſtance to have hazarded would have been judicious, yet as I have conſidered it ſafeſt for the national intereſts to confine my ſubordinate officers by rigid orders to defenſive meaſures ſolely, they are bound to hazard in no caſe whatever, which does not immediately and eſſentially intereſt the ſafety of the truſt which may be confided to them; and it may be added that in the inſtance before us, the attack was a moſt daring one, and that neither the number or ultimate object of the enemy, could be developed, before it was diſcovered that Major Adair was a full match for him.

I have this moment diſpatched twenty of my mounted infantry, who will reach St. Clair before day-light, to aid in bringing in the wounded and the weary.

Copy of a letter from Maj. John Adair, to Briga. Gen. Wilkinſon, dated Fort St. Clair, Nov. 6.

SIR,

This morning about the firſt appearance of day, the enemy attacked my camp, within ſight of this poſt, the attack was ſudden, and the enemy came on with a degree of courage that beſpoke them warriors indeed, ſome of my men were hand in hand with them before we retreated, which however we did about eighty yards to a kind of ſtockade intended for ſtables; we there made a ſtand, I then ordered Lieut. Madiſon to take a party and gain their right flank if poſſible, I called for Lieut. Hail to ſend to the left; but found he had been ſlain; I then led forward the men who ſtood near me, which together with the enſigns Buchanan and Flinn, amounted to about twenty-five, and preſſed the left of their center thinking it abſolutely neceſſary to aſſiſt Madiſon. We made a manly puſh, and the enemy retreated, taking all our horſes except five or ſix. We drove them about ſix hundred yards through our camp, where they again made a ſtand, and we fought them ſome time, two of my men were here ſhot dead.

At that moment I received information that the enemy was about to flank us on the right and on turning that way, I ſaw about 60 of them running to that point. I had yet heard nothing of Madiſon. I then ordered my men to retreat, which they did with deliberation, heartily curſing the Indians who purſued us cloſe to our camp, where we again fought them until they gave way; and when they retreated our ammunition was nearly expended altho' we had been ſupplied from the garriſon in the courſe of the action. I did not think proper to follow them again, but ordered my men into the garriſon to draw ammunition. I returned however, in a few minutes to a hill, to which we had firſt driven them, where I found two of my men ſcalped, who were brought in. Since I began to write this, a few of the enemy appeared in ſight, and I purſued them with a party about a quarter of a mile, but could not overtake them, and did not think proper to go farther. Madiſon, whom I ſent to the right, was on his firſt attack wounded, and obliged to retreat to the garriſon, leaving a man or two dead.

To this misfortune I think the enemy are indebted for the horſes they have got; had he gained their right flank, I once had poſſeſſion of their left, and I think we ſhould have routed them at that ſtage of the action, as we had them on the retreat. I have ſix killed and five wounded; four men are miſſing. I think they went off early in the action on horſeback, and are, I ſuppoſe, by this at Fort Hamilton. My officers and a number of men diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly.—Poor Hail died calling to his men to advance. Madiſon's bravery and conduct need no comment; they are well known. Flinn and Buchanan acted with a coolneſs and courage which does them much honour. Buchanan, after firing his gun, knocked down an Indian with the barrel. They have killed and taken a great number of the pack-horſes. I intend following them this evening ſome diſtance, to aſcertain their route and ſtrength, if poſſible. I can with propriety, ſay, that about fifty of my men fought with a bravery equal to any men in the world, and had not the garriſon been ſo nigh as a place of ſafety for the baſhful, I think many more would have fought well.

The enemy have no doubt as many killed as myſelf; they left two dead on the ground, and I ſaw two carried off. The only advantage they have gained is our horſes, which is a capital one, as it diſables me from bringing the interview to a more ſerious and ſatisfactory deciſion. I am ſir, yours, &c.

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